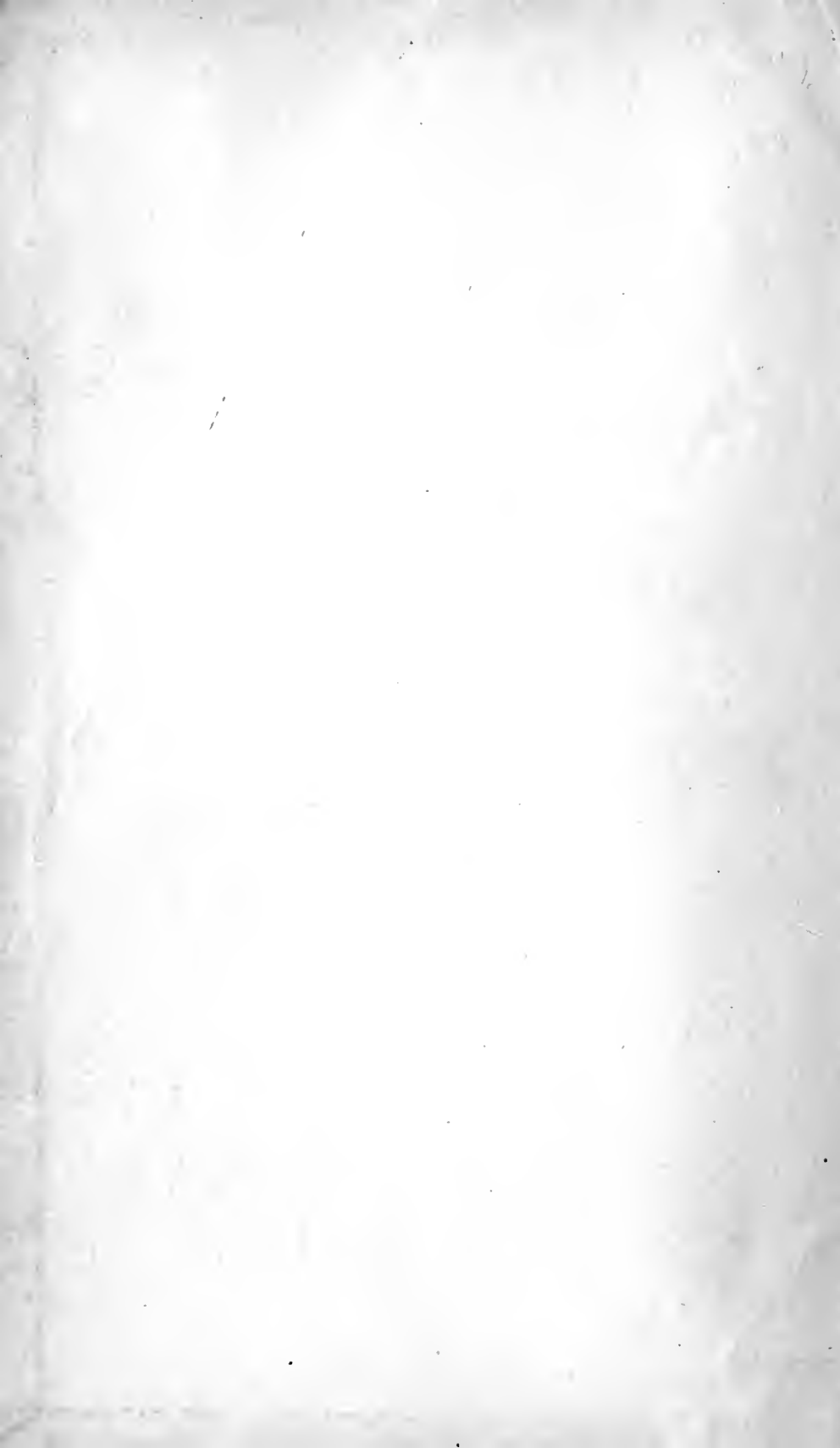


LIFE AND WORK

OF

JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN





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THE LIFE AND WORK

—OF—

JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN

D. D., LL. D.

BY


THEODORE APPEL

D. D.

PECTUS FACIT THEOLOGUM

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Atque

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Hoc Opus

Dicitur, Dicatur, ac Dedicatur

ab

Auctore

FREDERICK A. GAST,
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INTRODUCTION

THIS biography needs no apology. It is the history of a noble life and an exalted character. In whatever light he may be viewed, Dr. Nevin occupies high rank among the distinguished men of his age. An eminent scholar, a profound theologian, an independent thinker, a vigorous writer and an earnest Christian, he exerted a powerful influence, which will not cease to be felt for many generations to come. It is only right, therefore, that the life and labors of one who touched the higher spiritual interests of humanity at so many points should be recorded, that the world may know what manner of man he was, what truths he taught, what conflicts he waged, and what measure of success he achieved.

Dr. Nevin was a man of broad and thorough scholarship. With a strong and richly endowed mind well disciplined by years of hard study, he accumulated vast treasures of learning, which were ever at his command. There are few departments of knowledge in which he was not at home. When he entered on the study of theology and philosophy, in which he rose to such great eminence, he had already laid a solid foundation in the Classics, mathematics and history. Equipped with a thorough knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, he was well fitted, both by his attainments and his tastes, for the pursuit of Biblical science, to which his earliest official labors were devoted; and it is not improbable that, if he had continued to make this branch of theology his specialty, he would have come to stand among the foremost Biblical scholars of America.

But when called to Mercersburg, it became his duty to teach dogmatic theology in the Seminary, and, after the death of Dr. Rauch, philosophy in Marshall College. His brief contact with that able and genial scholar afforded him a deeper insight into the immense wealth of German thought, of which he had only had a passing and unsatisfactory glimpse before. He had already acquired a good working knowledge of the language, and he now devoted himself to the arduous task of mastering the whole field of German philosophy and theology. It was at a time when, in this country at least,

all German systems alike were regarded with suspicion; but in his unwearied search for truth, he determined to make their acquaintance, and was rewarded by having a new intellectual world opened up to his view.

His learning, though broad and varied, was especially marked by thoroughness. He had no ambition to be an encyclopedia of knowledge. To have full mastery of one subject was infinitely more to him than to have a superficial acquaintance with many. He was not a man who kept himself constantly surrounded by a great multitude of books. It was a surprise to his friends, at least during the latter period of his life, to find how few books he had at hand. You entered his study, but saw no library. On his writing-table lay his Hebrew Old Testament and his Greek New Testament, which were never absent from his side, and besides these a very few works connected with the study on which his mind was then engaged. These he read and re-read and inwardly digested, till their contents became part of his very self. Any subject which claimed his attention completely absorbed him, and for the time filled his conversation as well as his thoughts. He kept it constantly before his mind until he saw it in all its length and breadth, its height and depth.

It was this that made him the profound thinker he was. His mind was constitutionally of a philosophic cast. Imbued with a strong love of truth he was impelled to search for it as for hidden treasure. Traditional opinions and inherited beliefs had little value for him until he had examined them, tested them and proved them correct. A questioning attitude was natural to him. He readily detected the weakness and defects of any system and mercilessly exposed them to view. His mind was in fact severely critical, even toward conclusions he had himself reached by much study and reflection. Hence it is not surprising that, during his long and thoughtful life, he passed through various phases of faith. To many he seemed to be ever vacillating. And indeed he was not stationary. Whatever lives advances from lower stages to higher, and the life of thought is no exception. It manifests itself either in the discovery of new truth, or, at least, in the fuller, clearer and more adequate apprehension of old truth. Only what is dead stands still. Dr. Nevin felt no pride in maintaining an unvarying uniformity of thought. As soon as a form of truth appeared on more mature reflection to be unsatisfactory, he freely surrendered it and diligently sought for a higher and more perfect form. And so he seemed to himself to be always progressing, and yet in his

progress to be self-consistent, at least in the sense that he was constantly advancing upward along one unconsciously predetermined line.

However that may be, it is undeniable that his mind had a wonderfully comprehensive grasp of truth. He viewed a subject on all sides and followed it out in all its bearings. It was as if the full vision presented itself at once to his gaze, and he saw it immediately in its broad sweep and then gradually in its single features. Not unfrequently his glance was almost prophetic. He anticipated many truths, the importance of which is only now beginning to dawn on the consciousness of the religious world. And he did it not so much by logical ratiocination as by direct intuition. He was remarkable for his power of generalization, or rather, we should say, his intellect was constitutionally fitted to lay hold, first on a general truth, and then to trace it out in its manifold relations. Particular truths never appeared to his mind in their isolation. Single facts possessed value for him only as they were comprehended in a general life. This is the characteristic of philosophic genius, and Dr. Nevin displayed it in a very high degree.

He was a singularly independent thinker. Though not disregarding of what his predecessors had accomplished, keenly alive, rather, to the results of their thought, he passed their conclusions through the fire of his own powerful mind, tested them, refined them of their dross and adopted them only in a purified form. Certain thinkers, like Schleiermacher, Neander and Rothe, possessed a wonderful fascination for him; but he never followed them blindly, or surrendered himself to them in slavish dependence. His mind was always open in a childlike way to the influence of other strong minds, but it was too vigorous and healthy to succumb to them in absolute submission. For a while, indeed, he might be too greatly under their sway, but, sooner or later, he recovered himself and reasserted his independence.

He was not a creative genius in the sense that Kant was in philosophy and Schleiermacher in theology. He did not originate a system of thought. His philosophical and theological impulses came mainly from Germany. But he was original in this, that, having submitted the results of German thought to the scrutiny of his own gigantic intellect, he adapted them to the sphere in which he was placed. He reproduced German theology in a form suitable to his country and age.

But behind the great scholar and the greater thinker was the still greater man. Nobility of soul was stamped even upon his outward

form. He was a man of marked appearance. His lofty brow, his firmly set mouth, the lines of his face, the peculiar gleam of his eye, and the strong, deep tones of his voice, together with a general air of abstraction, all witnessed to the refinement of intellectual and moral culture, to a life of earnest and profound thought, and to an unusual force of character. Though naturally of a shy, retiring disposition, his presence at once made itself felt wherever he chanced to be. Even among those to whom he was unknown, his appearance always attracted attention and compelled respect.

He was intellectually open, honest and without guile. You felt, when in conversation with him, that he was pouring out his inmost soul and that he had no reserved opinions, nothing, in fact, which he was trying to conceal. His convictions were strong, and for him at least they were true; and the truth, as he saw it, took complete possession of his whole being. It was not something for the logical understanding merely, an idle speculation without any practical bearing whatever. It was for him a matter of life or death, and he felt constrained to give it the fullest and clearest expression by tongue or pen for the benefit of the world. With all the earnestness of his nature he contended against every opposing error. He was often charged with being simply negative, breaking down without building up. He was negative, however, only because he was so positive. When he came into possession of a truth which he deemed of vital importance to men, he could not refrain from giving it utterance. Having the courage of his convictions, he never hesitated to brave all opposition at whatever cost to himself. There was a time when Romanism on the one hand, and the larger section of Protestantism on the other, were arrayed against him; yet he stood firm and undaunted, assured that time would vindicate the truth of his position. But whether in this he was right or wrong, who must not admire the sublime heroism displayed in thus contending almost single-handed against such tremendous odds! It was possible only to a soul thoroughly in earnest, keenly alive to the truth, and endowed with extraordinary strength of will.

The key to Dr. Nevin's character lay in his moral earnestness. Whatever came to him as a duty he did with all his might. In the early part of his Seminary course he was dismayed by what seemed to him the difficulties to be overcome in the study of Hebrew. In his discouragement he asked himself whether it was really worth his while to spend the time and labor necessary to acquire a language, which was mastered by few, and forgotten or laid aside by nearly all. He had almost resolved to discontinue the study when, through

the judicious counsels of a friend, he reconsidered the question, and, having on serious reflection come to see how indispensable a knowledge of that language is to one who would understand the Old Testament aright, he addressed himself with vigor to his task, and with such success that he read the entire Hebrew Bible through before completing his student life in the Seminary at Princeton.

Such earnestness aroused by a keen and strong sense of duty characterized his life from its commencement to its close. He could do nothing in a half-hearted way, whether in study, in controversy, or in the sphere of practical activity. He began his career as a severe and stern reformer, denouncing intemperance, slavery, fanaticism and wrong of every kind. He outlived this negative activity, but only to seek, in a higher and positive realm of life, the cure for the maladies that afflict humanity. All along he had had faith in the Gospel as the divine remedy for human evils, but he thought that the Christianity by which he was surrounded lacked the spirituality and power needed to accomplish its mission in the present era of history. The circumstances amid which he stood in the earlier years of his ministry kindled in him a reformatory zeal, which became ever less negative and more inward and positive, as he grew in wisdom and grace. During the period of his public life there prevailed an impression as false as it was common, that Dr. Nevin was extravagantly speculative, an intellectual dreamer, and it was remarked by some who were not in sympathy with his thinking, that it would have been better for the world and the church if, instead of being a mere theorizer, he had devoted the force of his giant intellect to practical work, especially in his own denomination, where it seemed to be particularly needed. Remarks of this kind, however, were based, not on facts, but on fancies, and grew out of an inadequate knowledge of the man. He was in truth eminently practical in all his tendencies. Few, indeed, were more so. With his intensely earnest nature, how could it be otherwise? With him philosophy and even theology had no interest or value, apart from their actual bearings on the welfare of man and the progress of society. He scarcely ever wrote an article for the press, however metaphysical or speculative in its character, in which he did not seek to promote the higher spiritual interests of the community or the Church. The practical element in Christianity seemed to be ever uppermost and predominant in his mind as in that of Neander.

In his sphere of labor in the Reformed Church, Providence gave him ample range for displaying the practical character of his mind.

He could never content himself with simply doing his prescribed work of faithfully preparing laborers for the field white for the harvest, and then indolently sitting down to mope and mourn over the desolations of Zion. On the contrary, as opportunity presented itself, he united with his brethren in the promotion of every good word and work. He seldom attempted to initiate any movement himself, but when others proposed a measure which had a prospect of usefulness and gave promise of success, he lent it a vigorous support and generally by his pen became its most powerful advocate. He took a comprehensive view of his duties as a theological professor. The Seminary was to his mind a vital part of the Church to which it belongs, in very truth, its beating heart. He identified its success with the prosperity of the interest which it represented. He could not feel satisfied, therefore, with laboring for the one without at the same time embracing the other. Enjoying, as he did, the confidence of the Church, he took a more or less active part in all its important movements, and his judgment always carried with it much weight. For many years he virtually occupied the position of *episcopos* in the Church, and during this period the history of the Church was in a large measure embraced in his life. Everywhere he appears as the cautious pilot, skillfully guiding the vessel. By common consent he was acknowledged as *primus inter pares*, and was very generally regarded as the Church's wisest and best guide.

It was his intense earnestness that made Dr. Nevin the sharp polemic and hard controversialist he was. He battled for what he had come to regard as the truth, as vital truth, to the supreme importance of which the Church needed to have its mind aroused. He could not be indifferent without being recreant to his trust. He saw on every hand what he believed to be errors of the most dangerous kind, while the guardians of the truth slept unconscious of the peril by which it was beset. The time had come, and he held it as his task, to expose these errors with the wrong tendencies and false measures to which they gave birth. And he did it in plain, unmistakeable terms. As a matter of course, he called forth fierce opposition and often the bitterest hostility. He came into collision with the religious thought of a large part of the Christian Church. Often he was misrepresented, oftener misunderstood. Yet in spite of ignorance and prejudice, he maintained his position without faltering. No array of hostile forces could make him swerve an inch from the truth and right which he believed he possessed. Naturally in the heat of such a contest there would be on either

side many a hasty and harsh word which would better have been left unspoken, but which in calmer moments would be regretted and recalled. But now that the battle is ended, no one, whether he regard Dr. Nevin as in the wrong or in the right, can help admiring his moral earnestness in proclaiming what he, in spite of its unpopularity, believed to be the truth, and his unshaken courage in maintaining it without regard to personal consequences against the most formidable opposition.

To many it may seem strange to hear it said that Dr. Nevin possessed all the delicate sensibilities and tenderness of a woman. His voice was gruff and his manner somewhat brusque, leaving a natural impression of severity and sternness. And this impression was confirmed by the fact that in public controversy, when he believed the interests of truth and righteousness were at stake, he gave, as he received, many a hard blow. Those, however, who knew him in the intimacy of private life, were aware of a gentleness, a tender heartedness, a loving kindness, not apparent to a stranger's eye. Little children loved him, as he loved them. His pupils regarded him with reverence and with affection as well. There was in him a deep well-spring of emotion which was easily touched. Sometimes a flood of feeling overwhelmed him when preaching; and at such times it was painful to witness that strong nature, struggling hard for several moments to choke down his emotions and regain control of himself.

Dr. Nevin was habitually of a serious mind. Notwithstanding his powerful assaults on Puritanism as a religious system, his nature was cast in a Puritan mould. No one ever thought of venturing on any levity in his presence. Not that his aspect was harsh or morose, rather there was in it a quiet sweetness, which, while it repressed the coarse jest and boisterous laugh, encouraged the humorous word and gentle smile. His intimate friends never felt anything forbidding in his manner, but they did feel when with him that life was too serious even for momentary trifling or folly.

He lived, to a large extent, especially in his latter days, in communion with the spiritual world. That world was to him the supreme reality. His thoughts dwelt upon it with constant delight. His conversation was filled with it, as the all-engrossing object of his meditations. Not that he ever lost interest in the affairs of this world; on the contrary, he kept himself remarkably well informed concerning all social, scientific and religious movements. He studied them carefully, but mainly in their relation to Christ's spiritual kingdom, which was for him, not something to be expected at

a remote future, but a present reality encompassing us at all times. His thoughts were never long absent from that higher spiritual realm, which, though dim and shadowy to many, was so real and substantial to him. During the Centennial year he visited the Exposition at Philadelphia and on his return, when asked, by the writer, how he was pleased he replied: "On the whole, I may say that I was disappointed. I looked at the great Corliss engine, and it impressed me as something wonderful; but all the while I could not help thinking how infinitely the spiritual transcends the natural." While his eyes rested on those marvels of human inventive genius and artistic skill, of which, indeed, he soon wearied, his thoughts were far away with that which touched the innermost depths of his life.

Of such a man, with his splendid qualities of mind and heart, we wish to know all that can be known. There is little, indeed, in his external history to enlist attention. He rarely went from home. He shrank from having his name brought prominently before the public. Even when urged to become a member of the American Committee for the revision of the Bible, he deemed it best, for reasons satisfactory to himself, to refuse. He cared nothing for fame, but much for righteousness and truth. His was the quiet life of the scholar, the thinker and the writer, and its interest lies largely in the development of a powerful intellect and a strong Christian character.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, in spite of his great attainments and profound influence, he was not as widely known as he deserved to be. His work was not of the kind that awakens the enthusiasm of the populace. He was no public orator, no gifted leader of a popular movement, no stern reformer of acknowledged abuses. There was nothing in his career to call forth the applause of the multitude. He simply sat in his quiet study, and pondered, deeply and seriously pondered, the grand problem of life, and then gave forth to the world the results of his thought. What was there in all this to strike the popular fancy or win him fame among the masses?

Not that he was unknown. Strange as it may seem, he was better appreciated in Europe than in his native America. German theologians, like Ebrard and Dorner, Thiersch and Döllinger, could estimate him at his true worth; and while they might dissent from many of his conclusions, they recognized his power as a religious thinker. Scholars in England as well as in America, who stood foremost in theological movements, were in correspondence with

him and eagerly sought his opinions on the religious questions of the day. The many pupils who were indebted to him for a large part of their theological and philosophical training learned to admire the greatness of his mind and the loftiness of his character. There was besides a great circle which, though never under his immediate tuition, felt a debt of gratitude to him for quickened impulses to high thinking and right living.

But to the religious world in general he was comparatively unknown. For more than half a century he was active with his pen. In books, tracts, and *Review* articles, he discussed many problems of far-reaching significance for the Church and society, with great depth and strength of thought and wonderful comprehensiveness of grasp. His attitude was in the main one of antagonism to prevailing views; and whilst here and there, outside the bounds of his own Church, a solitary thinker grappled with him in single combat, the theological schools went quietly and unheedingly on their way. The hour had not yet arrived when these should be living questions for them. In his own Church, indeed, his writings always earnest, bold, clear and vigorous, excited much controversy which was often violent and bitter; but the religious public in general seemed to think this was only a family quarrel with which it was in no wise concerned, though, in truth, the questions at issue were of such fundamental character as to involve an entire reconstruction of the reigning conceptions of Christianity and the Church.

Unfortunately for his renown, Dr. Nevin's lot was cast with one of the smaller tribes of Israel. From conscientious motives he left the Presbyterian Church, in which there opened up before him the prospect of a most brilliant future, to enter the German Reformed Church, which at the time was very insignificant as regards the territory it occupied and the membership it enrolled. Since then, it is true, and largely through his influence, it has made considerable progress, and it is now far more widely known and better understood. Fifty years ago, however, few beyond its own narrow boundaries were aware even of its existence. The Theological Seminary in which he taught and the College of which he was the head were located, at the time of his most intense activity, in the obscure village of Mercersburg, hidden from the public gaze. They were just struggling into life and were without prestige among the educational institutions of the land. Here he unselfishly labored, burying, as it seemed to many, his splendid talents from the sight of men. But he never had any desire to emerge from the mountains and valleys of his native state and occupy a position of more

prominence before the world. His only ambition was to perform his special task in the humble position Providence had assigned him. And so, when he, a faithful servant of more than four score years, passed away from earth, many had not even heard of his name, or if they had, knew nothing of the achievements of his life.

Moreover, of many of his opponents it may be truly said that not understanding him aright, they often attributed to him views he did not entertain. This was due, not to any vagueness of his opinions or to any lack of clearness in expressing them; nor yet, we may well believe, to a deliberate purpose to wrong him by misrepresentation; but simply to the fact that his intellectual world was foreign to theirs and his modes of thought new and strange to them. And besides, as he was progressive in his tendencies, he passed through several phases of belief, which, while they seemed to himself to be in the line of a continuous harmonious development of the truth, appeared to many others to involve inconsistencies and self-contradictions. Quite naturally he was subjected to much misconception. In view of these facts it is highly desirable as an act of simple justice to the memory of a great and good man, that his life should be presented to the world as a whole, that all may see it, not in disconnected fragments, but as a unity in which the several parts stand in organic relation to each other.

But this biography is called for by other and more general considerations than such as are merely personal. It is indeed a tribute of affection and esteem, which his many admiring friends wish to see paid to the memory of one they so justly revered. But at the same time it possesses an interest for the religious world at large. It records the life and labors of a profound theologian who, in advance at least of American scholars, discussed many questions of central significance to Christianity and the Church. They were questions which had as yet forced themselves on the minds of few thinkers in this country, and the need of solving them was hardly felt. It was on this account mainly that Dr. Nevin was so little appreciated in his day. The mind of the age was not yet ready to grapple with the problems on which he bestowed such earnest thought. But these very questions are now demanding serious attention and are fast becoming the live questions in the religious world, because theology is more and more ruled by the Christological tendency, and men are seeking, as never before, to find, as Dr. Nevin did, the principle of Christianity in Christ Himself. Just at the present time, the divided state of the evangelical Churches is almost universally deplored as a great misfortune, and

the healing of these divisions is a question that now occupies the mind and heart of many a devout thinker. Dr. Nevin in his day wrestled earnestly with this problem, and we doubt not that his views will in the near future be studied with interest and profit. Though he belonged to a denomination and taught its theology, yet he went fairly beyond it into the field of general theology. And in this view this biography possesses a value for the Church at large.

Shortly after Dr. Nevin's death, at the meeting of the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College, which was attended by many of his former students, a committee was appointed to prepare a memorial of his life and labors. After due consideration this work was committed into the hands of Dr. Theo. Appel, who is one of the oldest of the Alumni, had studied under Dr. Nevin in the College and Seminary at Mercersburg, had been his colleague for many years as Professor both at Mercersburg and at Lancaster, is well acquainted with his modes of thought, and possesses the requisite qualifications for a work of this character. At the next annual meeting of the Alumni Association in 1887, the selection made by the Committee was approved; and with this kind of moral support, together with the advice of Dr. Schaff, Dr. Appel consented to undertake the task, which he found to be one of more than ordinary difficulty, requiring the careful examination of original sources, with much study and thought. The result of his arduous labors is now laid before the public, with the hope that it may meet with a generous reception and contribute to a better knowledge of one whose life has been a benediction to the world.

FREDERICK A. GAST, D. D.

LANCASTER, PA., Dec. 4, 1889.

JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN

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THE LIFE AND WORK

— OF —

JOHN WILLIAMSON NEVIN

I—THE NEVIN FAMILY

CHAPTER I

NEVIN, or its equivalent MacNevin, is an historical name in the annals of Scotland and Ireland. Two of the race came to New York from the north of Ireland about the middle of the last century. One of them settled in the state of New York, along the Hudson, where his descendants at the present time are numerous and respectable. Daniel, his younger brother, continued his journey into Pennsylvania, and cast in his lot with what are sometimes called the Scotch-Irish settlers, in the Cumberland Valley, a religious and intelligent class of people, who, like himself, had fled from oppression in the same part of Ireland.

Here in the course of time he married a widow, who had been the wife of Mr. Reynolds, from whom descended a family of children that reflected honor on their parents. Her maiden name was Margaret Williamson, a lady of superior natural intelligence, and of decided force of character. She was a sister of Hugh Williamson, M.D., LL.D., who was on the medical staff during the Revolution, a member of the Continental Congress, one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States, and otherwise distinguished, both during and after the war, as a patriot and an eminent American citizen. He was a writer of some distinction, the author of a History of North Carolina and other publications. The Williamsons were of English origin, although the family had a tradition, whether true or not, based on its coat of arms, and other considerations, that they were in the line of descent from the celebrated Scottish chieftain,

William Wallace, whose daughter, or near relative, married a Williamson. They came, however, from England, where one of the family was an Episcopal clergyman, and is said to be honorably represented at the present day by his descendants in the third and fourth generation.

Daniel and Margaret Nevin lived on a farm near the present village of Orrstown, in Franklin county, Pa., in full view of the North Mountain. They were blessed with three daughters and two sons; and through them, with numerous descendants who have reflected credit on their name as ministers, lawyers, doctors, editors, authors, or as successful business men. The daughters of Daniel Nevin were married into families of good standing: Sarah to Daniel Henderson; Elizabeth to John Pomeroy; Mary to ——— Cook and ——— McClay. Their sons were John and David, the former a farmer, the latter a merchant. Their children and children's children came to be much esteemed in their respective communities. Major David Nevin established himself at Shippensburg as a successful merchant and business man. Clear-headed and progressive in his tendencies, he added farm to farm during his lifetime, and being pleasant in his manners and on the popular side in politics, he was always elected to posts of honor when he received the nomination. The immense crowd which attended his funeral showed the high estimation in which he was held by the community. He had six sons and five daughters, two of the latter having died at an early age: Caroline, married to Wm. Rankin, M.D.; Jane M., to Charles M. Reynolds, merchant; Mary, to ——— Tustin; Joseph P. and Samuel W., merchants; William Wallace, M.D.; David Robert Bruce, lawyer; and Edwin Henry and Alfred, the remaining sons, who became eloquent divines in the Presbyterian Church, well-known doctors of divinity, popular writers, and the authors of a number of meritorious books or pamphlets on moral and religious subjects.

It was thought that John, the older brother of David, and father of John Williamson, as he was of a quiet and studious disposition, should receive a collegiate education, and perhaps enter one of the learned professions. Accordingly he was sent to Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pa., then under the presidency of Dr. Nisbet, a distinguished Scotch divine, where he graduated in 1795.

One of his class-mates was Roger B. Taney, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, who was his successful competitor at graduation in carrying off the highest prize for scholarship, in a class of twenty-four members. As this nice point of honor was decided by a majority of the class, and perhaps, at times, by their

preferences, his mere selection, as one out of two competitors, was an evidence of his high standing as a scholar among his fellow students. Young Nevin took as the theme of his graduating speech the "Sin of Slavery," with which his successful rival, Mr. Taney, may not have altogether sympathized at the time. After his graduation he was somewhat at a loss to know what his proper calling in life was to be; but at length, either from natural timidity or love of rural pursuit, he chose the noble profession of farming; married Martha McCracken, a woman of decided character, adorned with many virtues; and settled in a home of his own, on Herron's Branch, near Shippensburg, and subsequently on Keasey's Run, not far from the neighboring village of Strasburg. Thus he became what is sometimes called a "Latin Farmer," one who could teach his sons Latin, Greek, or other branches of a higher education in his own family. Private life was preferred to a public one, but he stood in such high estimation among his fellow citizens for his intelligence and sterling integrity, that they concluded to send him to Congress as their representative, which, it was said, was frustrated only by his death in 1829. He became a Trustee of Dickinson College, his Alma Mater, in 1827, which was probably the only public office he ever filled.

He seemed to be naturally unaggressive, apparently too timid to make a prayer of his own in public; but it was his highest ambition that his sons should be trained for posts of honor and usefulness in their day—perhaps to supplement, as it were, his own backwardness in the noisy, busy world. As for himself, with his love for nature, he chose to pursue his course along life's sequestered vale, apart from its contentions, in congenial rural pursuits. He was a diligent reader of the best authors, and an attractive conversationalist. His meagre supply of books was considerably enlarged when his uncle, Dr. Williamson, left him his library at his death in 1819. It was a compliment to him as one who was most likely to appreciate such a gift. Occasionally his quiet life in the country was relieved of its monotony by summer visits from his uncles, Dr. Hugh Williamson of New York, or Captain John Williamson, a wealthy merchant of Charleston, South Carolina. Both were gentlemen of the old school in dress and manners, and arrested considerable attention among the country people during their visits. Much more of a sensation, however, was produced on such occasions among the nephews and nieces of the Nevin family, who usually received handsome gifts or keepsakes from their uncles, especially from the wealthy merchant from the South. The latter at his decease bequeathed to

the Nevins in Pennsylvania a large tract of land in the West, and John, with one of his nephews, went out to look after it and secure it for the family. The trip, which was successful, was one of the few that took him any distance from his home. At Nashville he called to pay his compliments to General Andrew Jackson, the "idol of the people" in those days, and was entertained by him in generous style at The Hermitage; no doubt because he came from Pennsylvania and was a good representative of its patriotic people.

John Nevin and his wife, Martha, had six sons and three daughters: Margaret, married to John K. Finley, M.D., Professor of Natural Science in Dickinson College whilst under Presbyterian control; Elizabeth, married to Rev. Dr. A. Blaine Brown, son of the distinguished Rev. Dr. Matthew Brown, and his successor as President of Washington College, Washington, Pa.; Martha Mary, deceased, married to John Irvin, Esq., merchant, and honored Elder in the Presbyterian Congregation at Sewickly, Pa.; Theodore, a prominent banker and prosperous business man of Pittsburgh, and also Elder in the Sewickly Congregation, lately deceased; Robert, editor and author of ability at Pittsburgh, still living; Daniel E., clergyman, teacher, author, and an Israelite without guile, now deceased; William M., Professor in Marshall, and in Franklin and Marshall College, from 1840 to the present year 1889, poet and humorous writer, honored by Dickinson College, his Alma Mater, with the title of LL.D.; and John Williamson, the eldest in the family, whose life and spirit it is the object of this volume to portray.

II—EARLY YOUTH FROM 1803-1817

Æt. 1-14

CHAPTER II

AS DR. NEVIN advanced in years and fame, he was requested, from time to time, to furnish the necessary material for a sketch of his life, to be given to the world in some permanent form. In the year 1870, therefore, he concluded to write out his biography in a series of articles, which were published in the *Messenger*, the organ of the Reformed Church, commencing in the month of March and ending in July, under the title of "My Own Life." They give a full account of his inner and outer life, with self-criticisms, until his removal from Allegheny City, Pa., to Mercersburg, Pa., in the spring of the year 1840. It was his intention at some future time to resume the thread of his history onward to the period when he wrote, but for various reasons the task, unfortunately, was never resumed, and it has devolved upon the writer to supply the public with the record of the remainder of his long and stirring career as best he can, from the material on hand. It has been deemed best, on the whole, to reproduce the autobiography, quoting from it when deemed necessary, and at other times making a liberal use of its language, without always informing the reader.

John Williamson Nevin was born on Herron's Branch, near Shippenburg, Franklin county, Pa., on Sunday, February 20, 1803.

He always regarded it as an important part of his youthful training and worthy of note, that he spent his early days on a farm, in the midst of a people of plain and simple manners; that he thus became familiar with the scenes and employments of country life; and that he was put to all sorts of farm work, just as soon and as far as it was found that he could render himself useful in that way.

He, however, thought that it was a matter of still greater account, that he was so fortunate as to receive a healthy religious training from his earliest years. He was by birth and blood a Presbyterian; and as his parents were both conscientious and exemplary professors of religion, he was brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, according to the ancient Presbyterian

faith and practice, which at the time had not undergone any material change from that of the forefathers in Scotland and Ireland. The Presbyterianism prevalent in the Cumberland Valley at the beginning of the present century, was based throughout on the idea of covenant family religion, of church membership by a holy act of God in baptism; and, following this as a logical sequence, there was regular catechetical training of the young, with direct reference to their coming to the Lord's Table. In a word, it proceeded on the theory of a sacramental, educational religion, that belonged properly to all the national branches of the *Reformed Church* in Europe from the beginning. In this respect the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, France, Germany, Holland, England and Scotland were, when properly understood, all of one mind; and at the time to which we here refer, this mind ruled the Presbyterianism of this country. It is true, no use was made of confirmation in admitting catechumens to full communion with the Church; but there was that which was considered to be substantially the same thing in the way they were solemnly admitted to the communion by the Church Session. The system was churchly, as holding the Church, in her visible character, to be the medium of salvation for her baptized children, in the sense of that memorable declaration of Calvin, where, speaking of her as the *Mother* of believers, in the fourth book of his *Institutes*, he says: "There is no other entrance into life, save as she may receive us in her womb, give us birth, nourish us from her breasts, and embrace us in her loving care to the end."

This was the system of educational religion under which it was the good fortune of Williamson Nevin to spend the first years of his life, in connection with the best kind of parental care at home, in the Presbyterian Church at Middle Spring, a few miles north of Shippensburg. He was baptized by the Rev. Dr. Robert Cooper, just about the time the vacant charge passed over into the hands of the Rev. Dr. John Moody, who served it for half a century with fidelity, success, and in primitive simplicity. The latter made many happy impressions on the mind of young Nevin, watched his career with paternal interest as he rose from one post of honor to another, and, with no unfriendly criticism, rejoiced, as he once told the writer, to see him so high above him in the Church of Christ. He became a venerable patriarch in Israel, honored by all who knew him; and Dr. Nevin, his spiritual son, who had learned so many wholesome lessons from him, had the pleasure of obtaining for him the doctorate whilst he was President of Marshall College. It was an

honor well bestowed, and well deserved towards the close of a long and faithful ministry.

In the course of time, however, a change came over the Presbyterian Church at large, which in the end brought with it corresponding changes also in the character of the old country congregation at Middle Spring. But during Dr. Nevin's childhood and early youth the spirit and life of the congregation continued to be what they were from the beginning. Pastoral visitation was a business as much as preaching. The schoolmaster stood by the side of the pastor as the servant of the Church; the school was regarded as its necessary auxiliary; and the catechism stood in honor and use everywhere, as the great organ or ruling power, which was to promote a sound religious education for all classes in the congregation. Every Sunday evening, especially, was devoted to more or less catechization in the family. Children were put on simple Bible questions as soon as they could speak. Then came the *Mother's Catechism*, as it was called; and following this, the *Assembly's Shorter Catechism*, hard to be understood, but wholesome for future use. The same instruction met the young in the parochial school, where it was usual for the master, in those days, to examine his scholars once a week in the catechism. All this was a part of the established church system; but it was only preparatory, intended simply to make room for its full operation in a higher form, when the work fell into the hands of the pastor, who regarded it as forming the main portion of his proper pastoral work.

There were two modes in which such salutary church instruction was carried forward, the practice varying from one to another in different years. In one year it was by the pastor visiting family after family and catechizing each household separately; while, in another year, it would be done by bringing together whole neighborhoods before him, at some central place, in a school-house or some private dwelling, where, in the presence of the elder, an examination was held in a public and solemn way. On these occasions, the children were examined first; but after them the grown people, all in some portion of the *Larger Westminster Catechism* previously assigned for the purpose.

All this was in harmony with the general church life of those days. It was staid, systematic, grave and somewhat sombre, making much account of sound doctrine; wonderfully bound to old established forms, and not without a large sense of the objective side of religion as embodied in the means of grace. There was much of this manifested, more particularly in the use of the holy sacraments.

The children of church-members were all baptized with few or no exceptions, and received into the Christian covenant at an early day as a matter that allowed of the least possible delay. Each communion season was a four-days-meeting, very solemn throughout, where all revolved around the central service of the Lord's Table on the Lord's Day; with a real, and not simply nominal, humiliation and fast, going before on Friday, in the way of special preparation for such a near approach into the presence of God.

Seventy years ago, this was the general order of religious life in all the Presbyterian churches in the Cumberland Valley, which, however, in a great measure has passed away, with much of its solemnity and depth of feeling. In the year 1870, Dr. Nevin, contemplating the great revolution which had come to pass in a gentle and noiseless way, thus wrote:

"Wonderful to think of it! Not only Rouse's Psalms—to which I seem to listen still as a fond echo borne in upon my soul from the old stone church at Middle Spring—have passed away with the entire generation which sung them; but the old catechetical system also is gone, and along with it, to a large extent, the general scheme of religion to which it belonged, and which served to hold it together, something which it is difficult for the present generation to understand, or to make any proper account of whatever."

That the statements here made in regard to the old Presbyterian faith are not overdrawn may be readily seen by a careful perusal of a work entitled, "*A Book of Common Prayer*, compiled from the authorized Formularies of Worship of the Presbyterian Church as prepared by Calvin, Knox, Bucer and others," published by Charles Scribner, N. Y., 1857. It is a curious fact that it made its appearance—*pari passu*—in the same year with the Provisional Liturgy in the German Reformed Church. The one was probably the echo of the other—as deep calleth unto deep.

According to tradition, Williamson Nevin when a child could scarcely pronounce the English language intelligibly until he was five or six years old. But with the development of his mind there was a corresponding development in the use of words accurately to express his thoughts. An elderly German lady—the grandmother of Rev. John M. Titzel, D.D.—saw him as a child twelve years old, when he came to see his grandmother near Orrstown, and there heard him talk. With other women she listened to him with surprise, and wondered where he had obtained all this knowledge.

After he had studied the elementary branches in the parochial school—learned whatever was to be learned there—his father took

him in hand to prepare him for college. He knew the value of a classical education himself, and was honored for his superior intelligence. Observing the budding of a strong intellect in his first-born, he so superintended his country training, as to give it direction from the beginning towards a full course of college study. At an early day, accordingly, a Latin Grammar was placed in his hands, and the father himself became the tutor. The lessons were studied irregularly, it is true, sometimes in the house and sometimes in the field, and there was no fixed hour or place for the sub-freshman's recitations; but the course was full and complete, first in Latin and afterwards in Greek, and the drilling was thorough. In after years he was wont to say that it was worth more to him than all that he learned of these languages subsequently in passing through college. In this kind of a preparatory school, on a farm, under the eye and auspices of his honored sire, and with no proctor to enforce obedience to fixed rules, Williamson made rapid progress in his studies—like Cyrus in the *Cyropedia*, who, according to Xenophon, studied because he loved to study. He was prepared to enter college when he was only a little over fourteen years of age.

But before we follow him on his way to the classic halls of his Alma Mater, we here supply the reader with a few reminiscences of the old Middle Spring Meeting House, in which he received his best religious impression during his early years. They are selected from a quaint poem, composed by his brother, Professor William M. Nevin, after a pilgrimage to the sacred spot during the year 1847.

Welcome to me once more this lone church-yard,
To which this June's bright morn have strolled my feet!
Ah! from the village left still hitherward
Outdrawn am I that good old church to greet;
And these sad graves, to pay them homage meet,
What times I come back to this neighborhood,
Long whiles between, where erst my boyhood sweet
Was sped; here o'er its joys despoiled to brood.
But, though it bringeth dole the while, it doth me good.

That old stone church! Hid in these oaks apart
I hoped Improvement ne'er would it invade;
But only Time, with his slow, hallowing art,
Would touch it, year by year, with softer shade,
And crack its walls no more; but, interlaid,
Mend them with moss. Its ancient sombre cast
To me is dearer than all art displayed
In modern churches, which, by their contrast,
Make this to stand forlorn, held in the solemn past.

For me of reverence is that church possessed,
 For in my childhood's dawn was I conveyed
 Within its dome, when was high Heaven addressed,
 Me to renew, and solemn vows were made,
 And lymph was sprent, and holy hands were laid,
 And on me was imposed a Christian's name;
 And when through youth's gay wildering paths I strayed,
 What wholesome truths, what heavenly counsels came!
 The birthright there enfeoffed, oh, may I never shame!

Its pews of pine obdurate, upright, tall,
 Its gallery mounted high, three sides around,
 Its pulpit goblet-formed, far up the wall,
 The sounding-board above with acorn crowned,
 And Rouse's Psalms which erst therein did sound
 To old fugue tunes, to some the thoughts might raise
 Of folk forlorn that certes there were found.
 Ah, no! I wot in those enchanting days
 There beauty beamed, there swelled the richest notes of praise.

Out from that pulpit's hight, deep browed and grave,
 The man of God ensconced, half-bust, was shown.
 Weighty and wise he did ne thump nor rave,
 Nor lead his folk upwrought to smile nor moan.
 By him slow-cast the seeds of truth were sown,
 Which, falling on good soil, took lasting hold,
 Not springing eftsoons, then to wilt ere grown,
 But in long time their fruits increased were told;
 Some thirty, sixty some, and some a hundred fold.

* * *

Here were they gathered every good Lord's Day
 From town, from hamlet, and from farm afar.
 Their worldly cares at home now left to stay,
 Was nothing here their pious thoughts to mar;
 The time, the place all follies did debar;
 The Church their only care; yet, sooth the State
 Did some mislead, who, nothing loth to spar,
 Ev'n here brought in untimorous debate
 Their party's cause to uphold, and speed their candidate.

* * *

Now, by this locust bowing down the knee
 As would he wish here laid, thus let me pray;
 Kind Saviour, with Thy spirit strengthen me,
 And play-feres strown, help us to walk the way
 Our fathers trode, and never from it stray;
 And when at length Thou com'st, to take Thine own,
 Grant that with them we gathered be that day.
 All saved and blessed, forever round Thy throne,
 With them to live, and love, and worship Thee alone.

III—AT SCHENECTADY FROM 1817-1821

Æt. 14-18

CHAPTER III

AFTER Williamson Nevin had fairly mastered the rudiments of the ancient languages with corresponding English branches, it was supposed that, young as he was, the time had arrived for him to go to college. His uncle, Captain John Williamson, after whom he was named, assumed the charge of his education, and by the advice of his brother, who was still living at New York, in the fall of the year 1817 he was sent to Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., which was then at the zenith of its prosperity under the presidency of the celebrated Dr. Eliphalet Nott. The place seemed to be far away at that time; and although the first steamboats were running on the North River, it took in fact as much time to reach it as it now requires for an overland trip to California. On his way he met for the last time his patriarchal kinsman, Dr. Hugh Williamson, of revolutionary fame, and was sufficiently overpowered by his venerable and commanding presence. His only word of counsel to him was: "Take care, my boy, that you do not learn to smoke; for smoking will lead you to drinking, and that is the end of all that is good." It is scarcely necessary to say that his namesake remembered his advice, and kept himself aloof from smoking, and all use of tobacco or liquor. But this required no special effort on his part, as he no doubt believed with King James in his famous "Counterblast" to tobacco, that there was no use "in men's making chimneys of their mouths."

Union College had at this time a better reputation than it deserved. Dr. Nott himself took only a small part in its actual work of instruction, and this never amounted to much more than an empty form. The institution lived largely on the outside credit of his name. It was a mistake that young Nevin was sent to college at such an early age. He was the youngest and the smallest student in his class, and a mere unfledged boy, it might be said, to the end of his college course. With the natural timidity, inherited from his father, he could hardly connect two thoughts together

when he arose to speak in the Literary Society, and was surprised at the flow of words and ideas that came from William Henry Seward, several classes in advance of him, who did not seem to know when it was time for him to take his seat. Little did Williamson imagine at this time that probably as many winged words should go forth from his tongue and pen to the world as from the embryo statesman of Utica, N. Y. Although a retiring, diffident youth, he formed some valuable friendships with fellow-students which continued during his life time. Among others he met with Taylor Lewis, who in his day came to occupy a deservedly high position in the walks of American literature. They were differently constituted, but both possessed a deep reverence for what was profound and spiritual, and became congenial friends, whom no difference of opinion could separate as the years rolled around.

The young student from Pennsylvania entered the Freshman Class, studied hard, maintained a respectable standing, and although his studies were at times interrupted by ill health, he graduated with honor in the year 1821. But his health broke down, and when he returned to his home he became a burden to himself and to all around, as he says, through a long course of dyspeptic suffering, on which he afterwards was accustomed to look back "as a sort of horrible nightmare, covering with gloom the best season of his youth."

His life at college was not uneventful. The religious experience through which he then passed was to him instructive, and indirectly, at least, exerted a salutary influence on his entire subsequent career. But favorable, as it may have been in some respects, yet in others, as he affirmed when his judgment was matured, it was decidedly unfavorable. Union College was organized on the principle of representing the collective Christianity of the so-called evangelical denominations, and as a consequence, it proceeded, throughout, practically, on the idea that the relation of religious to secular education is something abstract and outward only—the two spheres having nothing to do with each other in fact, except as mutual complementary sides, in the end, of what should be considered a right kind of general human culture. This is a common delusion, by which it is imagined so widely, that the school should be divorced from the Church, and that faith is of no account for learning and science. There was religion in the college so far as morning and evening prayers went, and the students were required to attend the different churches in town on Sunday. But there was no real church life, as such, in the institution. It seemed to

be only for the purpose of apprenticing its pupils in the different departments of a common academical knowledge, and not at all in any comprehensive sense for bringing them forward in the discipline of a true Christian life. This was something that was left to outside appliances altogether, more or less sporadic and irregular, and was in no way brought into the educational economy of the college itself, as its all pervading spirit and soul.

All this involved serious consequences, as a matter of course, although not clearly understood at the time by an ingenuous youth, trained in the old *Reformed* faith under its Presbyterian form, into which he had been baptized at Middle Spring. It was his first contact with the genius of New England Puritanism as a new phasis of religion. This was something very plausible, and with his limited experience he was not in a condition to withstand the shock. For him it amounted to a serious disturbance of his whole previous life, if not a complete breaking up of its order. He had come to college as a boy of strongly pious dispositions and exemplary religious habits, pious without exactly knowing it, never doubting that he was in some way a Christian, although, unfortunately, as he says, he had not as yet made a public profession of religion. But now one of the first lessons inculcated on him by this unchurchly system was that all this must pass for nothing, and that he must learn to look upon himself as an outcast from the family and kingdom of God—in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity—before he could get into either in the right way.

Such, he says, especially, was the instruction he received from others around him, when a “revival of religion,” as it was called, broke out among the students, and brought the instruction which he had received to a practical application. It took place in close connection with an extended system of religious excitement, which the celebrated Mr. Nettleton was then carrying on in that region of country. To the minds of many, and to that of the student from Pennsylvania, he was the impersonation of the Apostle Paul. The system appeared under its best character, it will be freely admitted, under his direction, and was altogether different from what it afterwards became in the hands of such men as Finney and Gallagher, when Mr. Nettleton himself withdrew from it his countenance. The awakening in the college was no part of its proper order. Dr. Nott had nothing to do with it; it formed in fact a sort of temporary outside episode, conducted by the Professor of Mathematics, an adroit manager, and certain “pious students” previously Christianized by the working of the machine, who now,

after such drilling and manipulation, were supposed to be competent to assist him in bringing souls to their new birth.

Along with others Williamson Nevin came into their hands in the anxious meetings and underwent "the torture of their mechanical counsel and talks," as he expresses it in his autobiography. One after another, however, of "the anxious" obtained hope, each new case, as it were, stimulating another, and finally, among the last, he struggled into something of the sort himself, with a feeble, trembling sense of comfort, which his spiritual advisers then had no difficulty in accepting as all that the case required. In this way he was converted, as he imagined, and brought into the church as if he had been altogether out of it before, about the close of the seventeenth year of his age. His conversion he thought was not fully up to his own idea at the time of what such a change ought to be; but it was as earnest and thorough, no doubt, as that of any of his fellow-students—certainly more solid and fruitful than that of the professional conductor of this revival, who subsequently showed, sad to say, how deficient his own, unfortunately, was.

Such a grave and thoughtful Christian as Dr. Nevin was the last person in his riper years to undervalue the significance of this momentous crisis in his life, or to deny altogether the benefit he derived from it. It was to him a true awakening and a real decision in the great concern of personal, experimental religion, which carried him, because he was a good subject, a growing young Christian, beyond all that he had known or experienced before. As such it entered deeply into his subsequent history, where, however, in the end, the truth was separated from the dross and made available for a higher purpose. But he was too honest and truthful in subsequent years not to utter his testimony and to speak freely of the vast amount of error that was involved in the movement from beginning to end. Thus he expressed himself in regard to it in his mature years:

"It was based throughout on the principle that regeneration and conversion lay outside of the Church, had nothing to do with baptism and Christian education, required rather a looking away from all this as more of a bar than a help to the process, and were to be sought only in the way of magical illapse or stroke from the Spirit of God—denominated by Dr. Bushnell as the *ictic* experience—as something precedent and preliminary to entering the true fold of the Shepherd and Bishop of souls! To realize this, then, became the inward strain and effort of the anxious soul; and what was held to be saving faith in the end, consisted largely in a belief that

the reality was reached. And so afterwards also, all was made to turn, in the life of religion, on alternating frames and states, and introverted self-inspection, more or less—under the guidance of some such work as Edwards on the Affections. An intense subjectivity, in one word, which is always something impotent and poor, took the place of a proper contemplation of the grand and glorious *objectivities* of the Christian life, in which all the true power of the Gospel lies.

“My own experience in this way, at the time here under consideration, was not wholesome, but rather very morbid and weak. Alas, where was my mother, the Church, at the very time I most needed her fostering arms? Where was she, I mean, with her true sacramental sympathy and care? How much better had it been for me, if I had only been drawn from myself, by some right soul communication with the mysteries of the old Christian Creed! As it was, I could not repeat the Creed, and as yet knew it only as one of the questionable relics of Popery. I had never heard it, even at Middle Spring; and it was entirely foreign to the religious life of Union College.

“So I went on with my spiritual life to the close of my college course in 1821, when I returned home a complete bankrupt for the time in bodily health. My whole constitution, indeed, was, I may say, in an invalid state. I was dyspeptic both in body and mind.”

Had he been, after his awakening, under the care of a judicious pastor, or catechist, who would have taught him the meaning of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; had he then with others been asked to kneel before the altar in the presence of the congregation, where the minister could pray for them that they might receive the Holy Spirit; and had he thus, according to the Presbyterian Liturgy, been received into the Church, he would have been very much strengthened and confirmed in his faith. It would have been a true confirmation, even though the minister's hands were not imposed on him at the time. And the probability, moreover, is, that he would have returned from Schenectady a better Christian, in better health, and in a more cheerful, happy state of mind.

IV—AT HOME FROM 1821-1823

Æt. 18-20

CHAPTER IV

DR. NEVIN having graduated when he was still in his nineteenth year, the case seemed to require that he should wait a few years before entering upon his professional studies. His mind would become more mature, he would be better acquainted with the world, and be better prepared to profit by the new studies that might engage his attention. But as our times are in the hands of the Lord, so here in his case, the question as it regards what he was to do next after his graduation, was decided for him by divine Providence itself. His health was such as to require him to stay at home in the country, and, as it seemed to him, to do nothing. His disease, dyspepsia, was of the worst kind and caused him much discomfort and suffering. It had a fashion of its own, and it was something more serious a good deal than what goes by that name generally in our day. It appeared in the character of a new disease, which fell as a scourge on sedentary people, particularly of the younger class. We give a description of his sad condition at this time in his own plaintive language :

“I had the complaint in its worst character, and it hung on to me with a sort of death-like grip, which for a time seemed to mock all hope of recovery or relief. I experienced all sorts of painful and unpleasant symptoms, was continually miserable and weak, had an intense consciousness all the time of the morbid workings of my physical system, lived in a perpetual casuistry of dietetic rules and questions, and ran through all imaginable helps and cures, only to find that in my case, at least, they signified nothing. At the same time, of course, the disease lay as a cloud upon my mind, entered as a secret poison into all my feelings, and undermined the strength of my will. Emphatically might it have been called, in every view, a thorn in the flesh, and a very messenger of Satan sent to buffet me with sore and heavy blows.” If he could have read German at this time and sung Luther’s great psalm, beginning with the sad but appropriate words, *Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu*

Dir, they might have been a comfort to him, perhaps medicine both to his soul and body.

"And the strength of Christ, it must be sorrowfully confessed, was not made perfect in my weakness, for there was no proper room offered it to become so, in the reigning character of my religious life as it stood at this time. As I have said before, this was also of a most sickly dyspeptic habit and I was poorly qualified, therefore, to show the power of grace, over against the weakness of nature. No doubt my physical condition had itself much to do with the morbid character of my religion, since, when the whole nervous system has come thus to be disordered and deranged, it is not possible that the higher life of the soul, in any case, should not become involved, more or less seriously, in the general wreck. But apart from this, my piety in its own nature was not of the sort required for such an emergency as that by which it was now tried as by fire. It was of the sort rather to aggravate and increase the trial; for, as I have already said, it was intensely subjective and introspective. Instead of looking to the outward redeeming facts and powers of Christianity, it was too much a habit of looking into its own constitution, as if to be satisfied with the goodness of this first of all were the only way to true religious satisfaction in any other form. And as all was sure to be found largely unsatisfactory here, what would the result of such painful autopsy be—this everlasting studying of symptoms, this perpetual feeling of the pulse—other than the weakening of faith, and the darkening of hope, and the souring of that most excellent grace of charity itself, which is the bond of perfectness and of all virtue—in one word, a hopeless valetudinarian state of the soul, answering in all respects to the broken condition of its outward tenement, the body.

"This was the order of piety I brought home with me from college. It was not after the pattern which had been set before me in my early youth in the Middle Spring Church. But the Presbyterian churches of the Valley generally, and Middle Spring itself, were not true to their old position. The change of which I have spoken before, had already begun to make itself felt. The catechetical system was passing away. What had once been the living power of the old style of religion was, in fact, dying out; and the motion of a new sort of religious life, heard of from other parts of the country, or exemplified irregularly among outside sects, was silently at work in the minds of many; causing it be felt, more or less, that the modes of thought, handed down from the fathers, had become a good deal prosy and formal, and needed at least to have in-

fused into them a more modern spirit. There was a slow process of Puritanizing going forward throughout the Presbytery of Carlisle, which, however, was still met with no small amount of both theoretical and practical resistance from different quarters, giving the case the character of a continuous drawing in opposite directions, such as all could feel, without being able to make it plain in words.

"All this only helped, of course, to promote the confusion, which was already at work in my own religious experience. As a consequence, I was, in some measure, divided between the conservative and the would-be progressive tendencies, having a sort of constitutional inborn regard for the true underlying sense of the first, but being drawn, also, toward the second by emotional sensibilities, which were not to be repressed. I held on outwardly to the regularities of the old Presbyterian life, as they were kept up in the Middle Spring Church; but in thought and feeling I went far, at the same time, in justifying different Methodistical modes of piety, as being on the whole, perhaps, of more account for the salvation of the world. I was of that awakened young class in the congregation, who saw for the most part only a state of dead formality in its church services, and found it somewhat difficult to believe that the older sort of people generally had any kind of religion at all.

"So much then for my general religious state, as far as I can call it to mind, in this darkly remembered, and, by no means, pleasant interval in my life. It was confused and dark; I might also say, without form and void, a sort of tumultuating chaos, in which conflicting elements and forces vainly sought for reconciliation, and which it was plain only some new power from heaven could reduce to order and peace. As for theology, my great *vade mecum* and thesaurus, in those days, was Scott's heavy Commentary on the Old and New Testament."

Under these circumstances, it could hardly be expected that the valetudinarian should make much progress in his knowledge of books, or in severe intellectual study of any kind. It was not desirable that he should. Evidently he already knew more than he could digest, and it was enough if he could retain the small amount of learning that he had brought with him from college, so as to keep it from gliding away from his possession. His power of intellectual assimilation was not much better than that which was physical, and he was already under the weight of a double dyspepsia. Study, or even reading, for whole weeks and months, was a weariness to the flesh, during which the grasshopper was a burden, and desire failed, by reason of physical prostration.

But Providence itself had sent him into this retreat in the desert for a good and wise purpose—that he might rest and rally his energies for the busy life that was to follow. He was in the right place, in the bosom of nature, which was doing for him more perhaps than he was aware of. During these two years, however, he was by no means in the condition of a hybernating animal. His condition resembled rather that of the fields covered with snow, where the growing wheat only waits for the April sun that it may spring up in all its native luxuriousness. Unquestionably he must have made some progress in strength and knowledge, whether he observed it or not in his autopsies. There was a useful discipline in the experience through which he was called to pass; and his outward relations and employments became, in various ways, a profitable school, whose practical lessons in the end inured to the benefit of others no less than to his own.

Sometimes when a rich dinner was served for the family, whether its very odor was grateful or repugnant to him, in order to protect his health, to the dismay of father and mother, he would deny himself of rich viands, mount his horse and ride four or five miles off into the country. Nature was to him the best nutriment. In his out-door exercises he became interested in the science of Botany, and during the summer he prosecuted this cheerful study with much diligence and zeal, scouring the country for miles around on foot or horseback in search of plants and flowers. Another slight exercise he found in improving his knowledge of the French language. It did not occur to him at that time to pay any attention to the study of the German. He was surrounded by those who spoke the language, but it was to him, then, nothing more than common, useless *Pennsylvania Dutch*, and it was one of the last things dreamed of, that in after life he would turn to it with avidity to possess himself of its treasures. That was a discovery which he made only in the fulness of time.

Another diversion, from which he derived an important educational advantage, was a debating club in the ancient borough of Shippensburg, nearer to which his father had come to reside. This it was his privilege to attend regularly every week through the winter months. It was in its way a most honorable literary senate, an institution like many others in the Cumberland Valley, where the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians trained themselves for public speaking. His physical ailment naturally led him at this time to dabble considerably in medical reading, which probably did him more harm than good; but he found a more healthy diversion in writing

for the public press, something that he had learned from his father, which disclosed an editorial tendency that exhibited itself subsequently likewise in other members of the Nevin family. A number of his poetical productions, based on David's Psalms or the Odes of Horace, appeared in a religious periodical newly started at Carlisle, in whose columns Dr. Bethune, a student at the time in Dickinson College, was then exercising his maiden muse, in the same way. This was a useful literary exercise, but the author naively remarks in his review of himself, that whatever talent he may have had for the composition of poetry in his youth, it must have left him afterwards—except, we may add, only on one or two occasions. With this spirit of poetry, may have been connected the military spirit, which led him into a crack military company at Shippensburg, and filled his imagination with pleasant dreams, more or less romantic, in the high and mighty office of *Orderly Sergeant*, with which he had the honor of being unanimously invested in the company.

His regular business, however, so far as he could engage in business at all, was working on his father's farm. At first, as we may suppose, he was not able to accomplish much in this direction on account of his general physical weakness. But, as time went on, he gradually gained a certain amount of strength, and in the end could put himself to all kinds of agricultural labor. This indeed seemed to be the only chance he had for regaining anything like tolerable health; but he came, as he informs us, to look upon it more and more as his only proper avocation for life. In fact, the idea of going on to prepare himself for a learned profession was now pretty effectively crushed out of his mind. "I had no heart or spirit," he says, "for anything of the sort and was disposed to look upon my existence as a kind of general failure." He, therefore, continued to plough and harrow his father's acres; but in due course of time God called him from the plough, as He did Elisha of old, in order that he might be a prophet in Israel.

Although a broken reed, he was not allowed, after all, to rest quietly in his own morbid conclusions. With some improvement in his health, whilst nearing the age of twenty-one, he felt himself urged towards a resumption of study through inward as well as outward pressure in a way which became more and more difficult to withstand. There was, indeed, but one direction in which the force of this constraint made itself felt. If he was to prepare himself for any one profession, it seemed to be admitted all around that it must be the Christian ministry. He was considered to have a

born determination to that office from the beginning. "That was looked at," he says, "in my being sent to college, and neighbors and friends held it to be my proper destination afterwards, pretty much as a matter of course. And then I was shut up to it also quite as decidedly, in my own mind, so far at least, that I had no power to think seriously of any other profession. I could not devote myself to medicine or law. But just here came in my chief difficulty. Could I then devote myself with free conscience to divinity? The negative side of the call was clear enough—this profession, or else *no* profession; but how about the positive side? Was that also clear? Not by any means to my own mind, for my whole life, as already shown, was in a fog. This it was especially that caused me to hesitate and pause, when all around me appeared to think I should be going to the Theological Seminary.

"The pressure, however, could not be escaped, and so, finally, through no small tribulation of spirit, I was brought to a decision. I would at all events go to Princeton and study theology, that much at least was settled. Whether I would enter the ministry afterwards or not, was another question. A course of three years in the Seminary might solve the doubt in different ways. One way thought of was that of my own death, for I was still in the merciless hold of what I felt to be an incurable chronic disease, and had a general imagination that my life, in any case, was destined to be short. When I went to college, it had been with great misgivings in regard to my boyish scholarship. Such was my high ideal at the time of the reigning standard of college education. In proposing to enter the Theological Seminary I had like imaginings now in regard to my piety, which I felt to be of a very poor sort again, over against my similar idealization of the reigning piety of this venerable institution. Princeton divinity students, as far as they appeared among us at Shippensburg or Middle Spring, had a certain air of conscious sanctimony about them, which seemed to be rebuking all the time the common worldliness of these old congregations, especially on Sundays; and gave the notion of a *young Presbyterianism*, which was in a fair way soon to turn their existing religious life into old foggyism. I was duly impressed with all this, in the case of three or four excellent young men, now in heaven, whom I well remember; and it was not, therefore, without a certain degree of fear and trembling, that I left my home in the fall of 1823 and became matriculated, as a student, in the school of the prophets at Princeton."

V—AT PRINCETON FROM 1823-1828

Æt. 20-25

CHAPTER V

THUS for a second time young Mr. Nevin left his home in Franklin County, beneath the shadow of the Kittatinnies, to pursue his studies elsewhere. He knew whither he was going, and the prospect of allaying his thirst at the fountain of Presbyterian theology and orthodoxy was not without its charms. He was not entirely disappointed. Theological science was not without its intricacies, and had its difficult problems to solve, but they were congenial to his mind, and he was now prepared to confront them; and as strength permitted, to wrestle with them. He must be allowed here to give his own impressions, when, over fifty years afterwards, he took a retrospective view of his life at Princeton.

"I look back," he says, "upon my days spent at Princeton, as, in some respects, the most pleasant part of my life. My entrance into the Theological Seminary brought with it, of itself, a certain feeling of repose, by putting to an end much of what had been painfully undetermined before, in regard to my life, and by offering me the prospect of a quiet harbor for three years, at least (should I live that long), from further outside cares and fears; whilst I was met here, at the same time, with all the opportunities and helps I needed for prosecuting with energy the new work in which I had embarked, and I was in no hurry to get through the Seminary as many seemed to be. Looking beyond it to me was only looking into the dark. I cared not how long I might rest in it as my home.

"So I gave myself up steadily to its engagements and pursuits; and I did so, by general acknowledgment, with the best success. The institution itself was at the time, I may say, in the height of its prosperity and reputation. Dr. Miller and Dr. Alexander were in the full vigor of their spiritual powers, the two men best qualified in the whole Presbyterian Church, unquestionably, for the high position in which they were placed; while Professor Hodge, still young, and only recently invested with the distinction of being their colleague, gave ample promise also, even then, of what he has

since become for the Christian world. It was a privilege to sit at the feet of those excellent men. So I felt it to be at the time; and so I have never ceased to regard it as having been, through all the years since. On the best terms with my revered instructors, in most pleasant relations throughout with my fellow-students, in the midst of an old academic retreat, where the very air seemed to be redolent of literature and science, with no necessity and no wish to pass beyond it, is it any wonder that I came to look on Princeton as a second home, or that memory should still turn back to what it then was for my spirit, as an abode only of pleasantness?"

This happiness and peace, however, were only relative, not absolute, not what the Italians, in their fair country, call a *dolce far niente*. Thus it is always with believers in their pilgrimage through this vale of tears. The burden that he had brought along with him to the Seminary did not fall from his shoulders when he crossed the Delaware. His bodily ailments showed some promise of improvement, but he was in poor health all the while. This finally took the form of a settled affection of the liver; a heavy burden at first, which, however, in the course of years, grew gradually more tolerable, although as late as the year 1870 he said "that there had not been a day of his life up to that time, in which he had not felt more or less pain from this additional malady."

He had also brought with him the dualism in his religious life to which we have already referred. Embarrassments, fears and doubts, with regard to his own personal religion, the result of reading many casuistical books, still attended him, as it seems, all the time, as they have many other earnest believers, who have not always been content to receive the kingdom of heaven as a little child; or as many pagans do, when they first hear of the glad tidings of salvation.

*Cælum, non animum, mutant,
Quî trans mare currunt.*

The question of his call to the ministry hung with him always in painful suspense, creating within him doubt and uncertainty whether he should ever be able to enter it at all. There was much in the institution to promote earnest concern of this kind. Dr. Alexander's searching and awakening casuistry, especially in the Sunday afternoon conferences, was of a character not easy to be forgotten. It was by no means uncommon, we are told, for students, and these of the most serious and earnest class, to go away from these meetings in a state of spiritual discouragement bordering on despair, rather than in the spirit that called them in ener-

getic tones to watch and fight and pray. Here again, Dr. Nevin says, he had his own experiences, at times exceedingly deep and solemn, often with strong crying and tears, going in the way of a soul-crisis quite beyond the crisis of what was called his conversion at Union College; and yet never coming up to his own idea of what the new birth ought to be.

"The two different theories or schemes of piety refused to coalesce, and there seemed to be no one at hand to proclaim a broader and a better one, which would embrace what was good in each, and yet stand above them in a higher life of the soul. The Puritan theory, coming in from New England, pervaded the revival system of the times, and assumed to be the only true sense of the Gospel all over the country. Over against it stood the old proper Presbyterian theory of the seventeenth century, which was also the general non-conformist theory of that time, as represented by Baxter, Owen, Howe and other like teachers of the same age. There was a difference between the two systems, which could be felt better than explained. The old system was not perfect, nor, by any means, all that the true idea of the Church required; but it stood much nearer to it than the more modern one, whose great characteristic it was on principle to supplant it, and to be unchurchly and unsacramental in its movements. My religious life, as already stated, started in the bosom of the old Reformed order. It belonged to the Presbyterianism of the Westminster Assembly." His rugged nature or constitutional life, therefore, would never allow him to feel altogether at home in the more modern system.

"The instruction I received at Princeton," he says, "had much in it that went against the new here, and in favor of the old. Dr. Miller was strong, more particularly in certain ecclesiastical points, that would not always dove-tail with the new way of thinking; while Dr. Alexander was always careful to recommend the divinity and piety of the seventeenth century, showing that they formed the elements in which mainly his own piety lived, moved, and had its being. But with all this, the unchurchly scheme, nevertheless, continued to exercise a strong practical force at Princeton, which an unsettled mind was not always prepared to withstand. The teaching was perhaps, not in all cases, steadily and consistently in one direction. It was evident that but few of the students cared much for the divinity of the Reformed Church in the seventeenth century, whether in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, France or Great Britain. The prevailing style of religion, in the Seminary and elsewhere, lay in another way, and the life of the students,

whether they wished it to be so or not, fell inwardly and experimentally, more or less, under captivity to its power." Thus the conflict of opposing forces continued through all the years at Princeton in the mind of the perplexed theological sophomore in search of more light, although, as he informs us, towards the end of his course the conservative tendency, which prevailed with him at a later time, began to gain, to some extent, the upper hand.

Among the different departments of study in the Seminary, that of Oriental and Biblical Literature, which was at the time in the hands of Dr. Charles Hodge, engaged at once a large share of his time and attention. This came to pass from no planning of his own, rather against his own will; and it is a somewhat curious and interesting fact, as it had an important bearing upon his subsequent life. He had provided himself, at some cost, with the necessary text-books for the study of the Hebrew, and had just got far enough in the grammar to find it a wilderness of apparent difficulties, when the unwelcome discovery stared him in the face, that all the study of the students generally amounted only to a smattering knowledge of some few chapters of the Bible, which was pretty sure to be forgotten again through neglect in after-life. The thought of so dry a task, ending in such barren and useless result, destroyed all zeal in the matter, and he came to the conclusion to omit the study altogether.

Fortunately, however, he happened to have a wise and thoughtful counsellor in his friend, Matthew L. Fullerton, his room-mate, who was then in the senior class of the Seminary. He would not listen to his dropping the study of the Hebrew. How could he know, he said, what use he might have for it hereafter in the service of the Church? In vain he plead his distaste for it, his want of firm health, and his own persuasion, that, if he ever should enter the ministry, it would be in some out-of-the-way country congregation, where Hebrew would be of no sort of use whatever. His friend only laughed at such kind of talk, and put it so much the more earnestly to his conscience to do what he held to be plainly his present duty in the case, leaving consequences and results with God. In this way good advice in the end prevailed.

"I took up again my half-discarded grammar," he says, "and determined, cost what it might, to make myself master of the new situation. This meant for me now, however, much more than gaining a mere introduction to the Hebrew language. I must make it my own, so as to have it in sure use, and to be in no danger of losing it again. So to work with it I went in good full earnest, and to

my great comfort, in a short time, the lion which was in the way disappeared altogether. I soon pushed ahead of the class in the exercise of reading, and by the time they had got through three or four chapters, I was at the end of Genesis. Then I laid down my plan to tax myself with a new lesson privately every day. The task soon became a pleasure, and in this way, before the close of my course, I made out to finish the whole Bible. I had a right then to be considered, as I was considered in fact, the best Hebrew scholar in the institution."

This unforeseen and casual turn, which was given to his theological studies at the beginning, exercised, in fact, a determining influence on his whole seminary course, and through that, as we shall see, on his subsequent history. It led him to devote himself, more than he otherwise might have done, to biblical and exegetical learning generally. It opened the way for his temporary employment as teacher at Princeton, and that position in turn drew after it immediately his call to the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny City, Pa. God thus leadeth the blind by His Providence in paths that they have not known, making darkness light before them and crooked ways straight.

But so far as his future life beyond the three years at Princeton was concerned, all was still painfully dark. He looked forward with fear and anxiety to the close of his course, and it seemed to be coming only too fast. In the end he felt himself precluded from entering the ministry, and began to cast about for some outlet for the present from his difficulties in some other employment. His idea was to take a classical school, as a sphere in which he could be most useful, and perhaps the most successful. His letters to his friends at this time were gloomy and full of distress. A few extracts from several received from his excellent father, called forth by his doleful self-bewailings, when he was getting ready to leave Princeton and to enter upon some kind of public life, will throw light upon his inward state at this particular period of time.

"I should be sorry, my dear son," he wrote in 1825, "should I live to see you mount the sacred desk, induced by any other motive than the love of Christ and the salvation of souls. But I should also be sorry, if you should be deterred from preaching the Gospel by aiming at such a state of separation from worldly things as is seldom attainable, and by no means desirable; because were such an indifference to the things of this world universally to obtain, it would very soon come to an end.

"We find our great Guide and Master going about doing good,

mixing and conversing with all kinds of men, present at a wedding, directing the fishermen, supplying food and wine even by a miracle. The accounts which we read of the lives and experiences of pious men are to be received with caution. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. Of those with whose originals I became acquainted, the writer, even when he comes nearest the truth, imitates the painter, who gives a prominent appearance to beauty and elegance, but throws defects and deformities into the shade. I believe there are as pious men now living as Edwards, Doddridge, or those others you mention.

"But there is still remaining in the world a little of that pious fraud, as it is usually termed, and the writers of memoirs of good men, whether auto-biographical or otherwise, think it better for the interest of our religion to conceal those blemishes which are inseparable from our nature, and present a faultless character for the imitation of posterity. But they err in this. Their design may be good; but the effect is the reverse. They teach us to expect what never yet happened. So did not Paul.

"And why, my son, stagger at what is written of those men when the pupil of Gamaliel presents himself to you in far other guise. He wrote not as Baxter and Watts, but he held the pen of inspiration. He conceals neither his faults nor his fears. His Letter to Timothy is by far more valuable than all that has been published on that subject since. But blessed be God, we may still ascend in our inquiry after truth, and drink at the fountain head. Remember that our Lord and Master, Himself, catechized Peter as to his fitness to take upon himself the pastoral office. The examination was plain, short and simple, easy to be understood, and at once it reached the heart. If I stood thus, it would be enough for me to set out on my embassy—if otherwise qualified as to human learning and talents for teaching—regardless of all the experience that has since then been left on record. 'Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?' On his answering in the affirmative He immediately set him apart to the sacred office by saying: 'Feed my Lambs.'

Again in 1826 the judicious father writes: "The Presbytery of Carlisle will be organized in Carlisle next month; but I do not understand from your last letter whether you intend to place yourself under its care *now* or not. You are clearly enough understood to say, that you would not preach the Gospel now if admitted; and from your allusions to 'disappointing expectations' and being urged to the ministry, I must conclude that you are still doubtful whether you shall enter the sacred desk as a teacher. On one point let us understand one another. I thought that I never pointed out a pro-

fession to you, as I had determined never to do so to any of my sons. It is true I rejoiced when you yourself looked Zionward, and proposed to enlist under the banner and become a soldier of Jesus Christ. I gave you cheerfully to Him, with thanks and with prayers, that even you might be accepted and made useful and wise to win souls.

"But far be it from me, even at this stage of preparation, to urge you into the ministry. Unless you feel that you can take upon you that sacred office, with your whole heart and soul devoted to your Master's cause, never to look back, having put your hand to the plough, you had better stop where you are. However I might have desired that you should preach the Gospel, believe me, my son, I would much rather you would never enter the pulpit, than that you should do so with doubt or hesitation, or, I would add, incapacity. You would do no good.

"You have been too long immersed in schools and seminaries for the good of your bodily health; and it may be that the health of your mind would also receive benefit by separating yourself from lectures and recitations. It is time for you to see the world as it is, and know your fellow creatures as they are. There is danger of your forming erroneous opinions of men and things, of your conceiving and brooding over ideas of duty and conduct altogether utopian and visionary, never to be realized." These were words that were well spoken. They embody the spirit of a sound Christian faith, and with it good common sense, not as yet affected by the prevailing casuistry of the times.

From this correspondence it may be seen that the son was in doubts in regard to the future down to the last year of his theological course at Princeton; and so it continued to the end. Something, however, had to be done, and he therefore corresponded with Dr. De Witt, of Harrisburg, with regard to opening a classical school in that place. Such a situation might give him useful employment for awhile, and at the same time leave him free to act as Providence might direct. The profession of teaching after all was for him, in his existing state of mind, the only allowable alternative to his entering at once into the ministry, and it might turn out to be his future mission. But "man proposes, and God disposes." Just at this time, all at once, "the high black wall before him gave way, and light fell upon his pathway, as unexpectedly, as if it had opened before him from heaven itself." Arrangements had been made that Dr. Hodge should make a two years' visit to Europe, with a view of prosecuting his studies in its Universities,

particularly in Germany, so as to better qualify himself for his duties in the Seminary.

"And so now," says Dr. Nevin, "within only a few days of the close of the Seminary year, and without the least hint of any such thing having reached me before, he tendered me in form the privilege of filling his place, as assistant teacher in the Seminary during the time of his absence. The salary was small, only two hundred dollars a year; not quite enough to live on, in those days. But I made no account of that. It seemed the Lord's doings, and was marvellous in my eyes, leaving no room for any doubt with regard to duty."

He was a man of prayer, and had sent up many earnest cries to God in secret that He might direct his way, and accordingly he felt persuaded that his prayers were being answered. A longer stay at Princeton would be more useful to him than a classical school at Harrisburg. He therefore accepted this appointment at once. The work of his life was to be vastly more important than one in the school-room, and he needed still more time and reflection to prepare himself for it. As yet he knew little or nothing of what God intended him to accomplish in his day. In fact, he himself did not yet know whether he had anything at all of special note to accomplish in the world.

Thus his three years at Princeton were lengthened into five; and his existence became in this way very much entwined with the place as a settled residence. His studies, as a matter of course, went on more effectively than before. Whilst he instructed others, he instructed himself also. To learn and to teach are, in a certain sense, reciprocal needs and mutually complementary powers. They go hand in hand together.

A heavy burden having thus been removed in a measure from his mind, Professor Nevin worked with energy and zeal. As a consequence, having access to pleasant and cultured society, he became more cheerful and happy. His good father in Franklin County gave him the use of one of his best horses, on which he was to take exercise every day in pleasant weather—except Sunday. The father further stipulated with the son that he was to pay for his feed, so that the support of the horse might not come out of his salary. He also saw to it that the animal was properly caparisoned, "in order that he might appear decently on classic ground."

During this period, as the result of the direction which his studies had taken in the Seminary, he wrote his widely known *Biblical*

Antiquities, to which he was stimulated by an urgent request, which he says he felt he had no right to refuse. In the hands of the American Sunday-school Union, it has been circulated far and wide, and continues in general popular use, without a rival, in Christian families to the present time. It was one of the very best and most instructive works ever published by the Union. It is not derogatory to this small work to say that it contains little or nothing that may not be found in Jahn's large work on the same subject, or in his Abridgement in Latin, translated in this country by Dr. Upham in 1837. The arrangement of subjects on the whole is the same by both authors. But Jahn's works are learned, dry as they are learned and accurate, consulted for the most part only as books of reference, or studied as text books in the schools. Nevin's "*Antiquities*," on the other hand, are full of life and spirit, and can be read with edification by Christians generally. Learning, or mere barren facts, are here animated by the spiritual life which properly pertains to them as their background, and gives to them their true meaning. It is this spiritual character or tendency that imparts to the *Antiquities* a special charm to all diligent readers of the Holy Scripture.

VI—AT HOME FROM 1828-1830

Æt. 25-27

CHAPTER VI

HIS pleasant student life at Princeton ended with the return of Dr. Hodge from Europe in 1828. Before that, however, he had been fixed on as the proper person for the chair of Biblical Literature in the new Theological Seminary, which the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was about to establish at Allegheny, Pa. In the meantime, having previously placed himself under the care of the Carlisle Presbytery, he appeared before that body at a special meeting, held Oct. 2, 1828, in the city of Philadelphia, and after a satisfactory examination, was licensed to preach the Gospel, after which, for more than a whole year, he availed himself of opportunities as they presented themselves to exercise his gifts, in a more or less itinerant way, for the edification of the churches.

"As already intimated," he says, "it had come to a sort of general understanding before I left Princeton, that I was to pass into the service of the new Western Theological Seminary, whose location was now fixed at Allegheny City, at the time a mere suburb of Pittsburgh. Dr. Herron, the President of the Board of Directors, had come on to Princeton for the purpose of consulting with the professors there, in regard to a proper person for the position, and was at once satisfied that I was the only one to be thought of in the case. The discovery was to him, at the same time, a very welcome one; for although as yet he knew nothing of me personally, he had been in his youth an intimate acquaintance and friend of my father, both having grown up on the banks of the same beautiful stream—my own birth place also—which still bears its old name of Herron Branch, derived from the name of his family. He assumed towards me, from the first, the relation of a kinsman, treated me throughout as a son, and continued my firm and fast friend on to the end of his life in the eighty-seventh year of his age"—a *nomen clarum et venerabile*, in the Church.

"The way, however, was not open for the new institution to go

into full operation at once; and, besides, my own health seemed to require building up, if it were possible, by pursuing, for a time at least, a different kind of life. So there was another interim or break, in what might be called my general academical career, which, however, was not so long this time indeed as it was when I came home from college. It lasted only fourteen months. But the period was spent in much the same way as before, as a general vacation from all study."

At this time it so happened that he became interested—somewhat enthusiastically—in the study of *Political Economy*, through his acquaintance with Professor Vethake, who taught that subject with ability in the College at Carlisle. It appeared to him that this science could be used with good effect as an argument in favor of Christianity. He, therefore, became so carried away with its pretensions that he prepared an article on its meritorious character, for publication in some religious paper, where, however, an older and wiser head, a friend of his, did not allow it to make its appearance. Subsequently he modified his views on the new science which promised so much, and his admiration for it passed away. Afterward he had no regrets that his maiden effort was ignored by his friend, Dr. Green, the editor. This branch of knowledge, as he affirmed, starting from its own merely natural and secular premises, cannot bring any positive aid to Christianity. Like all other merely humanitarian views of the world's life, it can only end in showing negatively, through its own helplessness, the necessity of help from a higher sphere than that of mere nature—that is, a strictly *super-natural* redemption for society, no less than for the individual himself. This, indeed, is true of all the sciences, of moral philosophy no less than astronomy. They, with philosophy in general, can only come to the feet of Christ, and like the wise men of old, laying their treasures there, seek for the redemption of humanity and the solution of all life problems from Him in His wonderful nature and work. The arts and sciences in right relation to Christianity are in the highest degree useful hand-maidens; but then they derive their usefulness more from Him, who is the Truth, than they do from themselves.

Study, however, during this interim, was not the special occupation of one who had just been solemnly admitted to the ranks of the ministry. He found this rather whilst in quest of health and strength, in preaching the Gospel whenever an opportunity presented itself. At Princeton he had been accustomed to do a good deal of exhorting and teaching in an informal way, but now as he

was licensed to preach in full form, he considered it a duty as well as a privilege to exercise such gifts as he possessed in a regular way. He preached or lectured in churches and in school-houses frequently, and as often as twice a week, and his discourses being of a plain, popular character, caused them to be received with favor.

From the start he adopted the plan of preaching without manuscript, trusting, for the most part, simply to a brief outline of points for his guidance in bringing into use his previous preparation. This subjected him, at times, to a slow and hesitating manner of speaking; but he assures us that however it might be for others, it was the only method in the end for himself. It was also a gratification to his honored father, for this was a point on which he, with many others at that time, held no uncertain opinions. In one of his letters, he thus expresses himself:

"The longer I live the more convinced I have felt that this practice of reading sermons, which is becoming so lamentably prevalent, is doing much harm to our Church. Who does not see, that the Methodists, blundering along, and limping as they go, secure the attention of their audiences better than the formal reader of the most labored productions? There is a certain something—sympathy or whatever else it may be called—communicated by the eye, and flowing indeed from every lineament in the face of an earnest, animated speaker, which is worse than lost in the reader of the same discourse, ever and anon feeding his utterance from the supply before him. The misery of ministers confining themselves to their written productions does not end with their pulpit exercises. They are painfully deficient when called upon, as it often happens, to speak a word at a funeral, in a sick room, or in many other places, which will occur to you. Now all ready utterance, as well as memory, is improved by exercising it; and oh! how I have felt for the habitual reader on such occasions! But enough. May the good God who has hitherto protected and led you on, and to whose care I have freely surrendered you, furnish you most amply with those gifts and graces, which He knows will best forward His mighty work, and make even you instrumental in winning many souls to Christ."

The father here, doubtless, had much to do in confirming the habit of extemporaneous speaking in the son. It gave him full freedom in the pulpit, and it was of much assistance to him in the discussion of difficult questions at Synod and elsewhere. In speaking his language flowed as accurately and idiomatically in pure English, as if he had had his manuscript before him. But his

facility in preaching in this way, made it less necessary for him to write out his discourses, and he has left very few behind. His great sermons, very many of them, were well worthy of preservation in book form, although he never thought of anything of the kind. Now they live only in the memories of those who heard them. At the present day, they would be quite as valuable to thoughtful readers as his published articles or books. In the latter he addressed the head; in the former he appealed much more to the heart.

"I may add," he says, "in regard to my preaching that, as there was no artificial oratory about it, so neither was it in the ranting Methodistical vein. Its object was to set forth the so-called evangelical truths of Christianity, as I then understood them, in a thorough, earnest and practical way. In this view, it had a tendency to take in it more or less of a John-the-Baptist-style, holding its position on the threshold of the Gospel more than in the very sanctuary and bosom of the Gospel itself. It was felt to be awakening, searching and solemn; and as something on the whole considerably ahead of the humdrum, formal manner, which, in the view of many, had been too much the fashion with the older ministers. As for myself, however, it gave me very little satisfaction; and I never left the pulpit without feeling (and *knowing*) that my work was very much of a botch—so far short did it seem to come of my own idea of right preaching."

His religious earnestness during this period of rest was very great, and not laid aside when he left the pulpit. It manifested itself in his daily walk, and made itself felt very sensibly in the family circle. When he returned from college, amidst all his discouragements, he daily conducted family worship, very much to the delight of his parents; and to the especial relief of his father, who, on account of a natural diffidence, found it a severe task to make a free prayer. But when the son came from Princeton, and was a licensed minister, there was a priest in the family, who felt it to be his duty strictly to observe the hour of family worship, and to make it as thorough and impressive as possible. The younger members of the family were all required to be present and in their places; and if the services were at times protracted by the introduction of homilies or practical remarks, they were expected to pay strict and solemn attention. They listened as well as they could, while the incense of prayer and praise ascended morning and evening from this happy country home.

Among other things, the cause of Temperance, which was then

something new, engaged the special zeal of the licentiate just from Princeton. He threw himself into it with all the ardor of a young Melanchthon and became an agitator and a rigid temperance advocate, expecting all to give "aid to the mighty reformation, which seemed to be looming in the future." There was, he says, presumption in this feeling, of course, and, no doubt, a touch of juvenile fanaticism in his preaching on the subject. It was one on which it seemed to him, that to be as intolerant as possible was doing God's service, and the more fiery the zeal the better. He published an address on Temperance, full of severe language, quite as much so as that of any ultra modern advocate; and his temperance sermons bore down, especially, without any sort of mitigation, on what he held to be the heinous sin of manufacturing and selling ardent spirits. If this gave offence in certain quarters, he rather courted it than otherwise, as a proof of his fidelity. It was a cheap sort of martyrdom in a good cause. Once he preached two sermons on the same day to a large and wealthy congregation, and though he had come only to supply their vacant pulpit for a single Sunday, some of the people were under the impression that he was a candidate for the vacancy and spoke of getting him as their pastor; but his second sermon before them was an uncompromising assault on distillers and rumsellers, to which class of persons, unfortunately, several of the "pillars of the Church" belonged. The consequence was, of course, the dropping of his name, and a quiet understanding all around that, even if he could be had, he would not be there, at least, "just the right man in the right place"—as a prominent elder, owner of a distillery, expressed himself.

In the spring of 1829 he made an extensive excursion through the country on horseback for the benefit of his health. He crossed the mountains and went to Pittsburgh to learn more about the condition of the new Theological Seminary. It had been started under Dr. Janeway, but he had gone away in disgust; because the whole enterprise looked as if it was destined to end in a failure. Still Dr. Luther Halsey was expected to be on the ground, and it was now arranged that Professor Nevin should hold himself in readiness to join him at an early day. His excursion carried him afterwards to Erie, the Falls of Niagara, Saratoga Springs, Schenectady, New Haven, Princeton and finally home again in July. Subsequently he took charge of the vacant congregations of Big Spring for the period of four months, as the stated supply. Many friends there, and among them especially their former minister, Dr. Williams, were very anxious to secure him as their permanent pastor.

There was also a serious movement to get him back again to Princeton in the position of a standing writer of books for the American Sunday-school Union. But the path of duty plainly directed him to Allegheny City.

Just at this time, however, when his prospects of usefulness in the Church rose up to his view in brighter colors than ever before, there fell upon him the shadow of a great sorrow. His father, upon whom he had leaned for support in all his difficulties and trials, still in the vigor of his age and strength, took sick and died. He was now a man himself and had gone forth from the parental roof; but in a certain respect his father's presence, as a power holding between himself and the world, was still a need for him almost as much as it was in his earlier youth. His death brought with it a sense of overwhelming desolation, such as he had never felt before; and caused him, as he sadly says, to feel as if a large part of his own life had been buried in the grave. It threw upon him new responsibilities and cares of the most serious kind; for although the family was left in sufficiently comfortable worldly circumstances, it needed years yet of guardianship and guidance; and to him accordingly, as the first born of the household, this trust fell, not only in the course of nature, but also by his dying father's wish. Through this ordering of Providence his life assumed a new and important phase, especially so when taken in connection with his going soon afterwards to the Western Theological Seminary. Henceforward he was to be in some degree, at least, a man of business, no less than a man of letters and of books.

The following beautiful testimony, which he bears to his father's sterling worth, we here give in his own language. "I have already," he says, in the sketch of his own life, "allowed the image of my father to come into view, speaking, as it were, for itself. Take him altogether, he was a man of rare and admirable nature. Few men surpassed him in fine social and moral qualities. Earnestness and genial humor were happily blended in his spirit. He was loved and respected wherever he was known, both for his public and his private virtues. His soul was the shrine of integrity, honor, kindness and truth; it refused all contact also with whatever was vile and mean. His religion, too, was of a better kind than common; although there were some things about it, which to my own judgment, as it then stood, were not altogether satisfactory. It was not demonstrative, for that was not his nature; but it was unquestionably sincere, and it wrought as the power of principle, strongly and profoundly, in his whole life. He was not one of those who

make haste to be rich, and in whom the love of money grows with their growth in age. On the contrary, there was with him a measure of unworldliness and easy contentment in his outward estate, in this view, which now that I look upon it from the general feverish existence of our present age, is altogether marvellous.

"In two things he was quite ahead of his present generation—total abstinence from ardent spirits, and a mortal hatred of all slavery. With his last years, there was a marked turning of his thoughts more and more to the solemnities of the invisible world. He seemed to identify himself somehow with the idea of my entering the ministry, and took an interest finally in my preaching as though it were to be by proxy his own work. He gave me to understand that when I became fairly settled at Allegheny, he would quite possibly sell his farm, retire with his family and end his days in the same place. That dream, alas! That dream destined not to be fulfilled! His family did follow me there in fact, but he lay down, hoping for the resurrection, beside his own father and mother, in the rural burying-ground at Middle Spring.

"Only a short time before his last sickness, by special invitation I had gone to preach what might be called a dying sermon at the house of a Mr. McKee, an aged, bed-ridden elder of the congregation, who soon after departed this life. My father was there also, on foot. The text was Psalm 146:5: 'Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help; whose hope is in the Lord his God.' On our way home in passing through a range of woods in a September twilight, he seemed to be unusually serious and thoughtful; and among other things, he said there was one text, which struck him as especially appropriate and precious on such occasions, the words of the Saviour to his disciples on the sea of Galilee: 'Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid.' How often have these mystical words come back upon me since, hallowed by this sacred association! He was soon after himself in the midst of the dark sea, whose name is death; but while crossing it, he assured me in the calmest way that he had no fear, that he knew in whom he had believed, and was well persuaded that all would come right in the end. And so he passed away in the Lord.

"This held me back for a time; and it was not until the beginning of December, therefore, that I crossed the mountains and joined Dr. Halsey, finally, in the work of organizing the new Western Theological Seminary."

VII—AT ALLEGHENY FROM 1830-1840

Æt. 27-37

CHAPTER VII

PROFESSOR NEVIN filled the chair of Biblical Literature in the Western Theological Seminary, during a period of ten years. It fell to his lot through life to labor for the most part in situations attended with more than ordinary difficulties and hard work; and the same lot awaited him now, when he was called to employ his broad shoulders in sustaining the new enterprise at Allegheny City, connecting the East with the West.

In 1830 it had no buildings, no endowment, no library, no prestige from the past, and only a doubtful and uncertain promise from the future. It had indeed been established by the General Assembly; but there was no special interest felt for it in the Church generally. The affections of the East were wedded to Princeton; and in the West there was a large amount of dissatisfaction with its location at Pittsburgh, as not being sufficiently western for those particular wants which it was intended to meet.

The Institution was thus thrown in fact on the care mainly of the churches in Western Pennsylvania, and seemed to have slender prospects of receiving active sympathy from any other quarter. Dr. J. J. Janeway, as already mentioned, after being on the ground for a short time as Professor of Theology, had resigned his situation, and his loss of confidence in the success of the Institution and its locality had, of course, the effect to discredit the whole undertaking in the eyes of the public. So it sometimes happens with those who, after having once put their hands to the plough, look back. Dr. Luther Halsey was left to himself in the field, laboring single-handed as his successor, and anxiously waiting for his new colleague. Three years later, the Rev. Ezra Fisk, D. D., of blessed memory, was appointed to the chair of Didactic Theology, but he died in 1833 before entering upon his office, and subsequently in 1835, the Rev. David Elliott, D.D., was called to the same chair. The withdrawal of Dr. Halsey from the Institution in 1837 therefore left only two professors in the faculty as before.

There are now some five or six learned professors in the Western Seminary, dividing among them the work which in those earlier days two alone were expected to manage as best they could. The Institution, moreover, depending as it was obliged to do on transient agencies and special collections among the churches, was subjected all the time to more or less financial difficulty, which in its way told seriously on the comfort of those engaged in its service. Their chairs during those years were far from being sinecures. To all concerned in it, whether as Directors or Trustees, the work of building up the new Seminary was, in the circumstances, anything but a holiday business. They labored faithfully in the day of small things, and others afterwards entered into their labors. One soweth and another reapeth. In the course of time, it was a satisfaction to those pioneers to see that their labor and self-sacrifice were not in vain in the Lord. The Western Seminary has grown to be a name and a power in the Presbyterian Church. It has sent forth its thousands to preach the everlasting Gospel, and not a few of them, as missionaries in foreign lands.

On going to Pittsburgh Professor Nevin found his first home in the kind and pleasant family of the Rev Dr. Francis Herron—born in 1774, died in 1860—a warm-hearted Scotch-Irishman, for many years the patriarchal pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in the place, and, more than any other man, the founder and father of the Theological Seminary. This was a very special privilege and favor which the new professor highly prized at the time, and which he ever held in grateful remembrance. The loss which he had sustained in the death of his father, his best friend and counsellor, we might say, was in a large degree cancelled when he was admitted into the family of his father's friend. He now had, as it were, a spiritual father upon whom he could lean in his adversities. The arrangement continued for nearly three years, when the removal of his mother and her family to the West opened the way to his establishing with her a new home in Allegheny City. This was followed two years afterwards by his marriage, which seemed to give him a still more permanent settlement in the place. He found his wife in the person of *Martha*, the second daughter of the Hon. Robert Jenkins, the well-known iron-master of Windsor Place, in the immediate vicinity of Churchtown, Lancaster county, Pa. The marriage was solemnized by the Rev. John Wallace, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Pequea, on New Year's Day of the year 1835.

The choice of a wife, a momentous step in the life of men gener-

ally, was in the case of Professor Nevin a wise and judicious one. He needed just such a partner of his life as he found in the companion of his choice. Subsequent events proved that she was worthy of such a man. In very many different respects she was helpful to him in the great work to which he was consecrated. Her home was a happy and a cheerful one, modelled after that to which she had been accustomed at Windsor Place. Mrs. Nevin, in addition to great personal refinement, was versed in literature, and could write for the press when occasions called for it; but she devoted herself mostly to her sphere in the family circle, and drew around her people of cultivation and superior social standing. At the time we write these lines, a widow indeed, over four-score years of age, at her pleasant residence, "Caernarvon Place," near Lancaster city, she retains much of the vivacity of youth, and feels herself at home in the society of professors, students, and cultured people generally, with feelings deeply in sympathy with the poor in their trials. Bearing enshrined in her heart the memories of loved ones who lived in the past, she looks forward to a happy reunion with them in the better land in the great hereafter.

The children of this branch of the Nevin family, useful and honored in different sphere of life, social, literary and artistic, are as follows: William Wilberforce, Esq.; Robert Jenkins, D.D., LL.D.; Miss Alice; Miss Blanche; Martha Finley, wife of Robert Sayre, Esq., of Bethlehem, Pa.; Cecil and John, who died in their youth, when they had excited high hopes of future usefulness, leaving behind sad but sweet memories; and Herbert, who died in infancy.

The father-in-law, Mr. Jenkins—born in 1767—was the great-grandson of David Jenkins, who had emigrated from Wales and settled in Chester county, Pa., at an early day. His son John received from William Penn the grant of a large tract of land lying along the Conestoga Creek in the eastern portion of the adjoining county of Lancaster. After the Revolution, David, the second, the son of John, purchased the Windsor Iron Works, previously owned by an English Company, built a commodious house near Churchtown, managed the works with much profit, and at his death left them to his son Robert.—Robert Jenkins was one of the foremost men in his county, prominent in his day as a member of the State Legislature and of the National Congress, also a stern and inflexible patriot. His wife Catharine was the daughter of Rev. John Carmichael, pastor of the Brandywine Manor congregation, whose piety and patriotism were of a high order. Mrs. Jenkins

was a lady of culture, energy and influence, a zealous and exemplary member of the Presbyterian Church, interested in all its movements, and widely known as a mother in the Presbyterian Israel. With great dignity, grace and hospitality she presided over the stately mansion on the banks of the Conestoga, all of which, under her careful supervision, was brought into beautiful harmony with the wide-spread and picturesque landscape with which it was surrounded.

During the period of Professor Nevin's connection with the Western Seminary, he continued to exercise his gift of preaching, which was a benefit to his body and mind as well as to the souls of others. In this way, for the most part, he performed nearly as much service as if he had been the settled pastor over a congregation. For a while he remained a mere licentiate; for as he had been slow before in applying for licensure, so now again he was slow in taking upon himself what seemed to be the much more serious responsibility and vows of ordination. In the course of time, however, he was set apart to the ministry in full, by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery of Ohio, with a somewhat characteristic charge by the President of Jefferson College, the Rev. Dr. Matthew Brown. His preaching carried him out largely among country congregations, on the invitations of pastors desiring his assistance, which, it was known, he was always ready to extend without any remuneration or return service of any kind. These visits had to be performed necessarily on horseback, over what were very often bad roads, and once, at least, on foot for fifteen or twenty miles, with no small exposure at times to the roughest kind of weather. But they gave him on the whole a good amount of healthful exercise, and had the effect of hardening his physical constitution, something which he needed.

During a part of the time he preached with a considerable degree of regularity to a large and interesting Young Ladies' Seminary at Braddock's Field, eight miles from Pittsburgh, up the Monongahela River; and finally he took charge of the Hiland congregation about the same distance out from the city in another direction, where he preached every two weeks for a year by appointment of the Ohio Presbytery as its regular supply. "It has come to be considered proper enough," he naively remarks in this connection, "for the Professors in Seminaries sometimes to take charges, and to receive salaries from them in addition to their full pay received for their services as teachers." But in his day, there was no precedent of this sort to guide a doubtful conscience; and acting from mere ab-

stract principles in the case, he was not able to see clearly his right in this instance to any such double payment; the more especially so, as he knew the treasury of the Seminary to be all the time in the most pinching need. It was a distinct understanding, therefore, between himself and the Presbytery, in this last case, that his services in the congregation were to be free; but yet, at the same time, that the salary paid for them should go to the Theological Seminary in whose service he then stood, and in no part whatever to himself.

During his ten years at Allegheny, he appeared frequently before the public through the press. For such occasions he always prepared himself thoroughly, and his productions were regarded as worthy of an extensive circulation. Of the various discourses and tracts, which he put forth from time to time in this way, by appointment or request, the following seem to deserve mention in this place as characteristic of his mind during this stadium of his history.

1. *The Scourge of God*: A Sermon preached in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, July 6, 1832, on the occasion of a City Fast, observed in reference to the approach of the Asiatic Cholera.

The pestilence had broken out in Canada, and seemed to be on its way to Pittsburgh. For a time the agitation was intense. All faces indicated dark apprehensions, as if the sword of the destroying angel were felt to be hanging over the city. In this state of things, there was a general call for a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, and well was the day observed. The sermon here noticed was preached before a very large audience, that listened to it as with the solemnity of death, and on the same day a number of leading citizens of the place joined in soliciting a copy of it for publication. "One strong point," the author says, "was an unmerciful denunciation of all manufacturers and venders of ardent spirits."

2. *The Claims of the Christian Sabbath*: A Report, read and adopted at a meeting of the Presbytery of Ohio, April 21, 1836. It formed a considerable tract, and was intended "to draw up a judgment and a plan of action against the desecration of the Holy Sabbath, on the part of members of the Church, either owning or using in any way Sabbath-violating conveyances on land or water." After the report was adopted, it was further ordered that 10,000 copies should be published in pamphlet form, by means of a subscription, opened in the Presbytery for this purpose.

3. *The English Bible*: A Brief View of the History and Merits of the English Version in common use. Published in pamphlet form in 1836.

4. *Personal Holiness*: A Lecture delivered June, 1837, at the opening of the Summer Term in the Western Theological Seminary. Published by request of the Students.

5. *The Seal of the Spirit*: A Sermon preached in the Presbyterian Church at Uniontown, Pa., January 21, 1838. Published by the Session of the Church.

6. *Party Spirit*: An Address delivered before the Literary Societies of Washington College, Washington, Pa., Sept. 24, 1839.

7. *A Pastoral Letter*: On the Subject of Ministers' Salaries, addressed by the Presbytery of Ohio to the churches under its care, Jan. 18, 1840. Ministers in the Presbytery were inadequately supported, because the reigning rates of their salaries had not kept pace with the advanced rates of living. By failing to receive the necessary support, some had been compelled to turn aside from their proper vocation and work. The Pastoral Letter set forth a painful picture of this sad state of things, based on a full induction of facts, and called upon the churches in solemn terms to redress the evil.

CHAPTER VIII

IN addition to such occasional productions, he wrote also quite extensively from time to time, mainly on practical subjects, for the *Christian Herald*; but much more largely, during the years 1833 and 1834 for the *Friend*, a literary and moral weekly journal, which he undertook to edit in behalf of the "Young Men's Society of Pittsburgh and Vicinity," regarded as an important institution at the time, in whose organization he was called to take a somewhat prominent part.

The *Friend* had an ideal basis of its own, which was less substantial than he found it to be in his riper years. In conformity with the reigning character of the Society of which it was to be the organ, it was intended to be a Christian agency, openly and boldly set for the defence of all Christian virtue, but on the outside of all religious denominationalism strictly so called. The field of action professedly was "that broad territory of thought—broad enough surely for the putting forth of all its enterprise—on which men of all parties and sects, among whom the fundamental principles of patriotism and piety are not disavowed, may meet as upon *common ground* and join their efforts to do good in the exercise of the same mind.

"The paper was to be decidedly religious in its character; and this on the high platform of the Gospel, the only true basis of morality; but all in such a way as to avoid the incidental belligerent discords of the different evangelical denominations, and to move only in the supposed far wider and deeper sphere—something hypothetical—in which they are lovingly concordant—that mighty domain of doctrine and life, which has never yet been made the scene of Christian controversy at all, and over which our spirits may freely expatiate, in fellowship with all who belong to Christ, in the midst of the most magnificent and endearing forms of truth." It sounded strangely to Dr. Nevin in after years, as he says, to hear himself so naively proclaiming such an outside Christianity and such pseudo-catholicity in the first number of his paper.—We may add that his philosophical talent, naturally of the highest order, of which he seemed to be unconscious for a long time at least—suppressed by his morbid religious life at Schenectady and Princeton—began apparently to bud in an occasional article in the *Friend*, and mani-

fested itself still more decidedly in his Address on Party Spirit, as we shall see hereafter.

But with such broad idealism in the way of faith and charity, the *Friend* took upon itself at the same time to be very realistic—very rugged also—and very positive in the way of rebuking the sins of the day, and aimed to set the standard of public morals from the high Gospel stand-point; but the editor could easily see, as he grew in grace and knowledge, that the office was not always exercised in the wisest and best ways. Its reformatory zeal, he says himself, was too self-conscious and ambitious, as is apt to be the case with zeal bent on magnifying its own mission in this form. Infidelity, fashionable amusements, ladies' fairs, theatrical entertainments, and other such objects, came under its animadversion in the most pronounced way, causing its boldness to be praised in one direction, while it gave offence, of course, in another. For attacking an attempt to get up a theatre in Pittsburgh, he was threatened with the honor of a cow-hiding, and at one time there was some danger even of a mob against the paper on account of its supposed incendiarism on the subject of slavery.

Of all causes, however, that of Temperance received the largest share of attention; and as the circulation of the *Friend* seemed quite too limited for its needs, especially out through the country, the plan was adopted finally of issuing, every two weeks, a small two-penny sheet, filled exclusively with this part of its material. This sheet was known as the *Temperance Register*, and during the brief period of its existence did its own work in its own noiseless and cheap way.

As might have been expected, this whole scheme of a high-toned Christian monthly, based on the power of Christian ideas, supposed to be available for the world at large beyond the narrow precincts of the Church, in due course of time came to general grief and collapse. Owing to dissatisfaction in the Society, and in the community on the outside, the editor felt himself compelled at length to withdraw from the paper, and his valedictory of March 12, 1835, was a confession of defeat. Among other things, it winds up by saying: "We have tried *our* method, and are satisfied that it cannot carry the publication forward in this community; it has been upheld thus far only with great sacrifices, and there is no prospect that it will be sustained without them hereafter. But, if another method can be adopted more likely to insure success, let it be tried—we make no sacrifice in giving up the *Friend*. It has been attended with much trouble and vexation of spirit from the

beginning; far more than those who have had no similar experience can at all imagine. We have been anxiously looking forward to the close of our term of service as a day of deliverance and joy, and feel no regret at all in being discharged before the time. We lose no money by losing our place. We have never received a cent for our labor thus far, and we have not calculated on being paid anything at the end even of two years' full service. Here, then, our relations to the subscribers of the *Friend* must be brought to an end. We trust that, notwithstanding the occasion of offence we may have given to some, we may still have the respect and good will of all; and with sentiments of corresponding regard, and the wishes for their prosperity on both sides of the grave, we bid them all an affectionate farewell."

The "occasion of offence" referred to was found in certain brief items or utterances in regard to the sin of slavery, which, if the editor had been less honest and more worldly-wise, he would have been careful to keep out of his paper at the time. They roused the intolerance of the old pro-slavery spirit, which then reigned in Pittsburgh, and in many other places that were just as enlightened. It might have been described as "a tempest in a teapot," if it had not brought down upon the head of the poor unsophisticated editor such a torrent of abuse, suspicion and trouble of mind. This episode in his life is interesting as an illustration of the spirit of the times, and, just as well, of the spirit of the person who was determined to do right, even if the heavens should fall.

Uncompromising opposition to slavery was a tradition in the Nevin family, which grew in strength and concentrated itself in John Williamson, its most distinguished representative. Justice to the memory of the man, therefore, requires that he should be allowed to speak for himself, and to give his own account of this tempest or fiasco long after he got beyond its reach.

"On the subject of slavery," he says in 1870, "it seems to me, that without any material change of mind in myself, the weather-cock of public opinion has made me out wrong in different periods of my life, under precisely opposite views. It has done so by a sudden and complete polar change in itself, the full like of which it would be hard to find, within so short a time, in the history of the world before. I have been fanatically taken to task in later life for not cursing slavery hard enough at the altar and from the pulpit. In my Pittsburgh days, as already intimated, it was the other way; my wrong stood, it was fanatically said, in allowing myself to talk or write of slavery at all as a bad thing.

"It was not very much at best or worst that I had to say about it; I belonged to no anti-slavery society; I was no missionary in the cause; I made no speeches and disseminated no tracts in its favor; indeed I openly condemned Mr. Garrison and others of the same stripe, as being irreligious in their spirit no less than unpatriotic. But I could not blind my eyes to the plain truth, into the sense of which I had been educated from my childhood, that slavery, nevertheless, as it existed in this country, was a vast moral evil; and I could not see why in this view it should not come, like any other great wrong, under religious criticism and censure.

"And so before I knew hardly how it came to pass, especially after the publication of the *Friend* had come into my hands, I found that I had begun to be looked upon and spoken of, in certain quarters, as actually a disturber of the public peace. One prominent physician in the place, I remember, allowed himself publicly in the street to characterize me, up and down, as in his opinion 'the most dangerous man in all Pittsburgh.' It even went so far, as I have said before, to some talk of danger to the office in which the *Friend* was printed. And *talk* in those inflammable days, it must be remembered, was itself very much like sparks to tinder or powder. It had power to produce mobs, and work tragedies in the most terrible way.

"But what a farce it appears now that so much should ever have been made of such an occasion for offense as there was here, after all, in the columns of the *Friend*. The paper never took any party stand in regard to slavery one way or another; it went in favor of Colonization; but it was not willing that this should be allowed to silence the question of Home Emancipation, as in the eyes of the Abolitionists it seemed to be doing. There should be room, it was maintained, for calm and free discussion all around. Only so could we vindicate our title to Christian honesty in so great a case. But honesty of such sort was just what the community generally at this time did not want, and would not brook." The position here assumed was nothing more than what was in harmony with the Reformed Faith, of which he speaks as still lingering in his youth at Middle Spring; and, strictly speaking, not a lesson which he had learned at Schenectady. It was also that which would have met with a response among the Germans of Pennsylvania of the Lutheran and Reformed persuasion, if they had had a chance to express themselves. Dr. Nevin was in a position to speak out, and in doing so he had the courage simply to define the position of many other good, honest people, who could not sympathize with the tide of

fanaticism that was coming in at the time like a flood from the East, and from their neighbors, the Friends, around Philadelphia.

Speaking in the *Friend* of April 17, 1834, of a notable movement on the subject of slavery, in Lane Seminary, Oxford, Ohio, he had no hesitation in saying: "A grand discussion was had on the subject by the students of the Theological Seminary, which was continued for a number of evenings in succession with great interest, and resulted in an almost universal determination in favor of anti-slavery principles. We have received a copy of the Preamble and Constitution of a society organized in this Institution for the purpose of promoting the emancipation of the slaves of this country. The whole is wisely and temperately drawn up, and well worthy of being temperately considered. We trust that the time is not far distant when what has been rashly spoken by some abolitionists and colonizationists will be forgotten, and the friends of humanity will find themselves able to stand on common ground in regard to the great evil of slavery, without denouncing the one interest or the other. That abolitionism has exhibited in some cases a widely extravagant form, we have no doubt; but we have just as little doubt that great and powerful principles of truth have been all along laboring underneath its action, and struggling to come into clear and consistent development by its means. On that account we have never felt at liberty to stigmatize its most active friends as being mere agitators, or to say of the movement, that it was in its own nature premature and desperate, or incendiary in its character. Let the subject be discussed. The discussion will cause some great truths to be more clearly apprehended, at any rate, than they have been heretofore.

"Take another example of my *incendiarism* from the *Friend*, Sept. 4, 1834. 'Among the various able articles that have appeared lately on the subject of slavery, Judge Birney's letter to the secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society is deserving of special attention. The eminent station, distinguished talents, the truly Christian character of the writer entitle it to the calm and dispassionate consideration of all who claim to be the friends of truth and free inquiry. It will be hard to fasten on *him* at least the reproach of fanaticism and madness. He is found in the midst of slavery itself the uncompromising advocate of immediate emancipation, and declares, in strong though respectful terms, his persuasion, based on a wide extent of observation, that colonization, as now urged, is unfriendly to the interest. We beg leave to recommend that this letter be read by such as can get hold of it, in con-

nection with other documents that relate to the slavery question. We think that this is a subject about which people ought to *read* and have an intelligent opinion. We envy not the state of that man's mind, who counts it as credit to himself to be indifferent or apathetic in a case which involves the happiness of two millions of his fellow beings; and the moral character, if not the political destiny, of the entire nation to which he belongs. The time is coming when such as now evince this temper will be ashamed to have it remembered; especially when it may have been connected, as it sometimes is, with an attempt to discourage free discussion and earnest inquiry among others.'

"Let these quotations suffice as specimens simply of my way of preaching abolitionism at this time. There was certainly nothing very dreadful about it; it sounds now in all conscience quite tame enough. But it fell very differently on the ears of the prudent ones in the years of grace 1834 and 1835. Judge Birney was held to be a traitor to good manners and the peace of his country. The Lane Seminary students were denounced as in a high degree disorderly; and in due course of things, as I have stated, I was forced to resign my editorial position as a martyr to conscience and the freedom of speech—but not without this Parthian arrow in my retreating farewell.

"We think it well enough here to leave our testimony, solemn and explicit, in favor of the truth, in this great interest. Slavery is a sin, *as it exists in this country*, and as such it ought to be abolished. There is no excuse for its being continued a single day. The whole nation is involved in the guilt of it, so long as public sentiment acquiesces in it as a necessary evil. That which is absolutely necessary for its removal, is the formation of such a public sentiment throughout the country, as will make slaveholders ashamed of their wickedness, and finally reform the laws under which the evil now holds its power in the different States. Such a sentiment has *not* heretofore existed, and it is plain that much discussion and thought are needed to bring it into being. There is, therefore, just the same reason for the system of action pursued by the Abolition Society with reference to this subject, that there is for the Temperance Society, with regard to the curse of ardent spirits. The institution and the effort are among the noblest forms of benevolent action witnessed in the present age. We glory then in being an abolitionist, and count it all honor to bear reproach for such a cause. It is the cause of God, and it will prevail.

"It *has* prevailed within the last year, more we believe than ever.

a moral cause did before in this country within the same time. An immense change has been effected by means of it through almost every portion of the Northern States, and we are evidently on the eve of greater changes still. The tongue of slander is fast coming to be ashamed of its own calumnies; and already that which was stigmatized as 'fanaticism and incendiarism' a year since, is beginning to stand forth with honor in the world as the righteousness of the Bible and the everlasting truth of God. We are no longer at a loss either on the subject of Colonization. We believe fully that as the case *now* stands, the one interest is contrary to the other; just as moderate drinking societies are at war with the temperance reformation; and with Judge Birney we have no doubt, that the cause of emancipation, in order to succeed, must be divorced altogether from the whole plan of colonizing the blacks, as heretofore and at present pursued for that purpose. The system is injurious, as it tends to divert attention from the true question in the case, and lends its influence also to sustain a most foolish and wicked prejudice against the colored population.

"Such is our creed on this deeply interesting subject, on which all *must* think before long; a subject which, if not disposed of quickly by the power of conscience and moral principle, will yet convulse the nation, North and South, to its very centre."—*The Friend*, March 12, 1835.

No one of our readers can fail to see the appropriateness of these solemn words of warning, bordering on the prophetic, which the editor addressed to his brethren, when as yet comparatively few of that generation imagined that they were standing over a volcano, which in a quarter of a century was in fact to "convulse the nation, North and South." To us at the present day it appears greatly to the credit of the governing powers of the Western Theological Seminary, that they did not allow themselves to be unduly excited in regard to the member of the Faculty that seemed to be introducing new doctrines; and that they laid no restraint upon him and uttered no caveat with regard to the slavery agitation. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism showed itself here to be of a much more tolerant and self-possessed spirit than the Presbyterianism, "which sought to turn Lane Seminary at Cincinnati into a medieval inquisition."

But such intolerance was to a great extent the order of the day. The Presbyterian like most other churches in this country was rather conservative on the subject of slavery, and somewhat disinclined to encourage its free ventilation. All felt that it was an ex-

ceedingly difficult and delicate question to discuss in existing circumstances. It had a political as well as a religious and moral side. "The subject came to be tabooed from the pulpit and the press. The leading Presbyterian organs were of one mind and one voice—hostile in full to the technical abolitionism, or the so-called Anti-slavery movement of the day. Ecclesiastical judicatories, as well as the great national societies, made it a point from year to year to ostracise and put down in all manners and ways every attempt to get the matter of slavery before them. It was a spectre that haunted them yearly, and when driven out of one door it was sure to come in through another. The merest whisper of abolitionism was enough to throw a whole General Assembly into agitation."

A curious illustration of this extreme nervousness was evoked among its Commissioners when it met in Pittsburgh, just opposite Allegheny, in 1835, of which Professor Nevin himself was the innocent occasion. During its session a meeting was appointed in one of the large Methodist Churches to hear Dr. Birney on the question of slavery, and he was invited to appear also as a speaker. In his frame of mind at the time, he of course did not feel at liberty to decline the invitation. But before the meeting was held he was waited upon by a committee of friends, representing, as they said, the general mind of the Assembly, who begged him for its sake not to appear as a speaker on the occasion. Although he was not a member of the Assembly, it was alleged that his public appearance at such a meeting, just at that time, might in some way seem to be injurious to its honor. In the circumstances he meekly yielded to their request, in compliance with a good old Presbyterian rule, that ministers ought to submit themselves to their brethren. It is only one instance, in which General Assemblies and many other assemblies showed how sensitively alive they were in those days, even at insignificant points, to the serenity of their standing conservatism on this great question of slavery.

Of course such a nervous state of the public mind is now happily changed, and the old conservatism during the late war lost its occupation and went to the wall. Providence brought it about. The smouldering fires, which had been in a measure concealed for more than half of a century, burst through all artificial restraints, and the explosions became so much the more violent and destructive, because they had not been able to find any proper vent. Had the North and the South met together, and with the help of a few of their wisest matrons made a child's bargain, they would have

saved themselves a vast amount of trouble, treasure, and many valuable lives. When, however, the war actually broke out, men of all classes had to think. The two Presbyterian Assemblies, Old and New School, and other religious bodies, always more or less opposed to slavery, now more than ever before, were united in their opposition to it, and nobly stepped forward and sustained the general government in what they believed to be the cause of righteousness and truth.—John Williamson, the son of John Nevin of Heron's Branch, had been opposed to slavery from his youth, and in 1835 he was at least thirty years in advance of the times. That is all that there is about his kind of abolitionism.

There was one other passage in the life of Dr. Nevin at Allegheny, which was as satisfactory to himself afterwards as it must be to all intelligent readers at the present time. It had reference to the ecclesiastical division of the Presbyterian Church in 1837, which met with his open and unqualified dissent. It was his first earnest testimony against schism in the Body of Christ, and it was as sincere and earnest as those which followed, in his subsequent career, of which the reader will be duly apprized in the present volume.

CHAPTER IX

PROFESSOR NEVIN, not as yet a Doctor of Divinity, had charge of Biblical Literature in the Seminary, and was not required to give special attention to dogmatic theology in his department; but his reading of theological works, mostly for spiritual edification, had been extensive, and his judgment on doctrinal points was quite equal to that of his seniors, the learned Doctors who figured in the famous controversy between the Old and New Schools. Very naturally his theological sympathies all along went with the Old School, but he was clear-headed enough to see that there was truth also on the other side. He also had the feeling at the same time, that the controversy in certain quarters on his own side was urged forward in an extreme way. Its orthodoxy was stiff, rigid and altogether too literal and mechanical. Moreover, he had by this time mastered the German language, and had held communion with some of the great theologians of Germany. The reading of Neander's Church History had made an impression on his mind and given him some idea of history and the progressive advancement of the kingdom of God on earth. All this was opposed to the theology of the letter, or of mere dead tradition, and suggested to his mind the idea of a theology of the spirit that admitted of spiritual growth and enlargement.

He, therefore, took no prominent part in the heated doctrinal discussions of the day that were then raging around him in his own church. The time for the exercise of his talents in this direction had not yet arrived. He looked at the situation rather in its bearings on Christian charity and the growth of godliness in the churches. With a certain feeling of self-respect and independence, he deprecated the idea that the Pittsburgh Synod should be dragged to take part in the Eastern quarrel with regard to Mr. Barnes; and he went so far as to urge seriously through the *Christian Herald* the plan of relatively independent Synodical jurisdiction, proposed by Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton. Then, of course, when the rupture came, it was against his mind and judgment, although he had no difficulty about accepting it as an accomplished fact, and remaining with the division to which he in truth belonged. But when it became an object afterwards to engage the Presbyteries to a formal endorsement of the decisive action of the

General Assembly, he felt it necessary to guard against committing himself even indirectly to anything of the sort, and he had the courage to do so conscientiously. It was one of those questions, as he believed, that tried men's souls, although it probably troubled only the smaller part of the brethren in the Presbyteries. This, however, was not, by any means, the case with the Professor at Allegheny.

The Presbytery of Ohio had passed several resolutions, endorsing the action of the General Assembly in splitting the Church, regarding it as a cause of "special gratitude to the Great Head of the Church for the wisdom and firmness of the fathers and brethren in devising those measures, which were believed to be conducive to the promotion and security of the unity, peace, and all the great interests of our beloved Zion." When the vote was taken there were thirty-eight ayes, two non liquets, and ten nays, of which last Prof. Nevin's vote was one.

At a meeting in the following year, June, 1838, another crucial question came up, called an "adhering act," declaring the allegiance of the Presbytery to the Old School General Assembly as the *true successor* of the Presbyterian Church—unchurching, as he thought, the New School brethren in effect—with something like a salvo, conceding the orthodoxy of those of its members, who had refused to endorse in all respects what had been done, ending with an expression of thanks for the otherwise harmony of the Presbytery.

The dissenters of the previous year for the most part were willing to let this pass as being in itself all that the case required; but the Professor felt that something more was needed to put the matter, so far as he was concerned, beyond all possible future misconstruction; and at a subsequent meeting of the Presbytery he, therefore, asked the privilege of having recorded, in the minutes of the body, a distinct explanation of the sense of his vote in the act of adhesion. As he had had one whole year to consider the matter, this was not the result of a mere impulse but of mature reflection. The paper was signed by three other members of the body and allowed to be put on record in the proceedings of the Presbytery, and is here given as throwing light on the character and spirit of its author, just about one year before he was called to a new sphere of labor at Mercersburg.

"To prevent misunderstanding, the undersigned, members of the Presbytery of Ohio, ask respectfully to have it entered upon record, that in participating in the 'adhering act' of last June, they intended

simply to make their election between the two ecclesiastical bodies into which the Church has been split, and nothing more. If the act in question be supposed to involve necessarily the idea of subscription to the claims of the Old School Assembly to be the only true and lawful successor of the Presbyterian Church in this country, they must disclaim it altogether. In the present state of the Church they dare not make the constitutional existence of either Assembly an article of faith either for themselves or for others. The question of legitimate succession in this case is the one they do not choose to decide, or to impose as a test of ecclesiastical standing in any way. On this broad platform only they have adhered, and they still agree to adhere, with a good conscience and in good faith, to the General Assembly under whose banner the Presbytery of Ohio has taken its stand."

The allowance of this record on the part of the Presbytery was regarded by Professor Nevin as a favor which deserved his thanks at the time, and it became a pleasure to him afterwards to call it thankfully to mind. "Some of my brethren," he says, in 1870, "I well know, considered me somewhat wilfully scrupulous in the case; but I value the record now more than ever, since the two sides of the Church have come together again, as showing that I at least 'never consented to the counsel and deed of them'—now mostly silent in death or otherwise—who thirty years ago tore the body so ruthlessly in twain. For what less has this coming together again of the two bodies been than a general confession all around that there was no sufficient occasion originally for the breach, and that as an article of faith neither of the two assemblies ever was, or could be in fact, the only true and lawful successor of the Presbyterian Church in this country to the exclusion of the other."

During the ten years in the theological school at Allegheny, Dr. Nevin made considerable progress in his religious and theological life. At that time he was by no means just what he had been in theology when he left Princeton. Although surrounded by influences at Pittsburgh to keep him stationary, in the traces of an old and rigid Calvinistic orthodoxy, he was gradually coming to outlive it. This advancement he was pleased to style, in 1870, his "historical awakening," because it brought him to a proper sense of History in general, and Church History in particular. It was the beginning of a new era in his life, which turned out to be a valuable providential preparation for his subsequent work in another sphere of labor, and we therefore proceed to narrate how it was brought about, using for the most part his own words.

The influence, which helped to enlarge the horizon of his religious thinking at this time, came from the new light that began to dawn upon his mind in regard to the true nature and the vast significance of the history of the Christian Church. As he had studied it at Princeton, he says, it was for him the poorest sort of sacred science. There was, in truth, no real science about it in the proper sense of the word; and to his mind, as he dryly remarks, its associations could hardly be called sacred, as they certainly were not particularly edifying in any way. The whole subject, however, began to appear gradually under a higher and better view, like the dawn of a new day, through his acquaintance with the father of Church History, the vastly learned and profoundly pious *Dr. Augustus Neander*. What he was for Germany on a large scale, that he became to the Presbyterian Professor in America also in a large degree, forming an epoch, a grand crisis or turning point in his life—as Neander would say—followed by a new order of mental and spiritual development.

His magic wand served to bring up the dead past before him, in the form of a living present. History became in his hand like Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, where bone sought out his bone, and sinews and flesh and skin came over them, and breath came into them, so that in the end "they lived and stood upon their feet, an exceedingly great army." With all his ungainliness of manner and style, he was more to his American pupil than the great British "Wizard of the North." He caused Church History to become for him like the creations of poetry and romance. How much he owed to him in the way of excitement, impulse, suggestion, knowledge, literary and religious, reaching into his life, was more, he says, than he could pretend to explain; as it was more, in fact, perhaps, than he was able satisfactorily to trace or understand.

He informs us that his knowledge of the great historian was at first indirect only and through outward report. He had heard of him only by the hearing of the ear. But even that had an awakening effect; and it then became with him an object and concern to know him for himself. Primarily it was just for this purpose that he undertook to study the German language; and just as soon as he was able to read it in a stumbling way, he began to wrestle with the loose, inharmonious periods of Neander. The first German book of any account which he read was his *Geist des Tertullians*, the monogram in which he calls up this fiery African father from the dead, and causes him to walk the earth again in living, intelligible form. It was no longer the Tertullian, which he and others

had known spectrally before, the Tertullian of Mosheim, whose claims to be considered a real Christian appeared to be of an extremely doubtful character; but Tertullian, in propria persona, who was now allowed to speak for himself, and to reveal from the depths his own impetuous, but at the same time most earnest religious life.

Afterwards he took up the "General History of the Christian Religion and Church" by his new teacher, and under his guidance renewed his acquaintance with the first Christian ages, where all had been for him before such a wilderness of dreary disorder and confusion. Here now all seemed to put on a new form, and to be lighted up with a new sense. Not that there was a full end of obscurities, or perplexities, by any means. There was enough still of both, but even these were not the same as before. They belonged to a living concrete existence, and not to a world of dead unmeaning shadows. They were problems in what was felt to be a real past, answerable to the sense of the real present. Altogether the old ecclesiastical life was made to reproduce itself from its own ground and in its own proper form.

"I became reconciled," he says, "to the old Christian fathers generally. They were no longer to me the puzzling mysteries they had been before. I learned to understand them in a measure—their inward spirit, and outward voice—each man speaking not in my Puritanic Presbyterian tongue, but in his own tongue wherein he was born; and it was a pleasure, as well as a great edification, to become acquainted with them in this way. The more I knew of them thus, the more they rose in my reverence and regard. They stood to me indeed still environed with much that I took to be wrong, and contradictory to the true sense of Christianity both in doctrine and in life. But this too I learned to estimate from the circumstances of their place and time; and so that was not allowed to blind me to their substantial worth.

"Even the old Christian heresies were made to partake in the general benefit of this historical illumination. They appeared no longer as the freaks of brainless folly, or diabolical madness. There seemed to be both meaning and method in their rise and progress. They had an inward, we might say, necessary connection with the history of the Church; and there could be, it was clearly shown, no right understanding of Christianity and the Church, or the onward progress of the mystery of godliness in the world, without an insight, at the same time, into the interior nature of its counterpart and contradiction, the mystery of iniquity working from the beginning in this bad way. There was deep historical meaning, under

such view, in Ebionism and Gnosticism, in Montanism, in Sabelianism and Arianism, in Manicheism and Pelagianism, no less than in the different tendencies and schools of the orthodox Christian faith itself. What a perfect bedlam, in particular, the old Gnostic sects had been previously for my mind! But now, even they began to take intelligible shape and fall into line; and what was chaos rose into a world of at least comparative order and light, full of profound instruction, and worthy of diligent study for all following times.

"I do not wish to be understood, of course, as bestowing on Neander unmeasured or unqualified praise. He was but the pioneer in the new order of ecclesiastical history, with which his name is identified, and he left room enough for others, who have followed him in his course, to do better in some respects than himself. His faults and defects are now generally admitted. They grew in a measure out of his position, and the reigning character of his own religion, and have a close connection with what are otherwise the positive merits and charms of his great work, being in part at least, one might say, those peculiarities carried to a sort of sickly and feeble excess."

Dr. Nevin's own judgment of Neander was well expressed by that of another, and he therefore quoted it as expressing his own. "This noble monument of sanctified learning," says Dr. Schaff, his disciple and now world-famous co-worker in the same branch of science (see his Tract, *What is Church History*, page 79), "is without question the most important product of the modern German theology in the sphere of Church History, and must long maintain a high authority. At the same time, it is not to be denied, that in point of *church* character it is no longer fully up to the demands of the time. Neander occupies still the ground of Schleiermacher in this respect, that the church spirit appears with him under a too indefinite form, and in its general character in too much of a mere feeling of religious communion. Hence his aversion to a pointedly distinct orthodoxy, and his partiality towards all free dissenting tendencies. Since the Reformation Jubilee of 1817, however, the evangelical theology of Germany has taken a strong and constantly growing church direction, which will give character, no doubt, also more and more to the future. To be all that is now required, therefore, a Church History should unite a proper harmony, a thorough use of original sources, clear apprehension, organic development, and graphic delineation, together with decided though broad church feeling, and the power of true Christian edifi-

cation. It may be long, perhaps, before we possess a work that shall satisfy equally all these requirements. Still, the elements which it calls for are all actually at hand in the different activities of theological learning. The material is ready; so is also the plans of the edifice, in its main outline; only the master hand is waited for, which will put the parts together and cause the work to stand forth to the view of the world as a complete, harmonious and magnificent whole."

"My obligations were great to Neander, as a simple teacher of common historical knowledge, as an expositor of ecclesiastical facts and details. But I owed him much more than this. As Kant says somewhere of the influence the philosophical writings of David Hume had upon him, so I may say in all truth of the new views of history set before me by Neander—'they broke up my dogmatic slumbers.' They were for me an actual awakening of the soul, which went far beyond any direct instruction involved in it, and the force of which was by no means confined to the theological sphere with which it was immediately concerned, but made itself profoundly felt also in the end on my whole theological and religious life.

"Not to be more particular, it was much to be put merely in the way of seeing what History properly means, under the view of an objective movement, determined by its forces towards its own heaven-appointed end—much to be brought to the feeling that there is a divinity even in profane history which shapes it everywhere to the service of a divine universal plan; but still more, to feel this as true of the history of God's Holy Catholic Church, in a sense fully answerable to the great promise of Jesus to His Church: 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.' There is, therefore, no part of a true liberal culture in any form, which is more important than such power of seeing and feeling the significance of the historical element in all human existence. There can be no right knowledge of the world, and no right standing or working in the world without it. Before my acquaintance with Neander, it seems to me now, looking back upon my life, that this sense of the historical was something which I could hardly be said to have possessed at all. But since then it has come to condition all my views of life. I do not mean to say that it became all at once to be of such force for me through Neander's teaching. It was an idea or sentiment which grew, and took upon it full form, only in the course of subsequent years; but to him, I owe it first of all that any such idea began to dawn upon

my mind. He first gave me the feeling, in some measure, of what history means for the life of the world everywhere, and most of all in the ruling central sphere of religion.

"It was an advantage at the same time to be now also introduced to Gieseler's great work in the same department of learning. I found him to be much less interesting than Neander, and of a very different spirit. It is well known that the main value of his work lies not in his own very brief text, which is rationalistically cold and dry, but in the full extracts from original authorities with which the text is accompanied in the way of notes. These are selected with great care, fine judgment, and impartial honesty; and make it possible for the reader to construe facts for himself, at least in a general way, as the truth may be felt to require. In this view, his history falls in well with that of Neander, and the two can, as they should, be studied profitably together; a much more effectual combination of learning and faith than that which I had been able to reach in earlier years, by trying to supplement and sanctify Mosheim through the judicious use of Joseph Milnor.

"When Dr. Halsey withdrew from the Seminary in 1837, as the way was not open for the appointment of a new professor in his place, it became necessary for me to widen the range of my teaching, so as to include in it Church History also, along with the studies belonging previously to my proper department. This brought me into still closer connection with the science, and may have increased my interest in it to some extent; but so far as I can remember it did not amount to very much. My teaching was more mechanical than independent and free. I did not feel at liberty to attempt any material innovation on the course of instruction, as it had stood before, and held myself to Mosheim as a text book according to the fashion which then prevailed in our American schools of divinity generally. In those days there was no help for this anywhere. The time had not come for it to be otherwise.

"I will not pretend to particularize," the Professor goes on to say, "the points in which my general doctrinal theology was affected by the practical hermeneutical and historical experiences of which I have now spoken. What has been said is sufficient to show how different influences and tendencies wrought in my mind at this time towards the production of a common spiritual movement, and also to make it plain in what direction that movement prevailingly lay. It had for its scope and aim—though more in the way of unconscious divination than in the way of clear open reflection—the right adjustment of the objective and subjective sides of Christianity, its

supernatural substance and its natural form, in their relation to each other; and there belonged to it also throughout an inward determination towards Christ, as offering in the constitution of His own person the only proper solution for the problem. In other words, the course in which my religious life and theology lay was of one order with that more decided Christological tendency, which came to prevail more fully in later years; and to which alone, more fully than to any other cause, I owe whatever of peculiarity may seem to have attached itself to my theological views. It is just here that the key to my whole religious history lies. All along it has been a movement in the same direction; a movement away from the simply subjective in religion towards the supernatural objective; from the spiritually abstract, as I look at it, to the historically concrete; and from the Gnostically ideal to the Christologically real. In its hidden inmost meaning, it may be considered as a progressive turning of the soul throughout to Him who stood in vision before St. John, when he was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day in the isle that is called Patmos—the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last, Which was dead and is alive again, Which is, and Which was, and Which is to come, the Almighty, the Amen, the Faithful and true Witness, the Beginning of the Creation of God, with Whom are the Keys of Death and Hades."

Dr. Nevin's theological status, therefore, in 1840, was an evident advance on the position he occupied previously in 1830 when he entered upon his duties at Allegheny; in some respects it may be truly said to have been a material advance. But afterwards, in his retrospective view of himself, it did not, in fact, amount to much. The old defects were still present in his theological thinking, and therefore made themselves felt, in a greater or less degree, in all his preaching, teaching and working. What he had gained was more of a reaching after truth in the right direction than a full comprehension of it, or coming up to it in its own proper form. He read other German authors, especially those who wrote in Latin, such as Ernesti, De Wette, Rosenmueller, Gesenius, Kuinoel, and others, some of whom like Ernesti, with Andover Seminary and other high authorities, he regarded as sound and orthodox, but afterwards discovered that they were considerably more rationalistic than evangelical.

One proof of his defect in this respect, which he gives himself with much candor and simplicity, and with some appearance of naivete, was the fact that he had not yet—after so long a time and

so much study—learned to make any proper account of the Apostles' Creed. As this had nothing to do either with his religion or theology during all the time he had been at Princeton, so it had just as little to do with them during his ten years' connection with the Western Seminary. Like himself neither of his colleagues, Halsey or Elliott, felt it to be any part of their business as Professors in the Institution to teach the Creed or in any way to build their divinity upon it, or to make any use of it whatever for the purpose of Christian worship. There was not a single occasion, on which any one of them ever thought it needful or advisable to repeat it, or even to appeal to it reverentially as the common profession of our "undoubted Christian faith." It was no better with the old-fashioned orthodoxy of the churches generally, whether in the city or country, as a matter of course, and in fact it had no room for the actual use of the Creed. If the venerable symbol belonged to it, in any other way, it was only as the "fossil relic of by-gone ages."

Dr. Nevin affirms that he had never heard it from a Presbyterian altar or pulpit; and that he had never dreamed of making it any part of his own ministration in the sanctuary—not even out at Braddock's Field, where it would have been so easy to bring it into full devotional use. Presbyterianism in those days, whatever may be the case at present, had little or no heart for the Apostles' Creed, and the introduction of it anywhere into the worship of the churches would have been most probably censured as an unpardonable innovation. And yet, as all the world knows, the formula is acknowledged in the Westminster Confession of Faith, although unfortunately left out of the Shorter Catechism.

In the Heidelberg Catechism, on the other hand, not long since approved by the Presbyterian General Assembly for the instruction of the young, it constitutes a large part of its contents, which is significant, as it virtually affirms the symbolical authority of the Creed on which the Catechism, like Calvin's Institutes, is based. In the Reformed and Lutheran Churches the youth at an early age became familiar with the Creed as they learned it out of their catechisms, and in some families at least, as they were accustomed to repeat it at night in connection with their prayers. The youngest and the most tender branches in the house learned it by hearing their older brothers or sisters reciting it nightly, after they had fairly mastered for themselves the Lord's Prayer. The probability is that neither Dr. Nevin at Pittsburgh, nor many other Presbyterian divines, if they had been called upon to repeat it from the pul-

pit, would have been able to have gone through with it without stumbling, or travestyng it from beginning to end.

With such want of power to appreciate the Creed on Dr. Nevin's part, there must have been necessarily a corresponding want of power also to do full justice to the view of religion generally, in which it finds its proper home. His hermenetical and historical enlargement, whatever that may have been, had not brought with it to him as yet any proper apprehension of what may be denominated the churchly and sacramental side of Christianity, without which the sense of its objective presence in the world must always be, as with Schleiermacher—more or less sentimental and vague. There was, therefore, a large part of the New Testament, in this view, that was not allowed in his mind, as he frankly admits, to come to its full and fair meaning, which, as it were, was crowded out of sight all the time by the stress of what was held to be the plain meaning of another part of it. For the same reason there was also a want with him of true catholic freedom in estimating the significance of historical forms and modes of church life differing from his own, more especially where they had to do with the realistic side of religion at what seemed to be the cost of its spiritualistic side.

Looking at the matter in this light, he honestly acknowledges, as facts showed, that he saw in the forms of the Roman Church itself as a matter of course, as well as in its theory of the Gospel in general, only gross superstitions throughout, and the most stupid want of common sense. Old Lutheranism, too, in his eyes was not very much better; the wonder with him simply being how such respectable Lutheranism as that represented by the General Synod and its institutions at Gettysburg, Pa., could so cling as it did to a title, which no longer expressed in any way its true faith. Neither could he see anything great or good in the Episcopal Church, except what it might have in its forms of religious character, which seemed to be in it by mistake, belonging in truth to a different order of church life. The Low Church party, accordingly, were held to be in the right as against the High Church party; they had with them all the evangelical piety of the body, so far as there was any such piety at all in it; but then they were in a false position throughout, which it was impossible to look upon with any sort of sincere respect. The distinctive spirit of Episcopacy was held to belong altogether to the other side; and this seemed to be a species of judicial blindness only, given up fully to the service of lies instead of the truth. The Oxford Tractarian movement, in particular, was

regarded with pity and contempt, and the title of *Newmania*, stupidly applied to it by some, was considered as a pun, not altogether void of propriety and good common sense.

And yet, Dr. Nevin assures us that his first glimpse of what the church spirit really meant, was obtained unexpectedly from looking into a volume of the Oxford Tracts, which a friend had bought, and, after finding them to be dry and tiresome reading, passed them over into his hands. He was not converted, it is true, in any sense to the views of the book. But he saw—what he had not imagined or believed before—that there was deep, intelligent conviction at work in the Oxford movement; that the men concerned in it were neither hypocrites nor visionaries; and there flashed upon his mind, at the same time, some sense of the profoundly earnest religious problem with which they were wrestling and in their way endeavoring to solve. That was all. But where he then stood, this was, in the way of seed-thought, a great deal in the circumstances.

Thus far we have made use of Dr. Nevin's own account of his life, inward and outward, but here the autobiography suddenly breaks off, and it was never finished, as he hoped it might be. Hereafter, therefore, we must continue his record, not as made in his own words; but as written upon the Church by his works and words. In connection with the story of his "Own Life," until he emerged from Pittsburgh, he wrote out a pretty extended critique of his faith at that time as compared with what it was thirty years afterwards; but as that shows the progress he had made during that interval and the more settled convictions, religious and theological, to which he had then attained, we hold it in reserve until we come to it in chronological order in 1870.

As Dr. Nevin was not entirely stationary nor merely hybernating on his father's farm or at Princeton, but gradually growing in wisdom and strength, so it was with him at the Western Seminary, and in fact much more so. What would have become of him, or what he would have done with himself, had he remained at Pittsburgh, it is now impossible for any one to say; but it is not likely that in his own church and in his own surroundings, he would have enjoyed the same theological freedom, which he came to enjoy elsewhere, for what he regarded as his own peculiar growth and enlargement. Possibly he would have made comparatively little advancement in his life, or if there had been any at all, it would have been something abnormal and morbid rather than catholic and free. In this Pittsburgh stadium of his life he had fairly set out on his theological pilgrimage, little knowing or dreaming at

the time through what waves of inward conflict and outward contradiction it was to lead him in after years. The part of his journey over which he had already travelled was not destined to represent its character as a whole. It brought out only one side of it, and that by no means the side which was destined to be the broadest and the most fruitful in the end. It was only with a part of his being that he stood—rather uneasily—in the Ernestian, or as we may say, in the Andoverian order of thought. There was another part of his being, that had been exercised all along in various ways against it and that had refused to acknowledge its authority. This had been growing and gathering strength in its own way, until at last in the course of years it mastered the whole movement to which it belonged, and gave it a character just the opposite of what it seemed to have at the first. The movement, nevertheless, was intrinsically one, and in its main meaning harmonious with itself throughout. What proved to be the ultimate scope of it in truth, God so ordering, was, in fact, the real sense of it from the beginning. There was here a genetic process or growth, and it is the privilege no less than the comfort of faith to believe that it was directed by a higher than human wisdom. But this growth or spiritual development could be made much better in another sphere and a different atmosphere. The change was made not by a vision, as when Æneas was told by his wife's pale shade to leave Troy and seek a new home in Italy, but by clear indications of Providence, whereby our theological pilgrim, as he says, was lifted up as it were by the Almighty hand of God itself from the place where he stood, and transplanted into an altogether different world.—He received the degree of D.D. from Jefferson College, Pa., in 1839, and that of LL.D. from Union College in 1873.

Just as we had finished our review of Dr. Nevin's life at Pittsburgh we received the following letter from the Rev. Alfred Nevin, D.D., LL.D., in which he gives his early recollections and impressions of Dr. Nevin, which we gladly insert at this place. Our readers as well as the author of this volume will doubtless thank him for this interesting sketch of his theological teacher:

REV. THEODORE APPEL, D.D. *Dear Brother:* It gives me very great pleasure to comply with your request for some reminiscences of my distinguished kinsman, the Rev. J. W. Nevin, D.D., LL.D., with the preparation of whose biography you have been happily entrusted. These reminiscences will mainly cover the period of my student life in the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny,

from 1837 to 1840, during which he filled one of the chairs in that Institution.

Dr. Nevin had made a near approach to the meridian of his strength and influence. He was a most diligent student and his growing acquirements, added to the vast scholarship which he had brought with him to his important position, gave him a literary reputation which it is the privilege of but few men to obtain. Even in his walk along the streets of the city, he carried with him an air of elevation and abstraction which indicated the high regions of research, reflection and aspiration in which he was accustomed to move. All who knew him, and there were not many to whom he was a stranger, either through the pulpit or the press, regarded him as a thesaurus of learning, especially in the *Scientia scientiarum*, which treats of God, of His character, His attributes, government and relations to our race.

I was for some months a member of Dr. Nevin's family, and thus had an opportunity of judging him in that sphere, which, because of its exemption from outside observation and restraints, is the best test of character. In the domestic circle he was, though affable and kind, generally dignified and silent in his manner. He had the grace of hospitality in a large degree, and always seemed to enjoy the visits of friends, which called it into exercise. A young gentleman who was a candidate for the ministry, and whose financial means were limited, was assisted by him to a place in his household, and received from him the most affectionate and generous consideration in the way of aid towards licensure. He was eminently faithful in private devotion, notwithstanding his numerous and pressing engagements. As the room I occupied adjoined his study, I knew him to lock his door daily after breakfast and family worship, to spend an hour in communion with God, before entering upon the duties to which his professorship called him.

Among the students of the Seminary Dr. Nevin was eminently popular. At their first acquaintance with him, they were apt to regard him as phlegmatic in temperament, frigid in his bearing, and difficult of approach; but repeated intercourse with him developed to them his strong sympathetic and benevolent nature, and kindled in their hearts the highest admiration and most ardent attachment. When in the recitation room he was sometimes a little sharp and severe in his tone and exacting; but all this was overlooked in view of the evident design and tendency to promote the fidelity of those with whom he was dealing. On such occasions he always appeared without a book, seeming to be master of every department in which he was called to give instruction.

As a preacher, Dr. Nevin, to thoughtful persons, was exceedingly attractive. If he erred at all in this capacity, it was in dealing too profoundly with the themes he had in hand. When he had treated a subject, every body felt that he had left but little to say that could be said touching it with advantage. He was by no means a cultivated orator, but there was an originality, persuasiveness and motion in his thought, which made the grace of elocution to be forgotten. He needed not such external drapery for his earnest and exhaustive deliverances. A sermon preached by Dr. Nevin in the Presbyterian congregation at Uniontown, Pa., on the "Seal of the Spirit," and published by their request and expense, was a specimen of the mighty grasp with which he seized any theme he undertook to explain and elucidate. From the deep impression his discourses made upon me I remember many of them until this day—two particularly on the texts: "Because I live, ye shall live also," and "The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch," which were beyond all question the grandest and most glorious expositions of divine truth to which I have ever listened. I never knew him to read a sermon; his delivery was always without notes, but the least attentive hearer could not fail to perceive and feel that he had made the most diligent and thorough preparation for his audiences. He stood calm, poised, and self-possessed in the pulpit, proclaiming his messages with a power, pathos and pungency which fixed every eye upon him, and stirred the depths of every heart which he addressed. For some time he supplied gratuitously the Ladies' Seminary at Sewickley, in which he felt a deep interest, with the preaching of the Gospel, and I remember well that one wintry Saturday, when he could not reach the place by boat, by reason of the ice on the river, he started on foot to travel the fifteen or eighteen intervening miles to bear the bread of life to his little flock.

A few years before his death, and after his resignation of the Presidency of the College at Lancaster, Dr. Nevin made me a visit in Philadelphia. In a private conversation, I asked him how he expected to spend his time now that he had no official duties to perform. His brief but solemn and significant answer was, "In preparing for heaven." It may be that the double tie by which we were united as cousins and brothers-in-law, tinctures with some partiality my estimate of John Williamson Nevin's character; but in my soberest, sincerest, and most independent judgment, I hold him, and shall so cherish his memory, as one of the greatest, best, and most influential men that the American Church has yet produced.

Very truly yours,

LANCASTER, Pa., Feb. 1, 1889.

ALFRED NEVIN.

CHAPTER X

THE Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church was founded in 1825, and located in the first place at Carlisle, Pa., then removed successively from Carlisle to York, Pa., and from York to Mercersburg, Pa. It passed through many struggles for existence, but proved to be of eminent service in the Church, especially in its transition from the use of the German to that of the English language in its congregations. Dr. Lewis Mayer, its senior professor, with Dr. Frederick Augustus Rauch, as a colleague from the year 1832, remained at his post until the year 1839, when, on account of ill health and other considerations, he felt himself compelled to resign his professorship in the Seminary, and to withdraw from public life. His resignation was accepted by the Synod in the fall of 1839, and the Rev. Dr. Jacob Becker, of Northampton Co., Pa., an eminent theologian and one who had himself prepared a number of students for the ministry in a private school of his own, was elected to fill Dr. Mayer's place, but for various reasons he could not see his way clear to accept of this appointment. Thereupon the Board of Visitors of the Seminary, as authorized by the Synod, proceeded to fill the vacancy by appointing the Rev. Albert Helfenstein, Jr., of Hagerstown, Md., at the time one of the best educated scholars in the denomination. But he declined also, and the Church, considerably torn by dissensions and diversity of opinions, was out at sea, not knowing where to look for a master in Israel who could command its confidence. In these circumstances the Board called a General Convention or Synod of the Church to convene in Chambersburg, Pa., at an early day.

At this time Dr. Nevin was favorably known to some few Reformed ministers, and had once attended the meetings of their Synod at Pittsburgh, some four or five years before, at which he had expressed his interest and sympathy in their work, which at that time was prevailingly German in character. As no one at home could be found to be the standard-bearer in Israel, his name was incidentally mentioned in connection with the vacant chair in a party of Reformed ministers, suggested probably by Mrs. Dr. B. S. Schneck, of Chambersburg, cousin of Dr. D. H. Riddle, of Pittsburgh, through whom she had become more particularly acquainted with him. But it was through the Rev. Samuel R. Fisher, a young

man at the time, more than through any one else, that his name was brought before the Synod in such a manner as to result in his election as professor. The part which he took in the matter was a kind of daring inspiration in his own mind, which could hardly be expected from one of his usually cool and cautious nature, and it is therefore not without interest in itself as well as an important thread in this history.

Whilst Mr. Fisher was pastor of the Emmittsburg charge in Maryland, he learned incidentally on Sunday, in one of his congregations, from a student of the Western Theological Seminary then present, that the Rev. Dr. Nevin had resigned his professorship in that institution. "This intelligence," says Mr. Fisher, much interested already in the general affairs of the Church, "produced a singular effect upon my mind. At once I thought I could see light breaking through the gloom, which had darkened the prospects of properly filling the vacant professorship in the Seminary at Mercersburg. It occurred to me that Dr. Nevin was the man who was in every way fitted for the position. At the time I had no personal acquaintance with him, although I had seen and heard him preach at different times. My knowledge of his character and attainments as a theologian and biblical scholar, well versed in German literature, was obtained through my relations to a number of his intimate acquaintances and admirers, among whom the Rev. Dr. Brown, President of Jefferson College, under whom I had studied, was specially prominent.

"From the moment Dr. Nevin had been thus suggested to my mind as a suitable person to fill the vacant professorship, I was inspired with an enthusiasm in regard to it, such as I have never experienced in relation to any other subject. It took possession of my whole being. It was in my thoughts by day and by night; and for the time being it entered largely into my most fervent devotional moods. It seemed as though I could not by any effort possibly divest myself of it. I spoke with different brethren from time to time about it, and my first impulse would have led me to open a correspondence with Dr. Nevin, but upon further reflection it seemed to me that it might be regarded as presumptuous on my part, as I was still young in the ministry and the service of the Church, and probably as premature also, in view of the fact that the Board of Visitors would soon convene for the purpose of providing for the existing exigency in the history of the Church."

After the Board had met and appointed Mr. Helfenstein to fill the professorship, Mr. Fisher, as he informs us, did not give up all

hope, and accordingly communicated to its members his views and feelings in regard to Dr. Nevin, as a person in all respects well fitted to fill the professorship, in case Mr. Helfenstein should not accept the appointment tendered him, and he was gratified with a hearty response from those present. It was then unofficially agreed that he should address the Rev. Dr. Nevin on the subject, and that Rev. Benjamin S. Schneek, Editor of the *Weekly Messenger*, the Church paper at the time, should open a similar correspondence with the Rev. Dr. Riddle, of Pittsburgh, an intimate friend of Dr. Nevin. Mr. Fisher was informed by Dr. Nevin that whilst he appreciated his motives and kind feelings, he must decline granting him the permission, which he had asked, of presenting him as a candidate to fill the vacancy at Mercersburg. One reason which he assigned was that, not being a native of the German Church, he was afraid he would not be able to secure its confidence to such an extent as would be necessary to insure his personal comfort and success in the position, in which it was proposed to place him. Another reason which he assigned was that his resignation as professor in the Seminary at Allegheny had been only conditional, and as the condition on which it had been based had been met, he therefore felt under obligations to remain where he was. This was calculated to cool the ardor of the young enthusiast, but he had faith as well as enthusiasm, and he did not regard himself as yet entirely discomfited. Dr. Riddle also could not give his friend Mr. Schneek any encouragement in regard to the probabilities of Dr. Nevin's acceptance of the position in the Seminary, in case it should be proffered to him. At the same time he freely admitted his peculiar qualifications for the position, adding that he had "a dash of transcendentalism about him," which could be no very serious objection to him in a German Church.

The General Convention or Synod of the Reformed Church was called to meet at Chambersburg, Wednesday, January 27, 1840, to consider the gravity of the situation, to which all the ministers within its bounds, one hundred and eighty-one in all, were invited to attend with their lay delegates. The meeting was held in mid-winter and the attendance was comparatively small, consisting of twenty ministers and seven elders. None appeared from the West, none from the South, and only one from the East. But the churches in the neighborhood and in the adjacent parts of Maryland were represented by men who had come together to do their duty in the fear of God. After two candidates had been discussed, the way was open for Mr. Fisher to propose Dr. Nevin, an outsider, as a

candidate, and he dwelt somewhat at length upon his excellent character, but more especially upon his reputation as a professor, and his knowledge of German theology and German literature. The latter consideration was probably the most potent argument in his favor. Some thought, that if he was such a man as he was represented to be, the Presbyterian Church would not suffer him to transfer his ecclesiastical relation to any other denomination, to which Mr. Fisher thus replied: "The remark may hold good with regard to most men. Dr. Nevin, however, I regard as an exception to the general rule. If we can satisfy him that it is his *duty* to take charge of the professorship at Mercersburg, the whole Presbyterian Church combined cannot prevent him from doing so. This, moreover, I think the Synod can do. Let the call be unanimous and earnest, and the path of duty will be made plain to him. Yea, I feel like pledging myself, if the Synod so direct, to go to Pittsburgh with the call, and not to return without receiving assurance of a positive answer." Drs. Herron, Riddle, and others acquainted with Dr. Nevin at Pittsburgh afterwards expressed themselves in similar emphatic language in regard to his strong sense of duty.

After the close of the discussion respecting the merits of the respective candidates, the Synod knelt in solemn prayer for direction in what was to all present a matter of transcendent importance. The names of the other two candidates having been withdrawn, the Rev. Dr. Nevin was unanimously elected to the vacant chair of theology. The Synod then again on bended knee returned thanks to God for the harmony which had characterized its proceedings in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, and earnestly beseeching Him to crown their present decision with His blessing, so that it might lead to a happy issue. The call was made out and Rev. B. S. Schneck and Rev. S. R. Fisher were appointed a committee to present the call to Dr. Nevin in person, and to endeavor to prevail upon him to accept of the appointment. Provision was also made for his installation at an early day, in case he should accept of the solemn call.

The committee made no delay, and on the following Monday they were on their way to cross the Alleghenies in extremely cold weather, partly "in open sleds and partly on boards fastened on the running gear of a stage-coach." The Rev. Mr. Schneck, the senior of the two, probably suffered most in the crossing of the mountains, as he had less faith in the success of the mission than his younger companion, whose enthusiasm, he confesses, was great, leading him on by an irresistible impulse. Upon reaching the end

of their journey they called upon Dr. Herron first, and explained to him the object of their mission. He was frank in his replies, and among other things made the remark, "we shall be loth to part with Dr. Nevin from our Seminary. We know, however, that if you can convince him, that it is his duty to accept the call from your Synod, it will be impossible for us to keep him." This was a confirmation of a remark that had been made at Chambersburg.

The committee next visited Dr. Nevin at his residence over in Allegheny City. The visit was entirely unexpected, and the object of it took him considerably by surprise. In the course of the interview, he remarked, that some time after he had written the letter to Mr. Fisher, declining to allow his name to be brought before the Synod, as it appeared that the conditions on which he had consented to remain at Allegheny Seminary would perhaps not be met, he had prepared another letter addressed to him, in which he had authorized him to place his name in nomination before the Synod, in case it should be deemed proper to do so. But on further reflection he had destroyed that letter, deeming it most proper to leave the whole matter to the direction of Providence. This fact added force to the impression, which other circumstances seemed to make upon his mind, that the hand of Providence was in the matter. The committee in several interviews with him sought to present simply a candid statement of facts, as they thought it unwise to excite any expectations that might afterwards be found to have been unwarranted in the premises. After Dr. Nevin had promised to give the subject a full and candid consideration, and to make as early a reply as possible, the committee returned to their homes in the East, leaving him to his own meditations and prayers. They were favorably impressed with their prospects of success in the object of their trip across the mountains during the bleak weather of January—one of the party, of course, more so probably than the other.

On the 5th of March following, Dr. Nevin addressed to Rev. B. S. Schneek, the President of the Synod, a letter signifying his willingness to accede to the call of the Reformed Synod to become one of its theological professors. We give it here in full as an expressive and suggestive document.

"I am prepared to say that I accept of the call, put into my hands by the Rev. Mr. Fisher and yourself, by which I have been invited, on the part of the Synod of the German Reformed Church, to the Professorship of Theology in the Seminary at Mercersburg. This notice is communicated to you as the President of the Synod for

the present year. It is my intention to apply to the Presbytery to which I belong, at its regular meeting in April, with the view of passing into the German Reformed Church. I shall be ready afterwards, with divine permission, to enter on my new office about the beginning of June.

"Allow me, through you, to express to the German Reformed Synod my high sense of the honor they have conferred upon me, in thus electing me, with one heart and one voice, to a station so important and responsible. My inmost prayer is that I may not be found in the end unworthy altogether of such confidence.

"At the same time I must say I have found great difficulty in making up my mind to accept the appointment. The question has seemed to involve the main crisis of my ministry at least, if not of my life. I have found much around me and much within me to resist the call. Other ties and claims, ecclesiastical and social, have pleaded against it strongly in my spirit. The greatness of the trust, and the difficulties that must be connected with it, have alarmed me. The idea of passing into new and untried relations, the fear of disappointing just expectations, vague apprehensions of collisions in the midst of the new order of things, the new moral system, with which I must find myself surrounded on entering into the German communion, have all contributed to invest the step with a painfully solemn interest to my feelings, and to hold my thoughts in anxious suspense in regard to listening to such a call.

"But the difficulties have been made, in the end, to yield to the persuasion that I am called of God to go to Mercersburg. The indications of His will, in the case, have seemed to be too clear and striking to be misinterpreted or disregarded. In view of all the circumstances, therefore, I have felt that it is my duty to obey the voice of your Synod. I *dare* not, for the sake of my own peace, turn away my ears from the application. The field is immensely important, and at the same time full of promise. The necessity is great. The time is critical. The call has been strange and unexpected; not only without my seeking, but *against* my own judgment and wish explicitly expressed and understood. It is the unanimous and hearty call, as it would seem, of the whole Church.

"My own training might appear to have been providentially ordered by Him, who leadeth the blind in a way not understood by themselves, with special reference to this very destination. Though not a German by birth, I feel a sort of kindred interest in that people, which could hardly be stronger were I one of themselves. My childhood and early youth were spent in close familiar commun-

ion with German manners and modes of thought. I understand the people well. In later life my attention has been turned to their Language and Literature. These have awakened in me a new interest in their favor, and brought me into more extensive fellowship with the peculiarities of the national mind. All this enters as an element into the constitution of the *call* by which I find myself bound to go into your Church. The whole case is strengthened by the fact that others whose judgment I ought to respect so generally admit the weight of the considerations by which I am urged to this step. Even those who seem most desirous that I should stay where I am, would shrink, I imagine, from the responsibility of exercising a *veto* in the case, if it were altogether in their hands; and it is my confident hope, that the step I am about to take, in quitting my Church for yours, will commend itself to others as well as myself in such a way that all will consider it right in the end.

"Thus do I find myself constrained to go into the German Reformed Church. Let it not be thought, however, that I go reluctantly or coldly into her communion, now that the duty is settled. I go, indeed, with fear and trembling; but I carry along with me my entire will. I give myself wholly to the German Reformed Church, and find no difficulty in making her interests my own. No Church can boast of a better creed, or a better ecclesiastical framework. Her fathers rank high in the history of the Reformation. The spirit of a time-hallowed faith, such as could once make martyrs, older than the Presbyterianism of Scotland, is still enshrined in her articles and forms, and the German Church in this country has become a rising interest. No section of our American Zion is more important. None embraces vaster resources of power in proportion to its limits. None exhibits a richer intellectual ore, available in the same way for the purpose of religion. I find no lack of considerations here to enlist my sympathies or to stimulate my zeal. I can go heartily into such a church, and in this spirit I now accept of the call of your Synod to the Professorship at Mercersburg."

This was straightforward language, which, addressed to a German audience, was easily understood. It showed that the man was in deep earnest about the matter; that he came to labor for the Reformed Church in all its interests no less than in the professor's chair; and that his zeal and enthusiasm were already deeply enlisted. Just such a person was needed at the time in the peculiar circumstances of the German Church in this country—a steady helmsman who could speak out, and was willing to do his part in guiding the vessel through storms as well as through sunshine.

But here there was simply a promise. Would it be fulfilled? That was to be left for the future to decide. Our plain German people believed that Mr. Nevin, as he was called, intended to do what he said. Hard working pastors intuitively felt that a tower of strength had risen up among them, against which they could lean in their trials. Here were brave words that came from the heart and went to the heart. With such a beginning mutual confidence and esteem were sure to grow out of the new relation which was about to be formed. Not long after this letter was sent to the President of the Synod, Dr. Nevin with his family were on their way to Mercersburg. The change of atmosphere was an agreeable one, and he must have felt at home on his return to the Cumberland Valley, with the North and South Mountains once more bounding the horizon, now more pleasing to the eye than ever before. On his way he stayed over night at Chambersburg, where he met with a kind and affectionate reception.

VIII—AT MERCERSBURG FROM 1840-1844

Æt. 37-41

CHAPTER XI

DR. NEVIN moved with his family to Mercersburg in the spring of 1840, and here for the first time he met Dr. Frederick Augustus Rauch, President of Marshall College, and his future colleague in the Seminary, whose guest he became until more permanent arrangements could be made for the accommodation of himself and family. It is quite natural to suppose that they were mutually anxious not only to become acquainted with each other, but to look into each other, and ascertain where each one stood in the world of ideas. They were still less than forty years of age, and yet, with the lines of thought and hard study deeply marked on their brows, they seemed to be much older. The one was a Scottish man, dignified, sedate and apparently unemotional; the other was a pure German, full of life, whose enthusiasm, emotions and thoughts manifested themselves externally on his countenance. How could two such men, so differently constituted, be able to work together in the same institution of learning? It was not long before this question answered itself. They were both wise men, spiritually-minded, who looked at the substance of things, lived in the region of ideas, and were earnestly concerned that thought or truth should rule practically in the world. They had come from different races, but possessed the same Teutonic blood in their constitutions. The Scotchman and the German exhibit marked points of divergence externally, but upon a deeper acquaintance, they soon come to feel that internally they have the same common life—that they are cousins-german. And thus it was with Dr. Nevin and Dr. Rauch. The former gives his first impressions of the latter in the beautiful Eulogy on his Life and Character, which he delivered less than a year after their first acquaintance.

“It is now just one year, since I had the privilege of becoming acquainted with him personally. I had some knowledge of his general standing previously, but no particular information with regard to his character and spirit. Intimately associated as I was to be

with him in professional life, I had of course felt some anxiety in relation to this point; a feeling which seemed to have so much the more reason, as it was understood that serious difficulties had already actually occurred in the official connections of Dr. Rauch, in the case of which a large share of the blame was supposed by many to rest properly on his shoulders. All anxiety of this sort, however, fled my spirit, in a very short time, when I came to know the man himself. I found myself attracted to him from the very first. His countenance was the index of his heart, open, generous and pure. I soon felt that my relations with him were likely to be both pleasant and safe. Farther acquaintance only served to strengthen this first impression. It was clear to me that he had been misunderstood and wronged. He was one of the last men probably to be capable of disingenuous cunning or dishonorable dealing in any way. Then I perceived very soon, also, that his learning and intellectual strength were of a higher order altogether than I had felt myself authorized to expect, though it was not until the appearance of his 'Psychology' that I learned to place him sufficiently high in this respect.

"Here again it became clear to me that the proper worth of the man had not been understood; and I could not but look on it as a strange but interesting phenomenon that here, at the head of this infant college, without care, or calculation, or consciousness, even on the part of its friends generally, one of the finest minds of Germany should have been settled, which under other circumstances might well have been counted an ornament to the oldest and most conspicuous institution in the land. This seemed to show, indeed, a special favor on the part of Heaven towards the whole interest, which this enterprise may be considered to involve. No selection could have secured probably a fitter man for the station he was called to occupy, taking all the circumstances and connections into view. My own calculations at least, with regard to him, were large and full of confidence; not only as it respected the College, but in view of the general influence he seemed likely to acquire as a scholar and a writer."

Previous to this time, Dr. Nevin had paid considerable attention to German Literature and, as he informs us, had derived much edification from German authors, especially from the writings of Neander; but now he was confronted with a German scholar of great ability, who could tell him all about German Theology and Philosophy, in their best and worst aspects; and knew precisely where its most distinguished authors stood. This was worth to

him at that time more than a library of their best works, or a prolonged visit to Germany itself. It helped very materially to strengthen him in his wish to avail himself of the treasures of German thought and learning. It was the spring vacation, and the conversations were frequent and protracted, some of which were overheard. Once the subject was Greek Grammar, during which Dr. Nevin was shown an edition of Kuehner's Greek Grammar, then comparatively unknown in this country. After examining it carefully, he was so struck with its able treatment of the subject and its philosophical spirit, that he at once concluded to translate it for the benefit of American scholars. After having translated some portions of it, he learned that he had been anticipated and that soon one translation of it was to appear in England and another in this country.

Whilst, however, Dr. Nevin was thus well pleased with his new colleague, Dr. Rauch, on the other hand, was in fact delighted, his pleasure amounting to an enthusiastic surprise, and he so expressed himself to the students as opportunities presented themselves. Judging from his German stand-point he had met with considerable superficiality among American scholars, whose performances on public platforms seemed to have more sound than substance in them. But here in a very quiet man, less known than many others who possessed less ability, he met with an earnest and profound thinker, one who, in his opinion, had no superior in the country. He listened with close attention to his discourses on Sunday, reminded the students of their contents in the class-room on Monday, and as his health was not firm, he expressed the wish that his new colleague for the future should take his place in the pulpit regularly; because he regarded it as a rare treat to listen to him himself, and wished the students to hear him as often as possible.

He was still a German; and, whilst his sympathies were in full flow with our free institutions, there was much in our American life that was to him contradictory, if not absurd, which, in some degree, was no doubt the truth. This had often made him feel uncomfortable; but now he was by the side of one who could give him correct ideas of American life, of its bright as well as its dark side, and of its intensely earnest, practical tendencies in favor of religion and morality. He moreover saw that the accession of a practical as well as profound professor to the institutions, with which he had identified his life, would inure vastly to their benefit. To a friend he made the remark, that now with Dr. Nevin by his side, he "was able to breathe freely for the first time in America." The union of

two such men augured well for the future, both for their own comfort and happiness, as well as for the prosperity of the Church and the cause of Christ generally.

Soon after this first acquaintance thus happily formed, Dr. Rauch's "*Psychology, or View of the Human Soul, including Anthropology*," published by Mr. Dodd, of New York, made its appearance. It helped, very materially, to confirm Dr. Nevin's favorable impressions of its author. It was well received and favorably noticed in the reviews of the day generally. Dr. Orestes Brownson, of Boston, a very able but eccentric critic, comparing it with some other works on the same subject, recently published, pronounced it decidedly to be "a work of genius." It was at once introduced into the University of Vermont, as a text book, by Professor Marsh, a diligent student of German literature and philosophy; and not long after into Dartmouth College and other institutions. One of the most discriminating and liberal notices of the work came from the Princeton Review, which commended it in highly complimentary terms.

"We are so much accustomed," says the reviewer, "to get our German Philosophy at second-hand, that it is a refreshing novelty, to have an entirely original work on the subject, written in our own language. We have had German translations, which, from the inadequacy of our own terminology to reproduce the original, have been either unintelligible or barbarous, if not both together. We have had German Philosophy filtered through the French and American burlesques of the continental masters, in which the unintelligible has been made to pass for the profound. And last and lowest of all, we have had a train of admiring disciples of Carlyle and Emerson, who have no claim to rank among philosophers at all, and who by affecting to talk nonsense in 'King Cambyses' vein,' have persuaded some that they were talking philosophy. We owe an apology to President Rauch for mentioning his name in such connection, and it is only in the way of contrast that we do it. Let it suffice here to say, that we opened the work with sincere respect for the author, and that we laid it down with increased regard for his learning, taste and piety.

"In the very outset of our remarks, let us be clearly understood as placing Dr. Rauch in a very different class from the metaphysicians with whom we have had occasion to deal. He is no compiler, retailer, or sciolist; he affects no inaccessible heights of mystical dictum; even where a Transcendentalist, he is not such a one as would please the admirers of Spinoza or Hegel.

"We see such a gulf between the idea of a God eternal, unchangeable, all-wise, all-good, simple, immense, and *personal* and that of an eternal, impersonal character, ever straining after self-consciousness, that we can conceive of no two systems more destructive of one another. The difference between Deism and Christianity being trifling in comparison. Of this godless philosophy we see no traces in this work. We rejoice to see for once a work on Philosophy in which we find the name of Christ, and in which we recognize the fallen state of man, the need of regeneration and the influence of the Holy Spirit.

"But when the author conducts us into the department of Fancy, as a nobler sort of conception, we feel at once the strangeness of his representations and the affinity of the subject with his own genius. He abounds in illustrations drawn from the ancient remains of Poetry, Sculpture, Painting and Architecture. They are gracefully strewn through the whole course, and are never inappropriate or far-fetched. In no work have we ever seen so copious an illustration of Psychology from the stores of ancient history and the drama.

"The author considers Imagination as the activity of the mind, which, with freedom and care, unites different images, or creates new ones from materials furnished from sensations and conceptions; and further, as giving to the new images contents which did not originally belong to them. And it is here in our judgment that Dr. Rauch is most at home. It is imagination in its high import which predominates in the development of his mind, and when we are most satisfied, it is the elegant scholar, the tasteful critic, the philosophical guide to the interior of Art rather than the constructive philosopher, whom we recognize and admire. He hangs garlands on the cold marble of the Porch and Lyceum, and makes us wish that he would give free scope to his talent for æsthetic composition. On these topics the brilliancy and exuberance of the examples and comparisons remind us more of Goethe, Winckelmann and Schiller than of the consequential spinners of the metaphysic web."—See Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, July No., 1840.

This criticism from the Princeton stand-point was just, generous, and discriminating. It admitted that a "Transcendentalist"—a term in bad odor at Princeton as well as elsewhere in this country at the time—did not necessarily mean a pantheist or infidel, having no faith in a divine revelation. It can, like many other words, be used in a Christian as well as a pantheistic sense. Dr. Murdock, of New Haven, therefore, strangely overlooked this distinction in a

small work on Modern Philosophy, published in 1843, where devoting a chapter to the Philosophy of Dr. Rauch, he calls him "a Pantheist as well as a Transcendentalist," and seems to express some doubt whether he was a believer in any *special* revelation from God. It would be just as fair to insinuate that Dr. Murdock had adopted all the excesses of the empirical philosophy, to which he was wedded, with its gross materialism and agnosticism.

Dr. Nevin, as a matter of course, gave the new work on mental philosophy his careful examination, the result of which was, as he pleasantly remarked, to place the author still higher in his estimation as a man of learning than he had done when he first met him, although, as we have seen, his first impressions had gone beyond anything that he had previously felt himself authorized to expect. His review of the book, in the *Messenger*, was cautious, but favorable and highly commendatory. He had come to Mercersburg with idealistic, platonizing tendencies, and as one of his clerical friends said, with a tendency, at least, towards Transcendentalism, and this new work met with a ready response in his inward spiritual nature. Subsequently he studied it more profoundly, using it for many years as a text-book in the College; and it is entirely safe to say, that it exerted a potent influence in giving form to his subsequent philosophical thinking and doctrines. It was to him a starting point, and more or less a standing point, from which a new world of thought grew forth and expanded in his mind, which, if occasioned by contact with the mind of Rauch, became peculiarly his own. All the circumstances connected with the appearance of the book, no less than its spirit, purpose, and style, were calculated to commend it to his attention, and to give his thoughts a new and wholesome direction.

"The author," he says in his review, "is a German, thoroughly trained in the literature and philosophy of the *Fatherland*. The peculiar, characteristic world of thought which prevails there, is the original and native home of his spirit. At the same time, he has lived long enough in this country to make himself familiar with its language, and to put himself fully in possession of the mind which this language embodies. Under these circumstances he is not a mere German in his views. The Scotch-English system of thinking, and of philosophy also, has grown to be familiar ground to his mind, and as a consequence he is prepared, as his work shows, to yield to it a fair share of respect in his metaphysical speculations. Here is a position which must ensure, at all events, an *original* work, a position new at least as compared with.

any from which observations have been made previously in this country. Such a work, too, may be expected to answer a most important purpose in counteracting and correcting the one-sidedness of both those antagonistic tendencies of the times, already mentioned, and reconciling and bringing together what there may be in them separately of truth and right.

“That some such marriage as this might be effected between these different forms of thought, by bringing the German and Scotch systems of philosophy to rest upon a common ground, would seem to have been before the mind of President Rauch in his present work. It is, at all events, as he himself informs us, an attempt to unite the metaphysics of Germany and of this country. The object of the work has been to reduce both to one organic form, that should embody the life of each in a single nature. This could be done, of course, only by ascertaining the truth itself. •No other *solvent* could be considered sufficient in such a case, to subdue and reconcile the opposing forces which were to be subjected to its action.

“The system of Dr. Rauch then is not German transcendentalism in the objectionable sense of that term. Because a certain general form of philosophy has run out into pantheism in certain cases, must it be assumed at once that it can have no safer development in other hands? Or, will it follow that all the serious and deep thinkers of Germany are in like manner involved in sheer mysticism, or at least incapable of perceiving and following out their own schemes of thought? Such an idea must appear to any sound judgment illogical in the extreme. Let us have a clear understanding of what we mean by transcendentalism, before we allow ourselves to make such sweeping conclusions on the strength of the simple word. When all this shall be done, no room certainly can be left for applying it in the way of reproach to the work now before us. Dr. Rauch does not leave the world behind him to expatiate among the clouds. He deals with man as he finds him in common life. He has no sympathy with speculations that aim to lift the mind as their subject out of its true and proper sphere, and so to trench in the end on the personality as well as the moral relation of men, subverting the very foundation of religion. The groundwork of his system is substantially the same, indeed, that is generally recognized in the school of Locke. All is made to rest ultimately on the *sensuous* life. It is by means of the bodily senses only—serving as occasions—that the soul sprouts, and begins its mysterious way towards the ethereal form of perfection, which it is found, in the end, to assume.

"On the other hand, the Psychology of Dr. Rauch is not, by any means, in the characteristic spirit of the Scotch-English philosophy, as this is ordinarily distinguished from the German. Here is no transition formally made from one camp over into the other. The treatise does not coincide in its general line with the works of Locke, or Reid, or Brown, as these, notwithstanding all their differences, are found to coincide with one another. It differs from them not specifically only, but generically also. After all, the predominant spirit in it is German. The philosophy is spiritual more than sensuous. It looks to the real more than the phenomenal. It strives to penetrate the life of its subject, rather than to dissect it anatomically when it is dead. Some may find an odor of transcendentalism in it on this very account. But to such persons anything is likely to prove transcendental that carries them out of their common track of thought. So far as this particular style of dealing with Psychology is concerned, the transcendentalism of Germany will do us no harm."

As said above, the philosophy of Dr. Rauch looked to the real more than to the phenomenal—to what Plato called the substance of things, which addresses the spiritual nature of man in distinction from appearances, which impress merely the external senses. In this respect it fell in fully with the uprising of Germany under Schelling, Hegel and others in opposition to the empirical philosophy of Locke—to some extent favored by Kant—and rent asunder the chasm which restricted the area of human knowledge. For this reason the new phase of philosophy was not improperly said to be transcendental, when it once came to transcend the pent-up-uticæ of skepticism and emerged from the dark shades of agnosticism. For further information regarding Dr. Rauch's philosophy, the reader is respectfully referred to the chapters on Rauch's Christian Ethics, Æsthetics, and Philosophy in general, in "College Recollections at Mercersburg from 1839-1845," published by the author of this volume in 1886.

CHAPTER XII

AT the opening of the Summer Session of the College and Seminary, on the 20th of May, Dr. Nevin was inducted into office as Professor of Theology, on which occasion he delivered an Inaugural Address, which was afterwards published and extensively read in the churches. It made a profound impression at the time, both on account of the striking views which it expressed, and because it served as a mirror clearly reflecting the image of the man who was to be a future leader in Israel. It gave general satisfaction and revived the courage and faith of those who had struggled long and labored hard, in the midst of many difficulties, to establish a School of the Prophets, which was to supply the destitute portion of the German Church with ministers. Some had their doubts whether such a small denomination as the Reformed would ever come to anything, and some intelligent persons—on the outside—perhaps, thought that, as the new professor became master of the situation, he might and should bring it into that household of faith in which he had been born and educated. The address was straightforward and shattered at once all such imaginations. It was full of confidence and faith, and this first voice from Mercersburg was a vigorous appeal to ministers and members alike to arise and build up the broken down walls of Zion, to stand fast in their places, and to do the work which Providence had assigned them in a distinct historical Anglo-German Church.

After giving expression to his own sense of the dignity and significance of the Christian ministry in the way of introduction, the speaker dwelt at greater length on the mission of the German Reformed Church, as it was then called, in connection with the enterprise of Synod in establishing for its necessities a Seminary and a College. On both of these topics the reader is presented with a few of the more salient thoughts, forcibly and beautifully expressed.

"The institution of the *Christian Ministry*," said the professor in the vigor of manhood, but with all the gravity and earnestness of a sage, "stands foremost in point of importance, among all the arrangements on which the welfare of life, in its proper civilized form, is found to depend. No other enters so deeply and steadily into the inward moral economy of society; none links itself more vitally with all the radical interests of the individual and all the primary necessities of the State.

"Viewed simply as a human or worldly arrangement, apart from its higher purposes and aspects altogether, it may well be considered the most important form of power that has ever been brought to bear on the human mind. What agency can be imagined more fully adapted to produce effect than one which thus spreads itself out through the social mass, and renews itself incessantly from week to week, in the same direction and under the same general form?

"The agency of the pulpit, under this view, is of more might by far than the agency of the Senate chamber. The pastoral office, distilling its influence like gently falling dew or rain, in just those circumstances which are best adapted to open a way for it to the secret fountains of thought and feeling, is an institution whose operations will be found in the end to go deeper and to reach farther than the policy and state machinery of Cabinets can ever do.

"The man, who stands up before a congregation from week to week as the authorized expounder of truth and duty, can never fail in the end to leave the image of what he is himself, more or less fully impressed on all that come under the sound of his voice. His people, especially those of them who have grown up under his ministrations from childhood or early youth, catch something even of his external manner. The tones and the inflections of his voice become in some measure theirs. His whole appearance and deportment, especially in the pulpit, work in this way educationally on the minds of his hearers; so that it is far from being a matter of indifference what a minister's looks and tones and gestures may be in the sacred desk, as many persons are apt to suppose. But all this is only the outward sign of a much deeper effect, which in these circumstances is sure to be produced. The minister's style of thinking, as certainly as his style of speaking, will after a time show itself among his hearers. His taste, if it be bad, is sure to be contagious; whilst it works with an influence that is universally refining, when it may happen to be chaste and good. The character of his understanding, his processes of reasoning, the frame and the structure of his thoughts, all communicate themselves in some measure to the congregation over which he presides as public teacher. Under this view, it is not easy to say what an amount of mere educational power is exerted by the Christian ministry over those who acknowledge its authority. Their intellectual conformation will not in the end be what it would have been in other circumstances.

"I have often been surprised with the observation, which it has fallen in my way to make with regard to this point. In almost

every instance, in which I have had an opportunity for comparing the characters and manners of students, even after they had finished their college education, with the character and manner of the ministry under whose preaching they sat in their early years, the evidence of such an educational relationship, as I have now described, has been quite clear. Such effects are the natural results of the ordinary laws of mind. And what becomes apparent in the case of students is only the outward expression of what all in the same circumstances have experienced in the same way. The mind of the congregation is always modified educationally by the mind that acts upon it steadily from the pulpit.

"But the importance of the sacred ministry rests on higher grounds and universally more solemn than these. The grand object is the moral improvement of those who come under its power. Righteousness and truth in the souls of men are the vital interests to which its energies are by special consecration devoted. As such, it is more than a device of the state; something more than a benevolent agency, originated by wise and good men for the spiritual benefit of the world. It is a *divine* institution. Planned and sanctioned by Infinite Wisdom as the best possible arrangement that could be made to carry forward the vast design of the Gospel. It carries along with it from age to age a divine supernatural force for the accomplishment of spiritual effects with reference to its design. It works with irresistible power on the hearts of men, and thus takes hold on the very foundations of character and life. It is mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. All other forms of power are weak in comparison with this.

"To any community then, I repeat it, the Christian ministry is an interest of the most vital consequence. Under its proper healthful form, it will be found encircling with true conservative power all that is sound and wholesome in the social state, elevating men to their true dignity, and bearing them successfully forward towards their proper destiny. And where it may happen to be shorn of its power, society must be held to be out of joint in the most serious respect. Defect or corruption here involves a heavier calamity than defect or corruption in any other department in the social system. The want of a proper judiciary would be an evil less worthy of being deprecated than the want of an adequate Gospel ministry. A bad administration of the state is not so great a calamity as the absence of all proper light and power from the pulpit. The heaviest affliction that can fall on any country in this world is comprised in the fulfilment of that terrible word, 'I will come unto thee quickly

and remove thy candlestick out of his place.' Compared with this, burdensome taxes, disordered finances, governmental abuses in general, are entitled to small consideration. The question how the currency should be regulated is of less account by far than the question, How shall a proper provision be made for supplying the people with sound and wholesome religious instruction?

"Institutions and efforts, which propose to do something towards a proper provision for this great religious and social interest, are always entitled to respect; and so far as they may be found suitable and sufficient for their proposed end, they may well challenge the sympathy and support of all true patriots, as well as of all true Christians. They should feel, that in lending their help to efforts, which are made for providing and maintaining in this nation a competent and efficient Gospel ministry, they are rendering to their country and their race the highest kind of service of which they are capable."

After discussing in this way the importance of the Christian ministry in general, the Professor goes on to speak of the movement on the part of the Reformed Church which had led to the establishment of a Theological Seminary and College, whose primary object was to supply the American German people with properly educated religious teachers. Its necessity was at once patent, and the idea that it might be done by proxy by some other religious denomination was preposterous as well as impracticable. The field was vastly important, one of the most promising kind, and Providence had given it to the Germans themselves to cultivate.

"The territory," said the speaker, "comprised in the bounds of the Reformed Church, is very great, and includes a large portion of the finest soil that is to be found in the United States and under the highest cultivation. The character of the people belonging to its connection, or falling naturally and properly under its care, is full of encouragement. The original elements of the German mind are still retained in their moral institutions, only modified to some extent, and cast, as it were, into the American mould, by the peculiar influences to which they have been subjected, (under a remove of two or three generations from their ancient birthplace) in this new world.

"Qualities of sterling value are imbedded in their spiritual nature, which need only to be properly developed by means of knowledge and religion, working hand in hand, to place them as a people in the very foremost rank of excellence and greatness. The German mind is constitutionally vigorous and free. Simplicity, honesty

and integrity characterize it strikingly under all circumstances. It leans towards nature and truth. It is thoughtful, meditative and quiet. It abounds in sentiment and feeling; and it always suffers a sort of unnatural violence, when it is found, through the prevalence of selfish and low aims, belying its native element in this respect. No people are more susceptible than the Germans of all the deeper and more spiritual emotions of our nature. None have a greater aptitude naturally to be wrought upon by music, by painting, and poetry, and all that addresses itself to the æsthetical faculty in the soul. None naturally have a quicker sense of the beautiful and sublime, whether in the world of nature or in the world of spirit. None are more susceptible of all that is deep in friendship or sacred in love. In none is the instinct of religion more powerful, or the congeniality of the soul with all that is vast and awful in faith, with all that is profound in devotion, more readily and strongly displayed.

“Indeed the faults of the German character stand more or less in affinity with the favorable susceptibilities and tendencies which have just been mentioned. They are perverse, one-sided developments of forms of life, the native excellency of which cannot fail to be perceived in some measure even in such distortions. These, it is the business of a proper religious culture to remove or prevent, and happily in this country, the state of society and the reigning tone of thought are well suited to counteract those moral aberrations to which the mind of Germany at home is most exposed; thus placing it in the most favorable circumstances with regard to such culture, and contributing greatly to the efficacy of it as far as it may be employed.

“Such is the character of the people, to whose spiritual welfare the enterprise of the German Reformed Synod has primary respect. It is a character which involves a great deal, not only for the German population itself to which it belongs, but to the American nation generally. Commercially, politically and morally, the influence of this people is immense; and the influence which, from their resources and relations, they may be expected to exert hereafter, and which it is desirable to exert under a healthful form as quickly as possible, may be said to be beyond all calculation.”

The professor then looking over the vast range of territory occupied by the German diaspora in this country, extending out into the West and increasing in population every year by immigration, asks the significant question, How and by whom are its spiritual wants to be provided for, so that it may blossom as the rose?

"Who then," he goes on to say, "naturally ought to care for these desolations, if it be not the German population of the country themselves, found in more favorable circumstances, especially on this side of the Alleghenies? Who may be considered, by their nature and position, qualified in the same way, to work successfully in such a field? If the German population of this country is to rise at all to its proper rank in a religious point of view, it must be within the framework of its own ecclesiastical institutions and by means mainly of its own exertions. Its interests cannot, with propriety or safety, be devolved upon others.

"Can the English thus provide for the necessities of the German population? Are not their hands already full, with work more directly and immediately their own? Can they break through the barrier, which is still interposed between the two people by difference of language to a great extent, and not less perhaps by difference of national temperament? Are our German Churches to merge themselves in the religious systems of England and Scotland, on this side of the Atlantic? Are they willing to see their own missionary ground wrested from their hands, when it should be their ambition, as it is plainly their solemn trust, to accomplish the work themselves?

"I would be the last to countenance or encourage national prejudices in any case; and least of all would I be willing to justify any sentiment of this sort, as it regards the relations of the Church I left with the one which has just taken me, as an adopted son, into her bosom. Though two communions in one aspect, they are in another altogether the same. The Reformed Church of Scotland and the Reformed Church of Germany, as well as the Reformed Church of France and of Holland, are so many twin-sisters by birth, not merely of the Protestant Reformation, but of the Reformation in its purest form, as it was perfected finally at Geneva under the gigantic spirit of Calvin. In no sense do they constitute different religious sects, according to the proper use of the term.

"But in view of all this I do not hesitate to say that the German Reformed Church ought not to lay aside her distinctive national character and merge herself in a foreign interest. Nothing is clearer than the fact that her people have not the least idea of thus quitting their national position at present; but independently of this, I would say that the thing in itself is not to be desired, and if any disposition of this sort does not exist, it ought not to be encouraged.

"In Eastern Pennsylvania especially, the predominant form of mind will continue to be German; and that influence in the Church,

which is visibly of German constitution and German growth, must in the end prove more effective in controlling its character than any other. For the German Reformed Church to renounce its German character would be a sort of treason to the German interest generally. Our brethren of the Lutheran and Moravian Churches might justly complain of us in such a case, that they were left to bear alone the heat and burden of the day, which belongs by a divine appointment equally to us all. They have no right to desert us. We have no right to desert them. The united weight of all, standing fast to their national standard, will all be needed to make a right moral impression on the wide-spread community to which they belong; and to withstand successfully the force of those various forms of infidelity and error to which it is coming more and more to be exposed.

"The case is clear. The German Church must rise within herself, under God, by and from herself. She must adhere to her own standards. She must have her own ministry; and in order to this, her own institutions for bringing her own sons forward to the sacred office. She should continue to cherish still her national sympathies, and the hallowed associations of her own faith and worship. As Germans the best service they can have it in their own power ordinarily to render to the cause of religion in this country, will be to abide in their own Church, and to do all that in them lies to assist it in putting on the full strength of the Lord. And we may add, that we have a right to expect confidently the sympathy and the friendly co-operation of brethren in other Churches here in this work. Especially may we look to the Reformed Churches of English and Scotch extraction, who may be considered in a certain sense doctrinally and morally one with ourselves—this extraction being the only exception.

"If there ever was a case in which a people were bound to rally round a common cause, as with the spirit of one man, it seems to me that we have it here. Who that has the heart of a German within him can refuse to lend it to a work, which looks so directly to the moral elevation of a community, so great, so powerful, so full of promise, and to which he feels himself bound by so many ties? Can we conceive of an event, within the same range of possibility, that would be so auspicious to the interests of truth, of freedom, and human happiness, in this country, as the general triumph of light and truth through the mighty mass of mind between the Atlantic and the Alleghenies only, rousing it to action worthy of itself and clothing itself with the full strength of its constitution

fully developed? Would it not be to the whole land as life from the dead? Where should we find, in such a case, in these whole United States, a community of the same extent so interesting to look upon, or that might be considered more necessary to the religious and political prosperity of the land? The dawn of such a day as we have imagined might seem already to have broken above the horizon. The German mind has begun to awake from its slumber, and now, may be expected soon to make itself felt in a new and extraordinary way. The Church is struggling to rise, with a resolution and energy which bid fair to increase every year.

"But there must be action here as well as prayer. Our Institutions are not complete. They need to be extended and made strong. All this should be done without delay. The case calls for the most prompt and vigorous measures. Every year is precious. All that is wanted might be finished in a single year. Why then should this work languish or drag? How many men have we in the German Reformed connection who would be able single-handed to endow a professorship, or to build a college, and scarcely miss the donation when it is made? They can hardly find an interest more worthy of their generosity, or more likely to make it tell in perennial blessings on the people to which they belong.

"Young men also of proper capacity are needed in large numbers for carrying forward this great design. Parents who can afford it may confer a high favor on the community, as well as on their sons themselves, merely by giving them a liberal education. Let our substantial farmers send their sons to college. The great want at present among us is ministers. Parents, who can thus bring forward a son for the use of the Church, should feel that in doing so they make the richest offering in their power to present. Young men too, who have a heart to devote themselves in this way, should come forward and offer their persons for the service. Let none such betake themselves to other denominations. The German Church lays her hand on her own children, and claims them solemnly for herself."

This Address, of which we have here given the prominent thoughts, was a remarkable one, whether we consider its judicious and conservative tendency, or the character of the speaker, a Scotch-Irish man, addressing an immense German audience, including many more absent than present. It had the force of an historical event. Its contents, passing through the minds of ministers and the more intelligent elders, gradually trickled down into the minds of the people. Such as were English in speech said:

Dr. Nevin means what he says. The German standing by, and listening without understanding many of the words of the address, but readily catching its drift and spirit, quickly added, "*Der Mann ist im Ernst.*"

In less than a year from its delivery, the entire Church, from the Delaware to the Susquehanna, and out over the Allegheny mountains into Ohio, was aglow with zeal and activity, as we shall see, in building up its schools of learning, and in the support of missions and education. The happy settlement of a new professor at Mercersburg, with his brave and honest words, had much to do in giving the Church an impulse such as it had never before received in this country, illustrating what has been already said that the Germans have "qualities of sterling value, which need only to be developed by knowledge and religion." Here then in language like this we have the manifestation of a broad comprehensive mind, the evidence of a high order of integrity, and solemn sense of responsibility. This one instance more than redeems the narrow infatuation and presumption of some ministers who pass from one denomination to another, not to work in the line of its history and genius, but to carry out their own subjective views and feelings, and if not literally, yet in effect, to take their churches with them over to the denomination from which they came. That was not the way of our true and honest Scotchman, who, if he was not, in fact, the descendant of a Highland hero, ought to have been. He did all that he promised, fully identified himself with the Reformed Church, and took her for "better or worse." He cut loose his vessel behind him, and began to work with his brethren, as if he had been born in their church. He acted wisely, and the results spoke for themselves.

CHAPTER XIII

AS already said, during the Summer term of 1840 Dr. Nevin was frequently called on to conduct worship in the College Chapel, at the special request of Dr. Rauch, whose failing health admonished him to husband his physical strength. He was quite profuse in affirming, that the institutions were very happy in being supplied with discourses so eminently adapted to edify the students as well as himself and the rest of the professors. They presented a rather strong contrast to those which had been wont to be delivered in the same place, in style, long continued processes of logical reasoning, in being about twice the usual length of sermons, and sufficiently dry when heard for the first time to induce drowsiness, especially on a warm summer afternoon. They were off-hand, with only an occasional flash of imagination, with no effort at rhetorical display, severely logical, pungent, and earnest in their appeals to the conscience and the intellect. The speaker had a grave physique, a scholarly appearance, a strong, deep, masculine voice, such as is seldom heard in the pulpit, and presented the elements of an original character, all of which arrested the attention of collegian no less than theologian. The former made it a point to be able to say that he understood the sermon, in which, in a measure, he was perhaps successful, after he had become accustomed to the preacher's peculiar style and language.

One of these Sunday discourses, apparently as intellectually dry as the rest, nevertheless, made a deep impression on the minds of the hearers, and became the subject of remark, as replete with rich and striking thoughts. The theme was Party Spirit, and on further inquiry it was ascertained that the sermon embodied the substance of an address delivered before the Literary Societies of Washington College, Washington, Pa.; and, as it had then been published only in some monthly magazine, a desire was expressed that a copy of it might be secured for publication in pamphlet form, which was accordingly granted under the circumstances. Thus all could see it, and also *study* it.

It differed somewhat from addresses usually delivered at College Commencements, but if compared with those of Webster, Wirt, or Southard, taken as a whole, it would not suffer from the comparison. It was sufficiently literary whilst it was intensely practical,

and at the same time more philosophical and profound than is usually the case with discourses of this class.

The subject of the address was most probably suggested by the bitterness of party spirit as it existed in those days in the political world, and perhaps just as much, if not more so, between the Old and New Schools in Dr. Nevin's own denomination. We here give some account of this address, because it is a photograph of the author's mind at this particular period in his history. To some extent it also foreshadows at this early period the character of the man in his spiritual and intellectual tendencies, as these subsequently had opportunity to develop themselves with less obstruction in the freer atmosphere of the Reformed Church. It was an earnest of what he might have to say in the future in regard to Sectism in the churches. It may be said to be a cross between a sermon and a literary address, which does not, however, detract from its strength in the least. It is divided into three parts, treating successively of the *nature*, the *evil*, and the *cure* of Party Spirit, in which every now and then the author is sure to support his positions with appropriate quotations from Scripture.

"Party Spirit," said the preacher, "is not simply zeal for the views, opinions, or measures of a certain party or class of men, with whom we may feel it to be our duty to co-operate in the promotion of just and honorable ends. Much less is it to be confounded with patriotism, with zeal for the promotion of one's particular denomination, or activity in voluntary associations for the benefit of the community or of the world at large. 'To be attached to the sub-division, to love the little platoon to which we belong in society,' said Edmund Burke, 'is the first principle, the germ as it were of public affections. It is the first link in the series by which we proceed to a love of our country and mankind.'

"The social principle, which binds men together in large as well as small platoons, enters vitally into the constitution of human nature, without which individual men would be mere atoms, and man would no longer be man or the common unity of races, nations, tribes, and individuals. Without contact and communion with other spirits like himself, he would have no development worthy of his nature, and no history that constantly leads him from one grade of perfection to another. There is a common mind belonging to each age and to every country, to every province and class of society, which surrounds men as an atmosphere and in the end forms the character of the individual and the community. Men are not now what they were a thousand or two thousand years ago, or

even a century back of us. The proper and the final regeneration of the world depends on the spread and triumph of this principle, by bringing together into one the dissevered elements of humanity, that are now scattered abroad.

"Party Spirit is an abuse, a misdirection of the social principle. It employs it but only for its own selfish purposes and ends. Its professions of course are always good, or they try to appear so. Not seldom the objects sought to be promoted are in themselves commendable, but both the spirit and the means employed in their pursuit are totally foreign to their nature. The partisan cares most for himself; for his own emolument or the gratification of his own base passions. The character or good name of others who may be in his way are of no account to him, and he can slay them, tread them in the dust, and enjoy his savage triumph. Bad passions seek for outward support, and this they find when they have a multitude behind them to feed their consuming fires. Often they claim for themselves the voice of conscience, or, as they call it, a sense of duty, when there is not a scintillation of true conscientiousness in all their fury. Even the lives of others no less than their happiness are not sacred interests in the mind of the partisan, when they come in his way; and he is willing, directly or indirectly, to stamp them out, in order that the sense of self-exaltation may be realized in the triumph secured, by ways that are dark, selfish and mean. Most malicious, satanic and vile is this Spirit of Party, under whatever phase it shows itself, whether in the high places of the Church, State, or elsewhere.

"It may be modified by external circumstances, so as to operate as a quiet, unobtrusive force both in the politician, the socialist, or the religionist; but when the moral restraints are out of the way and the needful impulse has been given to the corporate mind, it puts on the form of an ungovernable phrensy, and all individuality is borne down and swept away for the time by its whirlwind course. Then, also, as the imagination becomes quickened and inflamed, it runs more and more into the character of a dark and malignant fanaticism, and is ripe for the most cruel excesses.

"The mischief and evils flowing from Party Spirit, when it once gets possession of the social principle, and perverts it in the interest of pure individual selfishness, extend over the entire surface of human life, everywhere blighting what is good and true as a malignant mildew. Their name is Legion. Once organized and strengthened by numbers—most of whom are mere dupes—it tries to enforce the respect of others for its virtuous principles and its disinterest-

edness in promoting useful public interest, when its high boastings are the veriest hypocrisy and the merest cant.

"Yes," says Dr. Nevin, "hateful and terrific is the Spirit of Party, in its own nature. In its ultimate aim it is supremely anti-social the more it becomes incorporated with the social feeling. Some disguise is thrown over its character in this respect by the way in which it is found to diffuse itself at first, as it were, over a general interest; but this is only a disguise, and so far as it prevails at all, it serves rather to enhance the mischief by making it more insidious as well as more refined. Where, in fact, shall we meet with pride and all uncharitableness so loudly proclaimed or so unblushingly indulged in, as when the Spirit of Party rules rampant over the inward man? Self-glorification and self-will are here carried to their utmost pitch. Malice finds its largest scope. Hatred may reach its most fanatical extreme. Revenge may enjoy its most fiendish triumph. All this, I say, belongs to Party Spirit in its own nature. There may be only a partial development of these sins against charity at any particular time; but their entire strength is there, at the same time, as a latent possibility; and all forces are carried in its womb, where they only wait for proper occasions to give forth the most frightful births that belong to time.

"The Spirit of Party, just so far as it prevails, and especially after it begins to assume a fanatical complexion, holds the soul, which is the subject of it, always in an atmosphere of unholy passion, where all ideas of truth and virtue are exposed to danger. The mind yields itself, more or less, to the dominion of one idea; verges, as we say, towards monomania. Truth in the end is treated with as little respect as charity; honesty and simplicity do, as it were, make to themselves wings and fly away, like an angel towards heaven. Who in truth looks for integrity and fair dealing where Party Spirit runs high?

"And is it not equally unfavorable to all intellectual freedom and sound knowledge? In the investigation of truth how much depends on the right state of the affections. These are always more or less the medium, through which the various objects of knowledge are contemplated. Let them become diseased or exorbitant in any way, and at once everything that stands in connection with them is made to appear in a false light and under a distorted form. Opinion is always mighty, where a man has come to move and have his being in its mystic circle, and such a power not only sways the will, but becomes the very light of thought itself. In this way

parties often create for themselves both reason and will of their own. What they will to be true, and choose to call so, in the light of such wilful opinion itself, is made to *seem* truth. A Bartholomew massacre may seem only a fit occasion for chanting a Te Deum in all the churches.

“A mind enthralled by the authority of a party is in a false position for seeing the Truth. Its inquiries are continually subordinated to another interest. Hence it contracts also a narrow and an illiberal character, which goes with it in all its speculations. Freedom, comprehensive energy, and clear strong vision, are not to be looked for in these circumstances. Thus the Spirit of Party is opposed to all true greatness of soul.

“Is it necessary to dwell upon the unhappy fruits of Party Spirit, as it is felt in the regions of politics? In such a country as ours, they are of a character to be known and read by all. At what an expense of virtue, with what wreck of principle, are not our party struggles ordinarily conducted through the entire nation? The very earth is, as it were, made to shake at times by reason of its commotions. Evil passions are let loose; false tongues vibrate; words full of poison fly as arrows; pens, dipped in gall, strike like the fang of an angry viper; and the Press scatters in all directions coals of juniper, grapeshot and death. No character is sacred—no principle is safe.—Ill must it fare, in such a hurly-burly of the passions, with the real interests of the country, which are made the ostensible cause of all the excitement. Zeal for these in truth is generally the smallest element in the composition of the moral whirlwind. They are sacrificed and trampled under foot—more or less by all parties. Legislation, measures of State, economical policy, in a word, all public interests, fall hopelessly into the net. It is well if even the seat of judgment can escape.

“Science, too, may have her parties; it has had them with like effect. Sad for her, indeed, has been the fanaticism of creeds alike sworn to do her homage. The time has been, when it lay like an embargo on all free use of mind. A chemical mixture could not change from blue to red, from transparent to opaque; an apple would not fall to the ground; nay, the planets might not swing through their orbits without kindling angry feuds in colleges. It was not believed, or not felt, that knowledge is always the friend of man and his coadjutor, or that error is his enemy. Theories are still serving at times as rallying points of genuine party zeal. In medicine, particularly, it may be long before either science or art shall cease to be embarrassed from this cause.

"But what Science *has* suffered from parties, Religion suffers in full measure to this present hour. Need it be said that the Spirit of Party is directly opposed to the Spirit of the Gospel? The one destroys what the other would build up. It drinks up the life blood of the Church; cuts the sinews of faith and prayer; and blunts the edge of all spiritual motives. The still small voice of the Spirit cannot be heard where it reigns. Truth also finds no mercy under its hands. Shorn of her vital spirit, she is retained and honored at the best only as an embalmed corpse; a bandaged mummy, stiff and still; with a creed for its sarcophagus. Dogmas are substituted for ideas. Words absorb things. Symbols rule faith. Theology, springing from the brain only, stands forth Minerva-like in complete armor, belligerent, ripe at all times for battle. The Church is known mainly as a scene of death-dealing strife. The chief care is for her munitions and magazines of war. All her learning and discipline look in that way. The very Bible is turned into an armory. Exegesis must bend to the authority of system. Exposition becomes *imposition*—sense put into the text, not drawn from it; and Revelation is used only as a mirror, where a man sees the forms of his previous thoughts reflected back upon him as oracles from God.

"Party Spirit is specious in its pretensions, insidious in its approaches to the human heart, promises much with its flattering tongue, and grows out of man's crooked fallen nature. Hence, good men sometimes fall under its control before they are aware of it, and are found like Saul of Tarsus in open war with truth and innocence, whilst all the time they are manifestly fighting God Himself. As the world now is, a new truth, or what seems to be new, is not allowed to make a step in advance before it is confronted with the partisan, who disputes its further progress, and then the fight begins. In the end, after many hard fought battles, the Truth gains the victory, but the factious opposition deserves none of the credit, although, without intending anything of the kind, it has actually promoted the interest which it had all along opposed. Good comes out of evil, but the latter should be none the less abhorred. Every one of us should look upon it as a viper and seek to shake it off from our persons.

"Say not then," as Dr. Nevin interpolates in his address, "I would have been this or that in any given state of society which thou hast not tried; or, at least, say it only as thou hast faith in God. And be fully sure that without this faith strongly at work, thou hast even now a factious life made up of the mere reverberations of opinions around thee, far beyond what thou hast ever dreamed.

"Reflection upon the nature, tendencies and evil fruits of Party Spirit will accomplish something, much in overcoming its tyrannic sway over our minds. Such knowledge will be useful in proportion as it brings the individual to see that it is of the nature of a disease, and not the nominal activity of a truly enlightened and generous mind. But knowledge here at best can only serve to prepare the way for the cure of a malady by the elevation of the mind itself in a positive way above the level of the mere partisan, who in principle is not much above the prize-fighter. Communion with the great and good of all ages has a peculiarly refining and elevating character. Here on our own soil we are favored with a name, which carries with it a sacred authority, and it is the richest boon which Providence has conferred on the American people. The example of Washington, the true patriot, the pure statesman, the glory of his country, the wonder of the world, is worth more for us as a people than all that he accomplished in war. It is a living fountain of virtue still, from which a salutary influence may be expected to flow in perennial streams through all time. Sympathy with the mind of Washington may be recommended especially, as a most excellent antidote to the vile Spirit of Party.

"We may for a moment glance at exemplars, which look down upon us from a yet loftier height. The philosophy of the skies embodied in the mind of *Plato*, or transcribed from the life of his master *Socrates*, is found to have a wonderfully plastic power on all who converse intelligently with his writings to this day. Let me here recommend them as a liberalizing discipline in the case under consideration.

"But more especially be exhorted to converse with the mighty spirits, which in different ages have drunk most deeply of the inspiration of evangelical truth. In proportion as this has been true of them, you will find them soaring always above the bigotry of sects and parties; and in their company you can hardly fail to come yourselves, in some measure, under the power of those broad, Catholic principles of Christianity, which appear so full of majesty, and worthy of all reverence in their persons. Such virtue is found still embalmed as a fragrant odor in the memory of the meek and gentle Melancthon and others of like spirit with him.

"Take Paul himself as an exemplar to be studied, admired, imitated to the end of life. Where will you find among men a more splendid exhibition of living greatness? His mind still lives, the shrine of all that is lofty and large in human character, in his history, and especially in his writings. Possessed of the finest natural

endowments, he rose, subsequently to his memorable conversion, to an intimacy with the great themes of religion, which imparted the highest vigor to all his faculties, whilst it purified and refined his affections, and established the most complete order and harmony in his whole spirit. Who can come into the presence of such a man and not be affected with the sublime dignity of religion, as it shines through his whole spirit, and stands embodied in his person? And who can gaze on such a character for any time without feeling that it belongs to a region high above the common agitations of the world, and wishing to ascend the same pure heights? Parties in the Church Catholic he regarded with abhorrence as the pest of religion, and as the bane of that heaven-born charity, in which essentially he supposed the power of the Gospel to consist. Party Spirit must ever shrink abashed in his presence, just as soon as the man himself is truly known and his presence felt.

"In a word, the genius of the Gospel is irreconcilably at war with the Spirit of Party. That is lofty, large, and free. It owns no affinity with whatever is selfish or malignant in thought or life. Its home is in the heavens and it will not be bound by the narrow conceptions of men, nor stoop to please their illiberal passions. It is the mind of *Jesus Christ Himself*. There was no Party Spirit there. As well might we expect to meet with it in Heaven."

Such were Dr. Nevin's views in regard to Party Spirit in general when he entered upon his duties at Mercersburg. They are given here as introductory to much of what he afterwards wrote on the subject of divisions, heresies, and schisms in the Church. They constitute, as we may say, the first bugle note of a long war which he waged against the Spirit of Sectism in favor of the unity of the Church, as we shall see hereafter. The Inaugural also shows the indications of a true Christian Platonism, which subsequently expanded and became an underlying element both in his theological and philosophical writings. We here give a few passages, which may be regarded as the philosophical antidote for narrowness of mind in general, no less than when it is led captive in the leading-strings of party.

"The soul takes its quality and complexion always from the objects with which it is accustomed most intimately and habitually to converse. Such is the law of our moral life. It is only then by communion with what is absolutely true, and great, and good, that the original grandeur of our nature can ever be evolved in its full and just proportions. It is by gazing on the Holy and the Beautiful, as they are in themselves, that we recognize in the first place

our own connatural interest in the skies, and are then changed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord. Whatever may operate to restrain or hinder such contemplation, causing the necessary, the universal, to make room in our minds for the transient, and the particular, and circumscribing our vision by the visible horizon of Time, must be deprecated as an influence fatal to all true spiritual education. It would be so, even if it might be conceived of apart from all perverted and morbid views, in its domination. An exclusive communion with time things cannot fail to dwarf the soul, however honestly and fairly maintained. What, then, must it be in its injurious operation, when all false conceptions and all wrong feelings come in, as here in the case of Party Spirit, to aggravate its power, exaggerating, coloring, stealing fire from heaven, to animate dead clay into every imaginable show of fantastic life! Ah! how the spirit must sink, and become shriveled in its dimensions in circumstances like these!

“Soar in spirit above the region of sense and particular opinion, always darkened by the mists, if not agitated by the storms of passion; and let your home be, mainly at least, in the empyrean sphere of absolute and eternal truth. Much may be accomplished towards this end by the right use of mere science only. All true knowledge elevates, expands, rarifies, if I may say so, the life of the soul. But especially is this the case with that divine philosophy, whose organ is the pure reason, and which has for its contemplation mainly the original and everlasting ideas of Religion itself. Even apart from revelation, such philosophy, as it meets us in the towering thoughts of the Grecian Plato, may well be denominated the mistress of an immortal mind. With him all inward illumination and stability are found in communion with the *ta onta* as opposed to the *ta phainomena*, and nothing less than the *to agathon*, the self evidencing light of the Truth itself, will serve as the medium by which this communion is to be maintained. Conversing only with the world of time, through the medium of the senses, the soul is represented as reeling in a sort of drunken delirium, with the fluctuating show on which it looks; but in the use of its own higher vision, it becomes itself again (Phaedo, Vol. 1, p. 126, Ed. Tauchnitz.) Thus exercised, as he tells us in another place, it cannot afford to stoop to the trivial interests with which men are commonly employed, so as to be filled with all malignant affections in struggling with them for such things; but aims rather in the steady contemplation of what is always the same and always right, to be transformed into the same image. De Republica, Vol. V, p. 230.”

CHAPTER XIV

SOON after Dr. Nevin's removal to Mercersburg, and a few days before his installation into office as professor, he was formally received into the Reformed Church by the Classis of Maryland, which met this year at Clearspring, Md., on the 16th of May, on his presenting his certificate of dismissal from the Presbytery of Ohio. The Classis, after expressing its regret at the withdrawal of the Rev Dr. Mayer from further duty in the Seminary, and its appreciation of his past services, approved of the appointment of Dr. Nevin to fill the vacancy, and regarded it "as a special interposition of Divine Providence, for which the German Reformed Church is under great obligations to return its gratitude to the great Head of the Church, at whose sovereign disposal are all our affairs." The Classis, then, under some kind of inspiration that the set time had come for the Lord to visit Zion, and for the armies of Israel to move forward, earnestly discussed the question of holding a Centenary Celebration of the founding of the Reformed Church in this country. The result was an overture to Synod to appoint such a celebration for the year 1841, "as a means which would tend to give character and prominence to the Church, and add much interest to all her operations." It was a wise suggestion, encouraging to the new professor, and, as we shall see, one which led to useful results, going far beyond anything which any of its movers had imagined. It was the feeble beginning of a great and good work, which from its start carried with it Dr. Nevin's strong personality.

After he had been received into the Church, and duly inducted into his new office, noiselessly and unobtrusively he entered upon its duties, so that probably some of his students did not know what to make of him. As the principal professor in the Seminary, he had fully sufficient work to occupy all his time, especially if he was to be master of the situation, and to be abreast of the times. For any one of slower perceptions, no more labor of any kind could have been performed; but he soon saw that if the enterprise in which he had embarked was to succeed at all and not result in disastrous failure, his services were needed also in the practical work of the Church. He found himself surrounded by many earnest ministers and elders, who were praying and laboring with all their energies to bring about a better state of affairs, to awaken the

churches to a proper sense of their responsibility in the sight of God, and to induce the members at once to engage in building up the broken down walls of Zion. For many dreary years they had thus exerted themselves, but apparently without anything like adequate results. Some of the congregations were partially awake, but some of them were still profoundly asleep.

Dr. Nevin, with quick insight into things, soon came to understand the situation, in which he was placed, providentially, as he believed. Much preparatory work was needed to make the schools of learning what they ought to be, which in his mind were vitally connected with the prosperity of a large communion of churches. Accordingly he fell in fully with every movement that tended in any way to promote the internal or external prosperity of the Church as a whole; and for this kind of service he seemed to have been specially qualified. He had been himself once an editor, wrote with great facility, and he soon became a frequent correspondent of the *Messenger*. His articles were always to the point, that is, they had some practical or useful object in view, and they arrested attention. Usually they were long; and although the printers tried to make them appear shorter, by the use of small type and crowding the lines as closely together as possible, yet for the most part they were what now-a-days would be regarded at once as long-winded. They were, nevertheless, read with interest by the ministry and the laity. The latter caught their drift, at least, and were sure that they contained valuable thoughts—not mere words.

Under the impression, probably that what the German Churches needed most was more spirituality, he commenced a series of articles in the *Messenger* on the subject of "Worldly-mindedness," which were continued from June to August, six in number, and all long enough to be read and digested in hot weather only by the interest they inspired. They are written in the style of his Puritan education, solemn, earnest, abounding in refined distinctions and valuable hints to guard against self deception, quite abreast of Doddridge, Edwards and other casuistic writers of the Puritan school, who in their efforts to make a simple matter still plainer sometimes make it more obscure. Respect for the Sabbath received its highest tension, and the reader is sometimes at a loss to know what kind of works of necessity would be allowed on that day. But the articles abound with striking thoughts, which distinguish clearly between the carnal and the spiritual mind of scripture. The world is presented in its proper antithesis to the Kingdom of God, faith

to sight, and the higher spiritual nature of man to his lower, animal or psychic being.

"Our connection with the world," he says, "is through the medium of our bodily nature. This grounds itself at present in the outward material world and takes hold of it continually by innumerable relations, more or less intimately affecting our very existence itself. These relations give rise to wants, which rightfully challenge a large share of our thoughts. But after all, they do not exhaust by any means the proper idea of our existence. Rather, I should say, they take up in themselves but a small part of this idea.—The relations of the Spirit, as formed for holiness and immortality, are unspeakably more important, and give rise to interests of a far higher order than any that can spring from the other ground. These comprise the real and ultimate intention of our existence, and ought of right to hold the first place in our thoughts. Whatever may be due to the present world as such, it should be considered as having only a secondary claim upon our regard. Our life in time should be used always as something subordinate in all respects to our higher destination, as this lies in the constitution of the soul; the scaffolding, so to speak, by which our true spiritual being is to be raised and brought into view; a temporary, transient form of existence, designed only to open the way educationally for a more perfect state, in which, at last, it finds its proper meaning and value. This right estimate of outward interests, as compared with those of the Spirit, can never be wanting, where faith is in vigorous exercise. But so far as men are found destitute of this divine principle, they judge and act in a different way altogether. They mind earthly things; bestow upon them their main consideration and care; and have no heart in comparison for objects of a higher and more excellent nature. They make the world their portion."

But it was not long before the new Professor discovered that his pen was needed to assist in carrying forward the more immediate practical operations of the Church, especially in giving a new impulse to its schools of learning.—The Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, pastor of the Reformed congregation at Easton, impressed with the unsatisfactory financial status of the institutions at Mercersburg, had obtained permission from his congregation to be absent for a part of a year in order to labor as agent for their better endowment. He had already been some time in the field, and wished to secure \$10,000 before he left it. He saw in the Centenary Celebration a means by which this as well as many other useful objects might be

secured, and he with others drew attention to it in the *Messenger*. Quick of discernment and enthusiastic by nature and grace, he hailed it as an auspicious omen in the ecclesiastical skies. Dr. Nevin also saw in it the germ of a movement, which, if properly cherished, might be made to redound in an eminent degree to the growth and future prosperity of the Church. Accordingly when he had finished his essays on Worldly-mindedness, he began to write for the *Messenger* on the Centenary Celebration, in which, without any restraint as regards length, he showed how it should be conducted, explained its benefits, and proposed in conclusion that in connection with it the Church should make a thank-offering of \$100,000; half of which should be given to the College, one fourth to the Seminary and the other fourth to beneficiary education or other benevolent objects. Thus he and others excited interest in the proposition of the Maryland Classis, so that by the time the Synod met in October following, the subject had been pretty well ventilated, and the delegates when they came together were prepared to vote.

By the close of the Summer Term of the Seminary in September, 1840, the new professor had become tolerably well acquainted with the English portions of the Church, in Maryland, Virginia and Central Pennsylvania, which were regarded as the more progressive and intelligent. But he had seen little or nothing of that part of it which lay between the Delaware and Susquehanna, which was predominantly German, and by far the largest in membership. Some of those who could not read or understand its language regarded it as a benighted region, not far removed from Cimmerian darkness. Only one of the ministers from that section of the State had attended the meeting of the Synod at Chambersburg on account of distance and wintry weather, and the people had heard of the new professor for the most part only by vague rumors. It was therefore thought desirable that he should visit Eastern Pennsylvania and place himself in a position to see it for himself. The Rev. Jacob Mayer had frequently gone over the ground and canvassed it as agent for the College and Seminary, and he offered to take him along in his carriage on one of these trips. Travelling thus in a private conveyance from Chambersburg to Harrisburg, and from thence through Reading to Easton, with one who was familiar with the ground, he enjoyed better opportunities of seeing the country than in any other way. John Adams and Martin Van Buren, two Presidents, once passed through it and admired it very much as an agricultural region and were surprised at its progress

and improvement; and at a later period, as Dr. Nevin travelled over the same territory, he saw not only its highly cultivated farms, its large barns, its herds of cattle, but also its school-houses and its numerous churches.

Before he started out on his trip, it had been suggested to him that he might be asked to speak or preach in the German language during his tour, and that he should prepare himself to say something at least in that language. He accordingly prepared a German sermon and carried the manuscript with him. It so turned out that the Rev. Thomas H. Leinbach requested him to preach for him in the old Tulpehocken Church in Berks County, and he complied with his request. Every body was pleased. The congregation felt themselves complimented by a discourse in their own language from one who had gone to the trouble of mastering it by his own diligent study. No body smiled at wrong or imperfect pronunciations, because they were in the house of the Lord. The German clergymen present may have done so the next day over their pipes among themselves. The report of this discourse had a happy effect amongst those who heard of it in East Pennsylvania. It was, however, to Dr. Nevin, an effort which he did not repeat afterwards.

Speaking of the country through which he had travelled, in a letter published afterwards in the *Weekly Messenger*, he said: "A large part of the country was new to me. It is surely one of the finest in the world. Where shall we find a country of the same extent that offers a greater show of loveliness and strength externally considered than that which spreads out to the eye of the traveller as he passes from Harrisburg to Reading, and afterwards through the counties of Lehigh and Northampton, till he finds himself on the banks of the Delaware.

"The sight of so many fine churches," he goes on to say, "scattered over this whole section of country, is highly interesting and animating. These alone are an evidence that the people to whom they belong are favorably disposed to religion. Under proper direction the same spirit that prompts them to bestow so much attention on their places of worship may easily be brought to act with corresponding liberality and zeal in support of all other interests of a religious kind.

"There are many things to be lamented in the state of our churches in East Pennsylvania, but it is my full persuasion that this section of our German Church has been greatly wronged by judgments taken from a wrong point of observation on the part of

those who have not been willing to make themselves fully acquainted with its modes of thinking. The day for such *prejudices*, it is to be hoped, will soon pass away."

The favorable opinion of the Pennsylvania Germans, as thus expressed, was no doubt strengthened by the interest manifested in the institutions at Mercersburg, and the willingness on the part of the people everywhere to unite in the celebration of the proposed Centennial of the founding of the Reformed Church in this country during the following year. At that time the subject had been broached in the papers of the Church as we have seen; and it had begun to be circulated through the churches that it was proposed that they should unite in making a thank-offering of \$100,000 for religious purposes, including the College and Seminary. Twenty or thirty years previous to this, such a proposition as this would have met with open opposition. But during this excursion Mr. Mayer, without any special effort on his part, met with five persons, who volunteered to give \$500 towards the Centennial effort, in case it should be carried out by the churches, and others expressed their willingness to act with similar liberality in the future, if the Synod should recommend the measure. The proposition to raise so large an amount of money at that time for the institutions at Mercersburg, which some had thought would frighten the whole Church, was not regarded as anything formidable. Many of the laity thought it could be done.

This overland trip ended at Easton, on the banks of the Delaware, where the party were entertained by the two pastors alternately, the Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, pastor of the English portion of the congregation and the Rev. Thomas Pomp, a venerable patriarch in the Reformed Israel, now verging on his three score and ten years, still active in serving the German portion in town and country. They were both representative men in their day, admirable and respectable each in his own way. The one embodied in himself the old life of the Church in its best form; the other, the new in its progressive, historical and practical character. Both were much interested in the institutions at Mercersburg and warm personal friends of Dr. Rauch. Here Dr. Nevin learned something that was useful to him in his work; and he was a good listener as well as a good talker. In Mr. Pomp's library he found some valuable literature bearing on the Heidelberg Catechism, more particularly Van Alpen's *Geschichte und Literatur des Heidelberg'schen Katechismus*, which, with other works of like character bearing on the same topic, he was looking for. He took it for granted that there was some general

animus or spirit, pervading the German Reformed Church as something distinct from the Lutheran and other evangelical churches. This he found in its genial Catechism, in its historical surroundings, and, after careful study of its fifty-two questions and answers, preaching on them all on one Lord's Day after another, he was enabled to bring out in clear and distinct outlines its meaning or sense on the printed page, as had never been done before in this country. To do this successfully was a problem that was not easy to solve. The Reformed ministers and people knew what it was, but were somewhat at a loss to express it. It was a matter of consciousness, a part of their life, rather than of clear definition. Hence when it came to expression in the writings of Dr. Nevin, it was readily recognized in all of its family features. The study of the Catechism, pre-eminent as a comprehensive form of sound words in the Evangelical Church, had much to do in transforming Dr. Nevin from a somewhat harsh Presbyterian divine into a broader German theologian, of the Calvinistic-Melanchthonian school, so far as his nature would permit of such a change.

CHAPTER XV

THE Reformed Synod met in the latter part of October, 1840. at Greencastle, Pa., not far from Mercersburg, and about the same distance from Chambersburg, where the editors of the Church papers and most of the Church treasurers resided. All parts of the denomination were well represented, the advisory members, of whom Dr. Nevin was one, being about as numerous as those that were regular delegates. Rev. Bernard C. Wolff was chosen to preside. A general feeling of hopefulness and confidence seemed to predominate, which presented a strong contrast to what prevailed in some of the preceding Synods, especially in the one that was held in Philadelphia in 1839. The dark clouds, which had hung over the Church, and over the Seminary in particular, had in a measure passed away, and better times seemed to be looming up under the blue sky of hope. The action of the Synod at Chambersburg in the election of a new theological professor was heartily approved. The matter of holding a Centennial Celebration during the following year occupied much of the time of the Synod, and every member seemed anxious to give it as wide and useful a range as possible. In reliance upon Almighty God, the year 1841, therefore, was set apart as a solemn festival of thanksgiving, prayer and praise; sermons and historical discourses were to be delivered; the churches were to bring their thank-offerings to the Lord, and to unite in raising \$100,000 at least for its struggling schools of learning, missions, beneficiary education, or other objects; subscription books were to be opened in all the pastoral charges, containing separate columns for each specific object; the brethren in the West were invited to unite in the celebration; a circular was to be addressed to the reverend fathers and brethren in the Reformed Church of the Fatherland to assist in observing the first Centenary of the existence of the Reformed Church in America; and a circular or address was to be sent to all the Ministers, Consistories, and members of the German Reformed Church in the United States, with Christian greeting with grace and peace to all, in the name of Christ, on this interesting and important subject. This latter document, prepared by the Rev. Daniel Zacharias, and read to a full Synod, was very able, and also eloquent. It presented in a clear and forcible manner the propriety of such a movement, and earnestly urged all the people to take part

in it. If set forth the duty of gratitude to God for the past; the importance of a better acquaintance with the history, doctrines and usages of the Church; the necessity of going forward in building up the various institutions of the Church, literary, theological, and benevolent, calling for \$100,000, at least, to meet the demands of the times; but very properly holding it "as the primary object of the celebration, to arouse the entire Church from Dan to Beersheba, to awaken an increased attention to vital godliness, and to raise a more elevated standard of Christian piety and responsibility among us as a people."

This message went down from the Synod to the congregations, and was everywhere received with attention and respect. Subscription books were opened in pastoral charges generally, and such simple agencies were made use of as seemed necessary to allow the movement to have free course and spontaneous action among the people. The remainder of the year was thus occupied, in earnest thought and reflection, so that all things might be ready for active operation at the opening of the coming year. In the *Weekly Messenger* for the 8th of January, we accordingly find indications already of active operations. In the congregation at Easton a service had been held in the German and English languages, and after a brief address by Rev. Mr. Mayer, the agent of the Seminary, \$1200 had been subscribed by fourteen individuals, with the prospect of a large increase, as others should make their larger or smaller contributions. From North Carolina the Rev. John G. Fritschey writes, that although the churches in his Classis were for the most part feeble, yet he expected that the people of his charge would raise at least one thousand dollars; and the Rev. John Casper Bucher says, that his Consistory in Middletown, Md., had pledged themselves for \$4,000, one-half of which had already been subscribed; and that some other congregations in the Classis might or could do more.

At Mercersburg a very enthusiastic meeting had been held under the direction of the Classis, at which quite a number of generous contributions were made. Dr. Rauch pledged himself for \$500, and Professor Budd for the same amount. Others in the congregation and on the outside subscribed also liberally. The ladies in the Presbyterian congregation had nearly raised the money for a scholarship of \$500 in Marshall College; on the Reformed side, the ladies were trying to do the same thing; and twenty students in the Institutions had engaged to raise \$25 each in five years to complete a scholarship of their own. Dr. Nevin gave \$1,000 for himself and

family, which was probably the largest amount contributed during the Centenary year. He thought the whole sum would not fall short of \$4,000, and was confident that it would in the end be much larger.

Thus the festal year was opened, and it may be said that it retained its character as such throughout. It was formally closed on the 25th of December, in all the churches as a general Thanksgiving Day, on which devotional services were held early in the morning, and a suitable sermon preached afterwards at 11 o'clock A. M. As some of the congregations were prevented by circumstances from taking part with the rest in the celebration during the year, it was extended over another year, which was not without its good effects. Much seriousness and earnestness were infused into this movement throughout: it was therefore successful and spoke for itself. Most probably over \$100,000 were subscribed by the Reformed people during the year, although for various reasons a considerable amount was never paid in as is usual in such cases. The largest portion was given for scholarships in the College, but every public interest in the Church was benefited, including her two weekly papers, English and German, which took a new start and increased their circulation. The movement became general in the East, where all the congregations were affected by it more or less, and the scattered congregations in the West, standing in no connection with the mother Synod in the East, felt its influence also, blowing as a healthful breeze over the mountains from the homes and churches in which the older members had been reared in their youth. No such an uprising in the Reformed Church had ever occurred before. Under all the circumstances it was something remarkable, fully justifying the good opinions of the Germans, as expressed by Dr. Nevin, that the "people to whom so many fine churches, and barns also, belonged were favorably disposed to religion; and that under proper direction the same spirit that prompted them to bestow so much attention on their places of worship may easily be brought to act with corresponding liberality and zeal in support of all other interests of a religious kind." This Centenary Year was a memorable one in the history of the Church, was in fact an epoch, and the beginning of a new and prosperous period. For a number of years there had been more or less division, doubt and uncertainty in the Church, and a serious want of confidence. At the beginning of the year 1840 lowering clouds hung over the Seminary and the skies seemed to be the darkest. By the end of the next year confidence and unity had been restored, and never before had the future appeared so promising.

Under these circumstances the Centennial year closed amidst general rejoicings and thanksgivings in the churches, on which occasion the following hymn was sung, prepared for the occasion by Mrs. Lydia Jane Peirson, the sweet singer of Tioga County, Pa., the Authoress of the "Forest Minstrel" and "Forest Leaves:"

Thou who art enthroned in Glory,
Crowned with love and robed in Grace,
Let us humbly bow before Thee,
Off'ring up our songs of praise.

Mighty God and gracious Saviour!
Spirit of enduring grace,
Come in thine especial favor
With Thy Glory fill this place.

See the Star whose rising splendour
Heralded a Saviour's birth,
Now in its meridian grandeur,
Smiles upon the joyous earth.

Heart and hand and effort blending
In its radiance now we meet;
And our mingled prayers ascending
Seek Thee on Thy mercy-seat.

We would celebrate the changes,
Which a Hundred Years have made,
Since our fathers—poor and strangers—
Sought the Western forest shade.

From Helvetia's vine clad mountains
Came a little friendless band;
By the rich Rhine's infant fountains
Others left their fatherland.

Thou went with them o'er the ocean
To those wilds where freedom stray'd,
'Neath her bowers, with true devotion,
First these grateful pilgrims pray'd.

Here the little vine, increasing,
Spread its branches green and fair;
Now, by Thine especial blessing,
See how wide Thy vineyards are.

Humble are the gifts we offer,
Bless them in Thy grace divine;
Thou wilt not despise the proffer,
Though the universe is Thine.

Make our gifts a rich oblation,
Many a mourning heart to cheer;
While the light of Thy salvation
Yields each penitential tear.

Let our Institutions flourish,
Sending forth a pious band,
With the words of life to nourish
All who hunger through the land.

Zion spreads her hands before Thee;
Come, and in her temples reign,
While we give all praise and glory
To the Triune God.—Amen.

CHAPTER XVI

BUT just as the Centennial movement had been started under the most favorable auspices, and the Church as a whole had caught a new inspiration, the destroying angel came in. Dr. Rauch, upon whom so much was built and from whom so much was reasonably expected, took sick and died at his post at Mercersburg, on the 2nd of March, 1841. It was a severe blow to the friends of the Institutions generally, and to none more so than to Dr. Nevin. Never before did the ways of Providence appear to all concerned more strange and mysterious than in the death of the first President of Marshall College. In the fall of 1840, it had become apparent that his physical and mental energies had been overtaxed, and that his strength was failing. He, however, was still young in years, and it was difficult to believe that the end of his career was so near at hand. But as he was about to begin the preparation of his treatise on Christian Ethics for the press, he was confined to the bed from which he never rose again.—He was stricken down just at a time when his presence in the College seemed to be most needed, and his loss, tragic in appearance, seemed to all alike irreparable. It was a sad day to the professors and students when they came to realize the fact that Dr. Rauch, the amiable Christian gentleman, the polished scholar, the profound philosopher and theologian, and the paternal President of Marshall College, was no more. A similar feeling of profound sorrow pervaded the community and the Church generally, when his unexpected death was announced through the public papers. His funeral was largely attended, and many spoke with tears in their eyes of this sad visitation of divine Providence. It was still cheerless winter, and the skies which were of a leaden hue seemed to sympathize with the occasion, and, as we approached the grave, in a gentle shower of rain to shed down their own drops of grief. He was buried on the College ground, in the midst of a grove of venerable oaks, where the winds, during summer and winter blowing mournfully through the trees, seemed to sing his sad requiem.

In the course of time his remains were removed to Lancaster, where they now repose in the college plot in the Lancaster Cemetery. It was thought that their most appropriate resting place should be under the shadow of the College which he loved so well.

An appropriate monument was erected to his memory in the College campus by the Alumni of the College and other admiring friends. On one side of the shaft in a recess he is represented as sitting in his study with his books around him, burning the midnight oil, still studying the phenomena of mind, with a Bible before him. On the other side is a hemisphere, just rising out of chaos, representing Europe and America on its surface, in which the Old and New Worlds are united in one and the same view, which serves as an illustration of his Anglo-German philosophy.

In the year 1887, a fellow countryman, a youthful studiosus from Berlin, meditating at his grave, composed his funeral dirge from which we here extract a few of the introductory verses :

Has tuas inferias rates, Frederice, fidelis,
Hæc tibi pro meritis munera solvo tuis;
Quandoquidem viridi nobis te sustulit æv o,
Quæ nihil egregium mors sinit esse diu
Flere tuos obitus jubet illud anabile quondam
Nunc interruptæ fœdus amicitiae.
Namque etiam tumultis suus est honor, inque sepultos
Mens pia flebilibus testificanda modis;
Et mortem, vitæ testem, finemque laborum
Laudibus ornatum convenit esse suis.

Dr. Rauch died literally but not really, for he has continued to live in the affections of those who knew him, and more especially in the Institutions to whose founding he had devoted the best energies of his mind and heart, and in which the intellectual work he inaugurated continued to go forward as before under his inspiration. As his influence on the mind of Dr. Nevin was considerable in the development, more particularly, of his philosophical views, it is proper that we should here put on record some account of his fellow-laborer, on whom he had built so many expectations. The influence came in the way of suggestion, and served to awaken still more his Platonic frame of mind.

Dr. Frederick Augustus Rauch was born at Kirchbracht in Hesse Darmstadt, Germany, July 27, 1806. His father was a Reformed minister in the Evangelical Church, with which he fully sympathized without losing his Reformed faith, and served a parish in the neighborhood of Frankfort-on-the-Main. The son studied successively in the Universities of Marburg, Giessen and Heidelberg; became a lecturer and author, and was on the eve of an appointment as professor at Heidelberg, when it became necessary for him to take his flight to America. With the professors and students of the Ger-

man universities generally, he was in sympathy with the spirit of free institutions awakened in the Fatherland after the Napoleonic wars. The assassination of Kotzebue by Sand, a political madman, in 1819, aroused the suspicions of the German rulers, and their fears that other forms of government might take the place of their own, which could no longer bear the test of enlightened criticism. As a natural result, the policy of repression and secret espionage became the order of the day, especially on the part of the governments that were the smallest and the most insignificant. Many of the students or teachers in the universities—*cupidi rerum novarum*—accordingly, were compelled to take their flight and seek hospitable homes in the United States. Among the most distinguished of these were Follen, Lieber and Rauch. The last mentioned was known to be free in the expression of liberal sentiments, and as he was supposed to have spoken too freely on the subject of government on a public occasion, in order to escape imprisonment or some other public disgrace, he found it necessary to take his flight to America in 1831.—What was a loss to Germany by such banishments was much gain to our own country.

In 1832 Dr. Rauch took charge of the High School of the Reformed Church at York, Pa. In 1833 he became professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary in the same place; and when the High School was removed to Mercersburg in 1835 and changed into Marshall College in 1836, he became its first President. He was eminent as a linguist, took a deep interest in Natural History, but was most at home in the different departments of Philosophy in its bearings on Christianity and the Bible; and this latter became to him more and more a specialty. In philosophy he was what has been sometimes called an idealistic realist, which he regarded as the outcome of philosophy in Germany, France and England.

When Dr. Rauch received his philosophical training in Germany, the system of Kant was already waning; Schelling, Fichte and Hegel had appeared above the horizon as stars of surpassing brilliancy, and he naturally fell in with the reaction against Kant. He, however, had faith in God, in Nature, and Man, and claimed for the human reason its heaven-born prerogatives and rights. In his lectures and writings he did not give place by subjection for an hour to agnosticism. He revered Leibnitz and Kant as fathers of a great philosophic movement in Germany, whose systems had already had their day, had been useful as they prepared the way for something better, and therefore were instructive still. His

teachers belonged to the better class of Hegelians, but it is easy to see from his Psychology that he was by no means wedded to the dry and abstract intellectualism of Hegel. This able work shows throughout traces of Schelling, Schubert and Steffens even more perhaps than of Hegel. The author possessed a vivid imagination and had too much love for the reality of things to live in mere abstractions or idealistic clouds. A lover and admirer of the giants in German philosophy, he could not be said correctly to be the slave of any particular system.

Dr. Rauch's philosophy, which in substance was what in the course of time came to be called "Merceersburg Philosophy," was virtually the same as that of Carl Daub, one of his theological teachers at Heidelberg, who had mastered all the systems of philosophy as they rose successively around him, and adopted the good and the true in all of them, without losing his faith in the Bible or divine things. Tholuck styles him "a hierophant in the temple of knowledge, who, as a theologian from the commencement of his activity as a writer in the sphere of divinity to the end of his life, kept himself perpetually in the heights of the philosophic culture of his time throughout all its epochs;" and the same author describes him, according to Dr. Nevin, as more bold and daring in this respect than Schleiermacher, who contrived to steer himself over the floods with which he was surrounded, in the bark of his youthful longings, to the shore, where the form of the Saviour met him again in the light of childhood's faith. But Daub, in the spirit of a daring Peter, without any vessel, threw himself into the waves, and made his way *through* them, upheld by his Saviour's hand. The waters only served to wash him clean. Rosenkranz describes him "as a genuine Church Father of Protestant Theology, than whom no theologian could be more orthodox, while at the same time no one could be more rational."

"Dr. Rauch," says Dr. Nevin in his Eulogium, "believed and felt that Hegel's philosophy had wrought a reform in the whole world of mind, especially in the way of rightly defining the true objects and proper bounds of the different sciences, and settling the general method by which they should be cultivated. Under this view, it seemed to him certain that the interests of truth itself were identified to no small extent with its authority and influence. In these circumstances he felt himself impelled to attempt the work of transferring in some measure into the literature of this country, not Hegel's philosophy as such, nor the metaphysics of Germany as a distinct and separate interest, but the life and power of German thinking

generally, under its more recent forms, in all that relates to the phenomenology of the soul. He was at home in the philosophy of Great Britain as well as in that of his own country, and knew accurately the points of contact and divergency by which the relations of the two systems to one another, generally considered, are characterized.

"He knew that a simple transfer of German thought into English forms of expression was not what the interests of learning required in this country; but that it is only by being reproduced in new creations, from a mind transfused with their inward power and at the same time at home in the American element of thought, that they can be expected to become truly and permanently valuable. The idea of such a reproduction of the moral wealth of Germany, under forms intelligible and safe, in the sphere of our American philosophy, may be considered perhaps the favorite dream of Dr. Rauch's life. It animated him in his work as a teacher. It stimulated his zeal as a writer. His work on Psychology was only the beginning of what he had in contemplation to attempt in this way for the interests of literature. In his own judgment much more important than this work was to have been his *Christian Ethics*; and to make the conception more complete, the Moral Philosophy was to be succeeded by a treatise on *Æsthetics*. It was only when all should be brought out, that he expected the true character of the primary work to be fully seen.

"The religious views of Dr. Rauch may be characterized as having been *spiritual* as well as sound. His orthodoxy did not rest in the dead letter, neither did it stop where the fancied superior illuminations of some that affect to despise the letter is found to stop, in the mere speculative faculty as such. This he regarded as the essence of neology; and because it appeared to him that much of our theology rested upon no deeper ground than this, he considered it to be in principle unsafe, needing only a suitable change of circumstances, to be seen vanishing ultimately into thin air. Truth with him was something vastly deeper, which could be appreciated only by entering into the life of its possessor. Thus was the invisible felt to be real, while the outward and sensible might be regarded but as the shadow projected from it on the field of space. Innumerable analogies, adumbrations and correspondencies, not obvious to common minds, seemed to be present habitually to his view, binding the universe into one sublime whole, the earth reflecting the heavens and the waves of eternity echoing on the shores of time.

"There was, perhaps, in this respect, a dash of mysticism in his

constitution. And yet, perhaps not, or at least, if such a habit be mysticism, it may be a question, whether it be after all so bad a thing as is sometimes imagined. Our philosophy and religion in this country would both probably gain something if they looked less to the outward and more to the inward. Olshausen was Dr. Rauch's favorite commentator on the Scriptures, and he is counted commonly to be somewhat mystical. But what morally healthy man would exchange the fresh rotund life, with which he is here met, for the cold, clear, skeleton-like abstractions, that grin upon him from a different sphere, in the exposition of a Grotius, a Rosenmueller or a MacKnight? We are too apt in this country to smile at the facility with which the German makes his escape from the world of the five senses to soar with transcendental flight beyond the clouds, or hold communion with 'spirits of the vasty deep,' which he finds, or seems to find, shoreless and bottomless, in the centre of his very being. The contemplation on the other hand may well be pardoned, while he smiles in return at our excessive practicality, and blesses himself that he has not been formed to look at the physically useful as the measure of all good, and to value thought only as it can be made objective in the shape of steam, or turned into some merchantable commodity for the use of the market. But it may be doubted whether in the end *his* mysticism be not something full as near to the habit of a well poised mind as our own more practical scepticism. After all, that is a poor existence which makes man superior to superstition only by annihilating to his consciousness all that cannot be reached by his senses, and breaking in fact the link that should hold him in communion with the universe of spirit to which he belongs.

"Such in his life and general character was the late President of Marshall College. To some, possibly, this eulogy may sound extravagant. There are those, probably, who will find it hard to be persuaded that so great a man has been among them, without their having been able to perceive his presence. It is so hard for us to understand and estimate properly living worth of a moral or intellectual sort, when it is brought home to our very doors. Seen at a great distance, in some other literary station, Dr. Rauch might easily have been honored by some here as an extraordinary man, to whom he has been all along near at hand only of the most moderate importance under any view. Had he lived five years longer, he would have lifted the village, with the College, into the view of the whole land. Marshall College has sustained an immense loss in his death. For the German Church, indeed, in the present crisis

in her history, it has seemed to many, that his life might be held to be indispensable. At this point precisely, when his whole existence, which had passed all needful preparatory stages, seemed ready at length to reach its proper intention, by efflorescing and yielding its full measure of fruit, we find it as it were touched at the core with a deadly secret blight. The light is extinguished in sudden darkness—as it was, however, with all his wish to live, he declared himself ready to acquiesce in the divine will, if it should lead to a different result.

“In view of a dispensation so affecting, our feelings find no proper relief, except in the consideration that earth’s changes after all do not come and go by chance. In the midst of all this vanity and mockery of human hopes, unerring wisdom, combined with infinite goodness, presides over the whole mysterious economy of life. That which it is difficult or impossible to understand now, shall be rendered easy of comprehension hereafter. Thus we are taught to look upwards and forwards; to cease from man whose breath is in his nostrils, and to make the Lord only our confidence; and to do finally with our might what our hands find to do, knowing that the night cometh certainly, and that it may come very soon, when no man can work.”

CHAPTER XVII

DR. NEVIN with others took a comprehensive view of the objects to be reached in the Centennial Celebration. He thought that the Reformed Church should be studied, not only in its history during the preceding century, but by right back to its origin in Switzerland and Germany. It was only in this way that, as a branch of the body of Christ, it could come to a proper feeling of self-consciousness, and be fully qualified to act its appropriate part in the future history of this country. Accordingly, he commenced a series of articles in the *Weekly Messenger* under the general caption of the *Heidelberg Catechism*, which, with some interruptions from time to time, extended over a period of nearly two years, from December, 1840, to August, 1842. In all there were twenty-nine numbers or chapters. They constituted a brief but comprehensive history of the Reformed Church, including that of the Catechism, from her beginning in Switzerland, her progress in Germany and Holland, and then during her Centennial period in this country. Properly speaking she could not have her origin either in one or another of these countries. Whilst the Reformation may be regarded as an entirely new life in the history of Christianity, it stood in the closest vital connection with the same history as it unfolded itself century after century from the time of the Apostles. In the beginning, it was one and the same movement towards a higher, a freer and more evangelical Church; but it included in it two different ground tendencies, which, with a conscious underlying sense of oneness, nevertheless parted at the very outset, coming into full opposition, and in the end resolved themselves into two distinct communions or confessions. The one gathered around Martin Luther and Wittenberg; the other came to its expression first in the free atmosphere of Switzerland; but the outburst of the same great movement in different lands was so nearly simultaneous in France, England, Scotland, Holland and Germany, that it would be unhistorical to claim for it any merely national rise.

A considerable number of the articles, nominally on the Catechism, consists of vivid sketches of the colossal figures of the great Reformers on the Reformed side, each in connection with his own particular work. First and foremost stands Ulric Zwingli, who

set Switzerland on fire with his fervid, burning eloquence, and his zeal for the Word of the Lord. He was carried from the field of battle, probably before he had arrived at the maturity of his strength or wisdom. On this account his view of the Lord's Supper came to be identified subsequently with a rationalistic doctrine called after his name, but which was derived from a different source. On this point Dr. Nevin did not do full justice to Zwingli at the time, representing him as not having a proper sense of the *mystery* of the Saviour's presence in the Eucharist. In subsequent years, after a more thorough examination of the subject, he corrected this impression, which he had received from old books, and, with Dr. Ebrard, he on good grounds rescued the memory of Zwingli from the rationalistic tendency with which it had become identified. In other respects, through a number of long essays, in masterly style, he describes Zwingli, the Swiss hero of faith, as rising far above the men of his day, much as his native mountains shoot up beyond the surrounding plains of Europe. Comparing him with Luther he says:

"We may allow that Luther, historically considered, forms a more important link than Zwingli, in the complicated chain-work of the Reformation. We may allow that as an organ he embodied more fully than the other the idea which it was the effort of the age to embody in this great revolution. The living spirit of the Reformation individualized itself in his person under its most vital and characteristic form. But we are by no means authorized to refer it as a whole to his authority and example. On the contrary, mighty forces wrought for the production of this revolution, which stood in no connection with his person. The Reformation in Switzerland in its origin was independent of the Reformation in Saxony, and in a certain sense anticipated it in point of time.

"Nothing can be clearer than the fact, that Zwingli was brought sooner than Luther to perceive the rottenness of the papacy as a system, and to feel the necessity of a reformation, that should shake it to the centre. As early as 1516 at least, his testimony against the gross abominations of popery and the errors of the age was uttered at Einsiedlen, loud and clear, when as yet all was comparatively quiet at Wittenberg. The idea of a general Reformation had fixed itself early in his thoughts and desires; and the consciousness of being himself called of God to labor for this object wrought, as it would seem, strongly and steadily in his soul. Instead of following, Zurich went before Wittenberg.

"Luther, indeed, was one of the last men to act with plan or

foresight in such a case. The Reformation with him was anything but a matter of calculation or systematic arrangement. In the sympathy of his heart, he involved himself in a quarrel with Rome, without dreaming of the consequences to which it would lead. He was the unconscious organ of a spirit, the depth of which he had himself no power to fathom, and herein precisely lies his highest qualifications for the work to which he was called. With more insight into his own position there would have been less authority. From the beginning Zwingli more fully understood the meaning of the work in which he was engaged. This may have been owing to the fact that the *ground* of his spiritual activity was not of the deepest kind. But be that as it may, the result was calculation and method, and business-like action from the first, which caused the Reformation in Switzerland, all along, to be a separate and independent work, far more than the consequence in any sense of the changes which were taking place in the North."

In these sketches, as a matter of course, Luther could not occupy much space or appear in prominent outline on the Reformed side of the Reformation, but every now and then we catch glimpses of his truly heroic character. He did not approve of the policy of holding the Conference at Marburg, went to it reluctantly, only at the urgent entreaty of the Landgrave, Philip of Hessa, and when he made his appearance there he did not, in all respects, appear to advantage. He probably thought so himself when he took sick at night on his way back to Saxony. Some indication of a feeling of this kind showed itself after he got home to his dear wife, Katrina, when he hurled back his Parthian arrow at the Swiss Reformers. "The Sacramentarians," he says when he stood once more on his own soil at Wittenberg, "boast of having beaten me at Marburg, which is after their fashion. For they are not only liars, but deceit and falsehood itself, as both Carlstadt and Zwingli have shown in deeds as well as words." Zwingli by the side of his wife, Anna, perhaps smiled, but in his devotions wept. Apart from the conciliatory articles drawn up at the close of the Conference, showing that the Reformers agreed on all points except one, the Reformed appeared to the best advantage to outsiders or lookers on, and they probably went home with the better conscience. But it would be doing Luther and the cause of truth great injustice to suppose that he exhibited only a certain native dogged stubbornness on this great occasion. He believed that he had a momentous truth to support, in which he was right, just as Zwingli and his friends firmly believed they were right from their stand-point. Both sides adhered too

closely to the letter of Scripture. The time for an inward reconciliation of their differences had not yet arrived. The age must first advance in culture, and the Reformers or their disciples must first come to a deeper comprehension of the Gospel itself. Luther, however, notwithstanding appearances, was truly great at Marburg, and this Dr. Nevins, even at this early period, did not fail to see.

"Whatever we may think," he writes, "of the false position in which Luther stood, when he could make so much of the difference between his opponents and himself in this case, exaggerating the point in debate beyond all reason, at the expense of all charity and peace; still, it must be admitted, that under another aspect, it exhibits his character, in a point of view, which is truly sublime. What a triumph of principle, (for in Luther it *was* principle), over against all the whisperings of expediency! Not even to save the Reformation, when Pope and Emperor are binding themselves together for its overthrow, will he budge one inch from his place, at the expense of conscience. His faith in God is to him more than the whole world besides. Let prince entreat or scold, he heeds it not. The friendship of the Landgrave has for him no weight. Even the tears of Zwingli cannot make him move."

Sometimes in unhappy controversies in the Church, a layman, like a certain woman in Jewish history, with her piece of mill-stone, looms up and shows more wisdom as well as a better appreciation of the necessities of the occasion than the clergy themselves. So it was with Philip of Hessa, a prince and a statesman. He was filled with the deepest anxiety for the ark of the Lord as well as for the peace of the country, and he did what he could to promote the unity of the Church in the Fatherland, in his day and generation. His well-meant effort in this direction was only partially successful at Marburg; but it was a step in advance, which was followed three centuries afterwards with better success.

"It seemed to him that there was no good reason for so much heat, between those who had split on this dark question only, whilst in all other respects their views of truth were essentially the same. His own large and noble spirit carried him high above the prejudices with which he was surrounded, and to his clear vision, at the same time, the melancholy consequences to which the strife might be expected to lead, stood clearly revealed from the beginning. *Evangelical*, not *Lutheran*, the latter a designation first used in the way of reproach by the enemies of the Reformation, was the title by which Philip wished the entire Protestant communion to be distinguished. In view of the imminent danger to which the

whole interest was now coming to be exposed, he felt that almost everything depended on a reconciliation of the parties, whom this controversy had put so far asunder, and whom it now seemed to be driving still further from one another, the longer it lasted. For never had it been prosecuted with so great bitterness and violence as just at this time, when the external relations of the Church were calling so loudly for harmony and peace. It occurred to Philip, therefore, that the only hope of ending the contest would be in bringing the leaders of both parties together in the way of an amicable conference. The design was great and noble, inasmuch as it contemplated a work of peace and love, on so large a scale, in the face of so many difficulties, and in the midst of conditions so critical for the honor of religion, and the safety of the entire Protestant cause. At the same time, however, it was full of hazard."

The series of articles, which we have been here considering, contain also interesting sketches of Leo, Bullinger, Farel and Calvin, in their historical work, followed by a succinct history of the formation of the Heidelberg Catechism in the Palatinate by Frederick, the Pious, in 1563, its spread and influence in Germany, Holland and other countries of Europe as well as in this country. As a matter of right the colossal figure of Calvin rises in the ascendant after the death of Zwingli, and his influence is everywhere felt in Reformed countries. The articles on the Sacramentarian controversy are of much value. Under its first form this controversy had in a measure passed away, but in Calvin's time it broke out with new violence, yet with better results. Calvin had signed the Augsburg confession as explained by its author, and his view advancing beyond that of Zwingli did not differ essentially from that of Melancthon himself. At this early day Dr. Nevin fully endorsed it *ex animo*, which showed that he had brought it with him from the Presbyterian Church, where it had become, in a great measure, obsolete.

The articles on the Catechism, appearing during a long festal period in the Church, produced the most happy impression. Other correspondents began to write for the *Messenger* on kindred subjects. Inferior catechisms, which had come to occupy the place of the Heidelberg, in the instruction of the youth in the congregations, were set aside, and this venerable symbol was invested with an authority and respect among ministers and laity in the German Church which it had never enjoyed before. During all this time Dr. Nevin was himself a learner no less than a teacher of others. After the death of Dr. Rauch it devolved on him to preach almost

exclusively in the College Chapel on Sunday morning, and for the sake of system as well as for other reasons, he adopted it as a rule to base his discourses on one or more questions in the Catechism until he had fairly gone over the entire ground. It was in this way he mastered this form of sound words in its historical relations and bearings, as well as in regard to its contents and inner substance. The particular benefit to himself consisted in his finding out what was the genius or inner spirit of the Church in whose service he was called to labor, which qualified him to be a laborer that needed not to be ashamed. The old Puritan Life, in which he had been educated, began to recede in proportion as he penetrated the life of the German Reformation.

These essays on the Heidelberg Catechism, longer than most long newspaper articles, but full of substantial food, were the first to be looked for each week, and the first to be read. Thus they added very much to the interest and value of the paper. When they were finished they were repeatedly called for in book-form, and in response to this request, Dr. Nevin in 1847 published his "History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism," pp. 162, a brief but a most valuable work—*multum in parvo*. It is sometimes supposed that this volume is simply the republication of the essays, but this is a mistake. The former contains a large amount of valuable matter which is not in the latter, and the same remark is true, vice versa. The book opens with the formation of the Catechism in the Palatinate, Germany, in the year 1563, and then follows its history through its various channels down to its appearance in this country. The articles in the *Messenger* contained much valuable historical matter pertaining to the Reformation, not found in the book which grew out of them. It would have been well if the two could have been combined, so as to form a larger and more comprehensive volume, and this might yet be done with profit.

In the latter part of the volume, the author, after much faithful study and reflection, and with much vigor and originality, all his own, proceeds to describe the theology of the Catechism, its œcumenical character, its objectivity, its practical spirit, its freedom from Pelagianism, its reserve in regard to high Calvinism on the subject of the decrees, and its ideas of the sacraments and good works. It was a Calvinistic book, Olevianus, a disciple of Calvin, being one of its authors, more particularly as it regards the Lord's Supper, the great question of the age; but it significantly passed over the subject of the decrees, holding fast to the doctrine of divine grace, which underlies the metaphysical theory of predestination. In

this respect the symbol showed no special leaning towards Calvinism on the one hand, just as it avoided the one-sidedness of Arminianism on the other. This irenical characteristic it received from the German soil out of which it grew through the influence of Melancthon, and we may say from the aversion of German Christianity to the one-sidedness of the great dogma, which subsequently became more characteristic of Calvinism than its view of the Eucharist, from which it originally started out.

Having settled in this general way the theology of the Catechism, the writer in the last chapter of the book proceeds to give a sketch of the genius which pervades its teachings and becomes concrete in the religious life of the churches, that cling to it as their banner, amidst the contact of the ages. As the Reformation formed no absolute rupture with the true Christian life which preceded it, but was rather a legitimate continuation and growth of it under a higher and more spiritual form, the Church of the Heidelberg Catechism, therefore, was not a plant of alien growth in Germany, transplanted from a foreign soil. The Protestant Church, as already said, included in it from the beginning two diverging tendencies, closely related, yet necessarily variant, but not necessarily hostile, except when allowed to assert violently their exclusive claims. It was believed by many such broad and liberal men as Melancthon, Calvin and others, that no rupture was required on this account. The orthodoxy of the Church, they supposed, might with safety make itself so wide as to embrace both forms of thinking, in which expectation, however, to their great grief, they were doomed in the end to be disappointed.

"No rebellion" says Dr. Nevin, "was intended against the Augsburg Confession when the new Catechism appeared in the Palatinate. In the form in which it had been expounded and defined by Melancthon, its author, all were willing to own its authority. The Heidelberg Catechism was designed to interpret rather than to contradict the Augsburg Confession, and to explain the sense in which it was held in the Palatinate. Frederick, the Third, had signed it in its unaltered forms at Naumburg, A. D., 1561, a short time before the Catechism appeared under his direction and fostering care, to which subscription we find him afterwards appealing as still valid in 1566, when called to account by the imperial Diet at Augsburg; and with such success, too, that his right to be recognized as a member politically of the Protestant confession was formally acknowledged by this august body. Ursinus, the principal author of the Catechism, moreover was a devoted disciple of Me-

lanchthon himself, the author of the Augsburg Confession, to which, in its Melancthonian sense, he also stood sworn as a teacher in Breslau. How in such circumstances could the Heidelberg Catechism be anything else than simply German Calvinistic or Semi-Lutheran we may say, in its theological constitution and spirit! In the midst of all this close correspondence with German Lutheranism, the Palatinate Catechism has always been recognized as the general, distinctive, confessional formulary of the whole Reformed Church in Germany. A single fact which reflects great light on its true character and spirit.

"The life which it embodies is the life of the Reformed Church in Germany in the period of the Reformation, where religion held a vigorous hold on the hearts of men as a divine fact, and before the rationalistic tendency, which attached itself to Protestantism, had become strong enough to make itself felt in the general faith. The Catechism is itself a strikingly impressive monument of the inwardness and fulness that characterized the religious life at the time when it was formed. Whatever we may think of the theological controversies with which the spirits of men were so actively inflamed on all sides, it is quite plain that the age was filled with the seriousness of a divine reality in the objects of its faith, such as we often miss in the exhibitions of later history. The Catechism is no cold workmanship merely of the understanding. It is full of feeling and faith. The joyousness of a fresh, simple, childlike trust appears beautifully, touchingly interwoven with all its divinity. It is only here and there that we feel in its pages the presence of the war spirit with which its origin was on all sides surrounded. As a whole it is moderate, gentle and soft; an image we may suppose of the quiet though earnest soul of Ursinus himself. Its position is affirmative mainly in its teachings, rather than negative.

"Such was the character of the Protestant faith generally in the sixteenth century. It did not stand in mere contradiction to the faith of Rome. It had large content of its own, an inward independent life, which it felt bound to assert; and it was the assertion of this life only, which threw it necessarily into the attitude of protest against the errors of the ancient church. In all this, of course, there was no thought of breaking off all historical connection with the life of the Church as it stood before. On the contrary, the sense of the objective, the historical, the catholic, and the always enduring in the Church, as distinguished from the waywardness of mere private judgment and individual will, wrought powerfully on the whole theology of the age. The grand characteristic

of the period was its power to *create*, rather than its power to destroy, unlike the genius of the shallow war which is now too often waged against Rome, from the stand-point of mere rationalistic controversy and denial, which is strong in its affectation of pulling down, but impotent as water itself towards all purposes of building up. The sixteenth century was not simply Protestant; it was Catholic, *Reformed* Catholic, at the same time. So specially, we may say, it was in Germany, the cradle properly of the Reformation life. In this Catholic Church Spirit, the Heidelberg Catechism largely participates. In no other Reformed symbol probably are the great constituents of the true and proper character of this confession, liberty and reverence for authority, the sense of the individual and the sense of the general, more fairly and happily combined.

"A fine illustration of the catholic, historical feeling of the Catechism, is found in the fact that so large a part of its instructions are based upon the Apostles' Creed. In this, it is true, it does but show itself conformable to the general spirit of Protestantism, in the age in which it was produced. No catechism could be considered complete, no confession sound, in the sixteenth century, without a formal recognition of this ancient groundwork of Christian doctrine. The case, we all know, has become lamentably so in our later times.

"The church feeling of the Catechism appears again in the high account which it makes of the Sacraments; here also in full harmony with the general Protestant spirit of the sixteenth century, and in noticeable contrast with much at least of the Protestant spirit of the present day. The Sacraments are held to carry with them an objective force, although not, of course, as an *opus operatum*. Their constitution includes grace for all who are prepared to turn it to account. Thus Baptism is not only a symbol of the washing of regeneration, but a solemn authentication of the fact itself—the proper body of the inward soul—in all cases where the requisite conditions of its presence are at hand. So too the Lord's Supper is the actual bearer of a divine life; the mediatorial life of the Son of God, designated as His body and blood; with which he feeds our souls by the power of the Holy Ghost unto everlasting salvation (Qu. 75). It is not a token merely of our interest in the atonement of Christ, but serves actually to unite us more and more to his sacred body (Qu. 76), thus helping forward that great mystery by which we are to become fully like Him at last in the power of a common life."

Dr. Nevin in all his discussions respecting the Sacraments adhered strictly to the old church view of their true nature, which is also scriptural; that they consist of two things, the outward and inward, the outward sign and the invisible grace. When so regarded there ought to be no difficulty in admitting their power and efficacy. Regarded simply and abstractly as outward signs, as water, bread or wine, however appropriate such symbols may be, they are no sacraments at all, and can have at best nothing more than a moral and instructive efficacy.

"In full harmony," the author goes on to say, "with the Catholic and Sacramental character of the Catechism, as already represented, we find it to be churchly also in all its connections and associations; and this to an extent indeed, which it is not easy for us now, in the Puritan atmosphere with which we are surrounded, fully to perceive and admit. Its proper historical relations in this view, particularly as they are presented to us in the German Church, are far enough removed from that character of spiritualistic baldness, in which too many imagine the perfection of Protestantism to consist at the present time. They include the altar, the organ, and the gown; the church lessons, and a church year, with its regular cycle of religious festivals; repetitions of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; liturgical services; an entire order of worship in short, which to the nostrils of modern Puritanism, it is to be feared, would carry no small stench of popery itself throughout. Think of the fact however, as we may, there it stands; and we must let it go for what it is worth. It shows at least that the original and proper church life of the Heidelberg Catechism was something different from modern Puritanism; and that Puritan associations and modes of thought are not exactly the sphere, in all probability, in which this life is likely to be either rightly understood or fully turned to account."

As an illustration of the liturgical worship in the original Reformed Churches of Germany, an account is given of the old Liturgy of the Palatinate, published in the same year as the Catechism, in 1563, with rubrics for the different services on the Lord's Day, on Holy Days, week days, and days for humiliation and prayer, etc. The Preparatory Service was especially solemn. All persons intending to commune were required to come forward and take their place around the altar, where they were admonished to examine themselves and to repent of all their sins. Then with the pastor they were required to make confession of their repentance and faith aloud, after which the pastor pronounced a formal abso-

lution or declaration of pardon upon all who were truly penitent, with the judgment of God against all such as remained impenitent and unbelieving. The Liturgy was literally adhered to in the Reformed churches in Germany until rationalism came in and undermined Catechism and Agenda, with many other things that were valuable and precious in the old church life. When Dr. Nevin thus referred to this liturgy he could learn of only one copy in existence at the time in this country, and he doubtless regarded it as a valuable discovery when it came to him, raked up for him out of the debris of the past. Various reflections passed through his mind which he put on record during his investigations.

"One thing is certain," he writes, "the German Church is not Puritan; and there is no good reason why it should now succumb to Puritan forms or Puritan modes of thought, from whatever quarter they may be presented. She had a life of her own, once at least, which it is still important that she should understand and cherish with becoming self-respect, if, indeed, she have any vocation to fill at all as a separate independent church. Not that Puritanism is to be blindly hated and opposed. We owe it much, which we are bound to acknowledge with gratitude and affection. Nor yet either that we should fall back blindly to the past as it lies behind us in our own history. All sudden outward *reforms* of this sort, that rest upon no interior necessity in the life of the Church itself, are to be deprecated as likely to do more harm than good. But it is much that we should be able to understand and honor the worth that actually belongs to our own life, so as to cherish it and turn it to account accordingly; that we should not suffer ourselves to be overwhelmed by foreign influences, but be watchful rather to strengthen the things that remain, and go forward if not in the very track, yet still in the general spirit and genius at least of those good old paths, in which our ecclesiastical fathers delighted to walk in the age of the Reformation.

The Lutheran and Reformed Churches in this country from the beginning stood in close and intimate relations; to a large extent worshipped together in union churches; and after the union of the two bodies in Germany made several ineffectual attempts to form a union here also. Whatever movements, therefore, of interest took place in the one made a reciprocal impression in the other, and generally with beneficial results. The churchly position assumed by Dr. Nevin at Mercersburg at once arrested attention, and met with a friendly response from the conservative portions of the Lutheran denomination generally. The editor of the *Lutheran Standard* pub-

lished at Columbus, Ohio, on noticing Dr. Nevin's History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism, when it made its appearance in 1847, made the following among other remarks:

"Sound views and a proper church spirit pervade this interesting volume, and its influence must be most salutary upon the German Reformed Church. Whatever may be said against its distinguished author, from a certain direction, we cheerfully confess, we sympathize with him to a far greater extent, in reference to the system of the Catechism and the Sacraments, than with his opponents, even though they be found in our own Church. Our own sister Church has great cause to be thankful for having obtained the valuable, distinguished services of their eminent Professors, Drs. Nevin and Schaff. The happy influence of their labors upon her whole communion has already manifested itself in various ways. Nor can it be denied that this influence has also been largely felt in various parts of our own Church."

CHAPTER XVIII

AS we have seen, Dr. Nevin was conscious of a dualism in his religious experiences from the time he left Union College in 1821, which continued to harass him more or less at Princeton, and for awhile afterwards also at Allegheny. The old Reformed faith or conception of religion gradually grew stronger over against the Puritan or Methodistic tendency of the day; but it had not fully asserted itself when he left Pittsburgh in 1840. That was brought about at Mercersburg more fully in the years 1842-1843 in a very practical way in the discharge of his official duties. The new order of religious life brought in by the system of revivals had very little respect for history, and was very imperious in its demands; not always content to live in peace with the old order, but quite determined at times to ignore it altogether, if not to tear it up by the roots, whenever that was possible. So it met Dr. Nevin before he scarcely had time to begin his work at Mercersburg. For its temerity he gave it a stern rebuff, and no longer disposed to compromise, he defined his position, from which he never afterwards swerved. It came to pass on this wise.

The Reformed congregation in the village was accustomed to worship in a wretched old church building; had to be supplied with preaching by neighboring pastors; and at length it came to depend altogether on Dr. Nevin and the professors for its supply of spiritual food. This condition of things appeared to detract from the credit of the Institution in the minds of students as well as of strangers, and Dr. Nevin began to interest himself in bringing about a different state of affairs, one that would be more in keeping with the location of the College and Seminary of the Church. As a first step in advance, he urged the brethren to secure a pastor who should come and live among the people. A number of candidates, accordingly, appeared and preached acceptably, but no one seemed to arouse sufficient interest to secure a cordial or sufficient financial support.

At length the Rev. William Ramsey, of Philadelphia, a returned missionary from China; and at the time doing the work of an evangelist in his own way in different parts of the country, came to Mercersburg towards the close of the year 1842, as a candidate for the vacant congregation. Dr. Nevin had known him as a student

at Princeton Seminary, and had recommended him to the Consistory, no doubt still somewhat in his dualistic state of mind, under some kind of an impression that the dull people needed some revivalistic fire to bring them up to the full measure of duty and responsibility. Mr. Ramsey made a favorable impression, preached impressive sermons, and it was not long before he felt that he was master of the situation; and as he thought he already had matters pretty much his own way, he became more and more emotional. On Sunday evening, without consulting any one, in particular, apparently on the spur of the moment, with a densely crowded house before him, he brought out the "Anxious Bench," and invited all who desired the prayers of the Church to present themselves before the altar. A number of persons, and amongst others several elderly ladies, who had always adorned their Christian profession, obeyed the summons, and the result was what usually takes place on such occasions, an intense excitement and more or less confusion. The preacher was evidently now in his element and showed that he knew how to manage a modern revival or religious excitement. Dr. Nevin, on the other hand, sat back in the pulpit, somewhat amazed at the sudden change that seemed to have taken place in this sober old congregation, with a flushed countenance, but quietly contemplating the scene below him. It helped to furnish him with suitable phrases when afterwards he graphically described similar but still wilder scenes in his Tract on the Anxious Bench, to which this served as an introduction.

"Excitement," he says, "rules the hour. No room is found either for instruction or reflection. A sea of feeling, blind and tempestuous, rolls in on all sides.—The anxious then are encouraged to weep aloud, cry out and wring their hands. Now they are enveloped in the loud tones of some stimulating spiritual song. Then there is prayer, which soon becomes as loud, commencing, perhaps, with a single voice, but flowing quickly into a sea of tumultuating sounds, from which no sense can be extracted even by the keenest ear. The mourners besiege the altar, pell-mell, kneeling, or it may be floundering flat upon the floor, and all joining in the general noise. Then may be heard the voice of the preacher, shouting some commonplace word of exhortation, which no body hears or regards; while at different points, vague, crude expostulations and directions are poured into the ears of the struggling suppliants by 'brethren,' now suddenly transformed into spiritual counsellors, who might be at a loss themselves, at any other time, to explain a single point in religion. In due time, one after another is *brought*

through ; and thus new forms of disorder, shouting, clapping and so on, are brought into play. In this way, the interest of the occasion, such as it is, may be kept up till a late hour. But who will pretend to say, that *instruction* has been regarded or intended, as a leading part of the process." The writer had confronted scenes like these in his previous experience, and now one of them confronted him in his own church. In this instance he was supplied with food for reflection, and a motive for some necessary form of future action.

After the meeting had in a measure run its course, Dr. Nevin, who had apparently been overlooked up to this time, was called on to say something, which he did in his usual thoughtful and solemn way. Speaking of the nature of true religion, he told his hearers not to imagine that coming to the altar in this public way was the same as penitence and faith in Christ, which alone could give peace and rest to the soul. He pointed out the distinction that should be made between the two things, and warned them earnestly against all self-deception. He assured them that no amount of bodily exercise would profit them aught, not even if they should creep about from one corner of the church to the other until their knees were sore and bleeding. The remarks were proper, and very judicious at this stage of the proceedings, although they changed the tone of the meeting considerably—very much for the better—and the people went home with a sense of the solemnity of religion; but Mr. Ramsey, as he afterwards remarked, did not think they were altogether suitable to the occasion.

The people, however, were aroused, and proceeded immediately to elect him as their pastor, for the reason, among others, that they could raise more money for his support than for that of any one else. Dr. Nevin, even up to this point, was rather in favor of the choice when he saw the new interest awakened in the drowsy old congregation; but he occupied a responsible position in the Church, and thought there ought to be a distinct understanding before the matter in hand should proceed any further. He looked at the bearings of this new movement on the Institutions at Mercersburg, and the impression it was likely to make on the Church at large. Accordingly, he wrote a letter to his friend Mr. Ramsey, after he had left, informing him that he was anxious he should accept the call tendered him, but candidly telling him that it would be necessary, if he came to Mercersburg, to dispense with his new measures and adopt the catechetical system in vogue in the Reformed Church, else he could not work together harmoniously with him, and he

would be obliged to stand in his way. This brought on a crisis, and the pastor-elect misapprehending the letter, or not seeing the relation of things out of which it sprung, at once wrote to the Consistory, declining the call, and assigning Dr. Nevin's letter as the reason for his non-acceptance. It was by far one of the longest letters that we have ever read, a diatribe as pungent as the writer could make it, in which he belabors his old friend and fellow student at Princeton without gloves, as he no doubt supposed. It had in it the appearance of a large amount of sanctimonious piety, but it also contained a considerable amount of bitterness; and was evidently intended to produce an effect. The mistake which the good man made was that he did not allow himself to see that he was here dealing with an old historical Church and not with one of his own new school order.

The letter was read by all who wished to see it, and some enjoyed it not a little, just as they would a volley of artillery thrown into the camp of an enemy. But most persons were sad about it. The high wrought expectations that the church would at once become the largest in the town under the leadership of such a minister from Philadelphia were dashed to the ground, and now what was to be done? Dr. Nevin instinctively comprehended the gravity of the situation. He had at length taken a decided stand in favor of the old Reformed faith, of which he had learned something in his youth, over against that which he had brought with him from Union College. He had made up his mind that the former should rule the latter, and not the reverse. As usual he was pressed into position by the force of circumstances, or to speak more reverently, by the guiding hand of Providence. The good people of the congregation gradually became reconciled to the loss of their idol, and not a few outsiders began to admire the Doctor's heroism and pluck in standing up single-handed and alone against what seemed to them at the time a perfect tornado of feeling. 'Squire Cook, a thoughtful elder, remarked that as Dr. Nevin was at the head of the Church, he no doubt could see farther than the members, and that in the end all would come out right. His opinion prevailed, and the congregation did not go to pieces as some had predicted. The Union College phrensy, however, had come down by this time into some of the staid churchly congregations in Pennsylvania, and a considerable portion of the students at Mercersburg were more or less addicted to it. Here it was a more serious matter than in the congregation, and Dr. Nevin saw at once that, for sanitary reasons at least, the atmosphere of the College and Seminary must be disin-

feeted without delay. As he was lecturing on Pastoral Theology at the time, he took occasion to deliver several lectures on the system of New Measures, to which the students had just received a full introduction. They were quite as outspoken as the letter to Mr. Ramsey, and a great deal more forcible. The effect was all that could be desired. The effervescence among the theologians, in particular, subsided, and the pious students generally came to 'Squire Cook's conclusion, already referred to, and were quite willing to hope for the best.

But the Professor at once saw that vague rumors of the stand which he had here taken would soon get out into the Church, and that it was quite likely to be misunderstood or misrepresented. Accordingly he concluded to enlarge his lectures, and in the spring of 1843 published them in pamphlet form under the title, *The Anxious Bench—A Tract for the Times*. Pp. 149. Tekel. Daniel, 5: 27. As he said, it was due to the Church that he should define his position so that all concerned might know exactly where he stood; also to himself that he might know where he himself stood, and whether he would be sustained in his position, be free to continue in his work, or whether it would not be better to retire from it before proceeding any further.—The small volume had at once an extensive circulation in both of the German Churches, and in a brief period of time a second edition was called for.

The Tract for the Times was prepared with great care and circumspection, so as not to be misunderstood or be capable of misconstruction. At the present day it is surprising that such extreme caution had to be exercised in order that the book might be understood and appreciated. It was simply a plea for religion, pure and undefiled, as opposed to a spurious religious experience, based on mere natural feeling, aroused during a period of religious excitement. It treated, however, of sacred things, and here more than anywhere else, it became necessary to distinguish clearly between what was a genuine and what was a spurious coin. The title itself was intended to prevent misconception of its contents: it was not named a treatise on New Measures, for many persons understood by such measures the introduction into the churches of prayer meetings, Sunday-schools, protracted meetings, missionary work, and other things of like character. Neither was the term employed merely to express a single thing with its foolish extravagances, but was made to stand as the type and representative of an entire system of religious activity, which, at the time, was technically denominated the New Measure system of revivals, with

which most readers were familiar. The particular here was put for the general, very properly, because it belonged to a system, not in name simply but in its life and spirit.

The system did not belong to a genuine religious revival, but was rather its abuse. In the proper sense of the term the Church is continually seeking to be revived, is or ought to be revived every Sabbath, and if there are seasons when a special refreshing comes down from the Lord upon the congregation, so much the better; but that is something vastly different from the system that gets up "the Anxious Bench, revival machinery, solemn tricks for the sake of effect, decision displays at the bidding of the preacher, genuflections and prostrations in the aisle or around the altar, noise and disorder, extravagance and rant, mechanical conversions, justification by feeling rather than by faith, and encouragement to all kinds of fanatical impressions."

The Anxious Bench was written not as a diatribe against the Methodists, but more particularly for the defence and benefit of the German Churches, which were awaking from their spiritual slumber and passing through a crisis in their history. No field could be regarded as more interesting. A vast moral change was going forward upon it, involving consequences that no man could properly calculate. From various causes a new feeling here was everywhere at work on the subject of religion. As usual the old struggled to maintain itself in opposition to the new, and a strong tendency to become one-sided was created on both sides. The general mind unhappily had not been furnished thus far with proper protection and guidance in the way of full religious teaching, and the result was that in these critical circumstances, it had become exposed, more or less, at almost every point, to those wild fanatical influences, which in this country are sure to come in like a desolating flood, wherever they can find room in order to gain possession of the entire field if possible, on the principle that the "old organizations are corrupt and ought to be destroyed." In these circumstances, it was not always easy for the friends of earnest piety, in the regular historical churches, to abide by the ancient landmarks of truth and order. The temptation was to fall in, at least to some extent, with the tide of fanaticism, as the only way of making war successfully on the dead formality that stared them in the face in one direction, and the only way of counteracting the proselyting zeal of noisy sects in the other.

"This and other considerations," said Dr. Nevin in the first chapter of the Anxious Bench, "have had the effect of opening the

way for the use of the New Measures to some extent in the German Reformed Church, but much more so in the Lutheran. It is well known that a large division of this last mentioned denomination has identified itself openly and zealously with the system both in doctrine and practice. The *Lutheran Observer*, which has a wide circulation and great influence, has lent all its authority to recommend and support the Anxious Bench with its accompaniments, taking every occasion to speak in its favor and making continually the most of its results. Thus ministers and people have been extensively committed in its favor, so that with many the use of the Anxious Bench, and a zeal for evangelical godliness, are considered to be very much the same thing. It might seem, indeed, as though all the interests of religion, in the case of the German community, were to the view of a large class suspended on the triumphant progress of the new system. With them it is emphatically the great power of God, which may be expected to turn and overturn until old things shall fairly pass away and all things shall become new.

"And it must be acknowledged that the system bids fair at present to go on conquering and to conquer, in its own style, within the limits at least of this widely extended and venerable denomination. It seems to bear down, more and more, all opposition. It has become an interest too strong to be resisted or controlled. What are to be its ultimate issues and results, time only can reveal.—'And let me tell you, sir,' writes a correspondent in the *Lutheran Observer*, Nov. 17, 1843, 'whatever Professor Nevin may have written, in the abstraction of his study, I am nevertheless strongly convinced, as a pastor, that the so-called Anxious Bench is the lever of Archimedes, which, by the blessing of God, can raise our German Churches to that degree of respectability in the religious world which they ought to enjoy.—'And again, 'such measures are usually inseparable from great revivals, and if the great luminaries in the Church set themselves up against them they must be content to abide the consequences. By the judicious use of such measures the millenium must be accelerated and introduced.'

"No one," says Dr. Nevin, "reflecting, therefore, on the actual state of things at this time in the field occupied by the German churches, can fail to perceive that there is full occasion for calling attention to the subject which it is here proposed to consider. An inquiry into the merits of the Anxious Bench, and the system to which it belongs, is not only reasonable and fit in the circumstances but loudly called for on every side. It is no small question that is involved in the case. The bearing of it upon the interests of re-

ligion in the German churches is of fundamental and vital importance. A crisis has evidently been reached in their history, and one of the most serious points involved in it is precisely the question of New Measures. Let this system prevail and rule with permanent sway, and the result of the religious movement, which is now in progress, will be something widely different from what it would have been under other auspices. The old regular organizations, if they continue to exist at all, will not be the same churches. In time to come their entire history and complexion will be shaped by the course of things with regard to this point. Under this view, therefore, the march of New Measures at the present time may well challenge our anxious and solemn regard. It is an interest of no common magnitude, portentous in its aspects and pregnant with consequences of vast account. The system is moving forward in full strength, and putting forth its pretensions in the boldest style on all sides. Surely we have a right, and in such a case we may feel it a duty, to institute an examination into its merits.

"We may indeed congratulate ourselves that we have suffered as yet comparatively so little from fanatical excesses in our own denomination. Still, linked together as the German Churches are throughout the land, we have reason to be jealous here of influences, that must in the nature of the case act upon us from without. In such circumstances there is occasion, and, at the same time, room for consideration. It might answer little purpose to interpose remonstrance or inquiry, if the rage for New Measures were fairly let loose as a sweeping wind within our borders. It were idle to bespeak attention from the rolling whirlwind. But with the whirlwind in full view, we may be exhorted reasonably to consider and stand back from its destructive path. We are still free to reject or embrace the new order of things, as the interests of the Church, on calm reflection, may be found to require. In circumstances precisely such as these, it may be counted in all respects proper to subject the system to a serious examination.

"It is sometimes imagined that no room must be allowed for criticism, where the object proposed is to rescue souls from hell. To stand upon points of order, in such a case, is to clog the chariot wheels of salvation. Meanwhile the disastrous consequences of false excitement in the name of religion are entirely overlooked. No account is made, comparatively, of the danger of bringing both the truth and the power of God into discredit, by countenancing pretensions to the name of a revival, where the thing itself is not present. The danger itself is by no means imaginary. Spurious

excitements are natural and common. Gross irregularity and extravagance are actually at work, in connection with such excitements, on all sides. The whole interest of revivals is endangered by the assumption impudently put forward, that these revolting excesses belong to the system. False and ruinous views of religion are widely disseminated. Thousands of souls are thus deceived, and vast obstructions thrown in the way of true godliness. But of all this no account is made by those who are so sensitively jealous of danger on the other side. The only alternative they seem to see is *Action* or *No Action*. But the difference between *right* action and *wrong* action, we would think, is full as important, to say the least, as the difference between action and no action—no matter what irregularities are attached to it, so long as it stands before us in the holy garb of a revival, it is counted unsafe to call it to account. The maxim, *Prove all things*, must be discarded, as well as the caution, *Believe not every spirit*. Most certainly in such circumstances caution does become us all. We should tremble to touch the Ark of God with unhallowed hands; but it were to be wished, that this might be seriously laid to heart by the champions of the Anxious Bench themselves, as well as by others.

“The fact that a crisis is come in the history of the German Churches, and that they are awaking to the consciousness of a new life with regard to religion, only makes it the more important that this subject should not be suffered to rest in vague confusion. It is a popish maxim, by which ignorance is made to be the mother of devotion. We say rather, Let there be light. The cause of the Reformation was more endangered by its own caricature than by all the opposition of Rome. Luther saved it, not by truckling compromise, but by boldly facing and unmasking the false spirit, so that all the world might see that Lutheran Christianity was one thing and wild Phrygian Montanism, with its pretended inspiration, another. Let things that are wrong be called by their right names and be separated from the things that are right.”

After having made what were supposed to be all the necessary introductory and explanatory remarks, the author of the Tract for the Times goes on in some four or five chapters to examine and refute the claims of the Anxious Bench system in crisp language and vigorous logic. He shows that its popularity or its seeming success does not give it any valid authority; that it requires no spiritual power to give it effect; that its reliance on forms or measures betrays inward weakness as well as the spirit of quackery; that it is only a substitute for true strength; that where held in honor it

gives ample space for novices and quacks; that it creates a false issue for the conscience; unsettles true seriousness; usurps the place of the cross; leads to disorder; connects itself with a vulgar and irreverent style of religion; is unfavorable to deep, earnest piety; and that it results in wide-spread lasting spiritual mischief. What is said in its favor—that it brings the sinner to a decision, that it involves a committal, strengthens his purpose, gives him a penitential discipline, opens the way for instruction or prayer—have very little force, as these desirable results can be reached in a better and more orderly way. The Romish Church has always delighted in arrangements and services animated by the same false spirit. In her penitential system all pains have been taken to produce effects by means of outward postures and dress, till in the end, amid the solemn mummery, no room has been left for genuine penitence at all. Yet not a single ceremony was ever introduced into its system that did not seem to be recommended by some sound religious reason at the time.

“Simeon, the Stylite, distinguished himself in the fifth century by taking his station on the top of a pillar, for the glory of God and the benefit of his own soul. This whimsical discipline he continued to observe for forty-seven years. Meanwhile he became an object of wide-spread veneration. Vast crowds came from a distance to gaze upon him and hear him preach. The *measure* took with the people wonderfully. Thousands of heathen were converted and baptized by his hand. Among these, it may be charitably trusted, there were some whose conversion was inward and solid. God may have made use of Simeon’s pillar—sixty feet high—to bring them to Himself. The seal of His approbation might, therefore, seem to have rested upon it to an extraordinary extent. No wonder the device became popular. The quackery of the Pillar took possession of the Eastern world and stood for a century, a monument of the folly that gave it birth. We laugh at it now; and yet it seemed a good thing in its time, and carried a weight of popularity with it, such as no new measure can boast of in our day. Monkery was to many, in fact, the means of conversion and salvation; and to this day an argument might be framed in its favor, under this view, no less plausible, to say the least, than any that can be presented for the use of the Anxious Bench.

“But is not Methodism Christianity? And is it not better that the German Churches should rise in this form, than not rise at all? Most certainly so, I reply, if that be its only alternative. But that is *not* the alternative. Their resurrection may just as well

take place in the type of their own true, original, glorious life, as it is still to be found enshrined in their symbolical books. And, whatever there may be that is good in Methodism, this life of the Reformation I affirm to be immeasurably more excellent and sound. Wesley was a small man as compared with Melancthon. Olshausen, with all his mysticism, is a commentator of the inmost sanctuary in comparison with Adam Clark. If the original distinctive life of the Churches of the Reformation be not the object to be reached after, in the efforts that are made to build up the interests of German Christianity in this country, then it were better to say so openly and plainly. Why keep up the walls of denominational partition in such a case, with no distinctive spiritual being to uphold or protect. A sect without a soul has no right to live. Zeal for a separate denominational name that utters no separate idea is the very essence of sectarian bigotry and schism. It could not well be otherwise." This new system addressed mainly the lower nature of man; or what the Scripture calls the psychic or natural man, in distinction from the pneumatic or spiritual part of his being. The former, largely animal in character, was intended by the Creator to be for the most part the medium of his intercourse with the world of nature; the latter to bring him into communion with God and divine things.

"Error and heresy, I repeat it," says Dr. Nevin, referring to this psychic religion, "are involved in the system itself, and cannot fail, sooner or later, where it is encouraged, to evolve themselves in most disastrous results. A low Pelagianizing theory of religion runs through it from beginning to end. The fact of sin is acknowledged, but not in its true extent. The idea of a new spiritual creation is admitted, but not in its proper radical and comprehensive form. The ground of the sinner's salvation is made to be at last in his own separate person. The deep import of the declaration, 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh,' is not fully apprehended; and it is vainly imagined accordingly, that the flesh as such may be so stimulated and exalted notwithstanding, as to prove the mother of that spiritual nature, which we are solemnly assured can be born only of the Spirit. Hence all stress is laid upon the energy of the individual will, the self-will of the flesh, for the accomplishment of the great change in which regeneration is supposed to exist.

"The case is not remedied at all by the consideration, that due account is made at the same time professedly of God's Spirit, as indispensable in the work of conversion. The heresy lies involved

in the system. This is so constructed as naturally and in due course of time inevitably to engender false views of religion. Sometimes the mere purpose to serve God, in the same form with a resolution to sign a temperance pledge, is considered to be the ground of regeneration. At other times it is made to stand in a certain state of feeling, supposed to be of supernatural origin, but apprehended, nevertheless, mechanically, as the result of a spiritual process which begins and ends with the sinner himself. The experience of the supposed supernatural, in this case, stands in the same relation to the actual power of the new birth, that magic bears to the true idea of a miracle. Religion does not get the sinner, but it is the sinner who 'gets religion.' Justification is taken in fact by feeling, not by faith; and in this way falls back as fully into the sphere of self-righteousness as though it were expected from works under any other form. In both the views which have been mentioned, as grounded either in a change of purpose or a change of feeling, religion is found to be in the end the product properly of the sinner himself. It is wholly subjective and therefore visionary, and false. The theory we have been contemplating then, as included practically in the system of New Measures, is a great and terrible heresy, which is calculated to deceive and destroy a vast multitude of souls.

"The proper fruits of Pelagianism follow the system invariably, in proportion exactly to the extent in which it may be suffered in any case to prevail. With regard to this point a most ample field for instruction is presented in the history of the great religious movement over which Mr. Finney presided some years ago, in certain parts of this country. Years of faithful pastoral service on the part of a different class of ministers, working in a wholly different style, have hardly yet sufficed to restore to something like spiritual fruitfulness and beauty the field in Northern New York, over which the system then passed, as a wasting fire in the fulness of its strength.

"In many places, a morbid thirst for excitement may be said to exhaust the whole interest that is felt in religion. The worst errors stand in close juxtaposition with the most bold pretensions to the highest order of Christian experience. All might seem to begin in the Spirit, and yet all is perpetually ending in the Flesh. The system, properly speaking, is not new. The same theory of religion has, in all ages, led substantially to the same style of action, and this has been followed by substantially the same bad results. No religious community can grow and prosper in a solid

way, where this false theory of religion is allowed to have any considerable authority; because it will always stand in the way of those deeper and more silent forms of action, by which alone it is possible for this end to be accomplished."

After the Tract had thus by a thorough analysis demonstrated the inward weakness of the Anxious Bench system, it goes on in a final chapter to point out in the way of contrast something older, better and more enduring. This it finds in what, for the sake of simplicity, it calls the system of the Catechism. It then lays aside its negative, or polemic character, and becomes positive in its views, without which all its reasoning would have been worse than vain. To pull down is not the most difficult work, even in religion, but to build up on a better foundation calls for more wisdom and strength. *Hic labor, hoc opus est.*

"The theory of religion," says the author, "in which the Catechism stands is vastly more deep and comprehensive and, of course, vastly more earnest also than that which lies at the foundation of the other system. This latter we have seen to be characteristically Pelagian, with narrow views of the nature of sin, and confused apprehensions of the difference between the flesh and the spirit; involving in the end the gross and radical error that conversion is to be considered, in one shape or another, the product of the sinner's own will, and not truly and strictly a new creation in Jesus Christ by the power of God. This is an old error which has often put on the fairest appearances, seeming even to go beyond the general life of the Church in the measure of its zeal and spirituality. But now in opposition to all this, the true theory of religion carries us continually beyond the individual to the view of a far deeper and more general form of existence, in which his particular life is represented as standing. Thus sin is not simply the offspring of a particular will, putting itself forth in the form of actual transgression; but a wrong habit of humanity itself, a general and universal force, which includes and rules the entire existence of the individual man from the start. This point is well maintained by Dr. Sartorius, one of the most distinguished Lutheran divines of the present age. Sin as a disease is organic, rooted in the race, and cannot be overcome in any case by a force less deep and general than itself. As well might we look for the acorn to forsake in its growth the type of its proper species, and to put forth the form of a mountain ash or stately elm. So deep and broad is the ruin from which man is to be delivered.

"And here again the same depth and breadth of view is pre-

sented to us also in the Christian salvation itself. Man is the subject of it, but not the author of it, in any sense. His nature is restorable, but it can never restore itself. The restoration, therefore, to be real, must begin beyond the individual. In this case, as in the other, the general must go before the particular, and support it as its proper ground. Thus humanity, fallen in Adam, is made to undergo a resurrection in Christ, and so restored flows over organically, as in the other case, to all in whom its life appears. The sinner is saved then by an inward living union with Christ, as real as the bond by which he had been joined in the first instance to Adam. This union is reached and maintained, through the medium of the Church, by the power of the Holy Ghost. It constitutes a new life, the ground of which is not in the particular subject of it at all, but in Christ, the organic root of the Church. The particular subject lives, not properly speaking in the acts of his own will, separately considered, but in the power of a vast generic life, that lies wholly beyond his will, and has now begun to manifest itself through him, as the law and type of his will itself, as well as of his whole being. As born of the Spirit, he is himself spiritual, and capable of true righteousness. Thus his salvation begins, and thus it is carried forward, till it becomes complete in the resurrection of the great day. From first to last, it is a power which he does not so much apprehend as he is apprehended by it, comprehended in it, and carried along with it, as something infinitely more deep and lasting than himself.

“Great purposes and great efforts exist only when the sense of the general overpowers the sense of the particular, and the last is constrained to become tributary to the tendencies and purposes of the first. There may be a great show of strength where the man acts simply from and for himself; noise, agitation, passion, reaching even to violence; but it will be only a display of imbecility when all is done. The will acting in this way is very weakness itself, and all the blustering and violence it may put on serves but to expose the deficiency of strength that prevails within. To acquire, in any case, true force, it must fall back on a power more general than itself. And so it is found that in the sphere of religion particularly, the Pelagian theory, whether in thought or action, is always more impotent for practical purposes than that to which it stands opposed. The action, which is produced, may be noisy, fitful, violent, but it can never carry with it the depth, the force, the fulness that are found to characterize the life of the soul, when set in motion by the other view. Religion in this form becomes

strictly a life of God in the soul. So far as this life prevails it is tranquil, profound, and free. It overcomes the world; "not by might and by power," the unequal, restless, fitful and spasmodic efforts of the flesh, but by the Spirit of the Lord.

"Both the ruin of man and his recovery rest on a general ground, which is beyond himself as an individual. If saved at all, he is to be saved by the force of a spiritual constitution, established by God for the purpose, the provisions of which go far beyond the resources of his own will, and are expected to reach him not so much through the measure of his particular life, as by the medium of a new general life with which he is to be filled and animated from without. This spiritual constitution is brought to bear upon him in the Church, by means and agencies which God has appointed, and clothed with power expressly for this end. Hence where the system of the Catechism prevails, great account is made of the Church and all reliance placed upon the means of grace comprehended in its constitution, as all sufficient under God for the accomplishment of its own purposes. These are felt to be something more than mere devices of human ingenuity and are honored and diligently used accordingly as the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto salvation. Due regard is had to the idea of the Church as something more than a bare abstraction, the conception of an aggregate of parts mechanically brought together. It is apprehended rather as an organic life, springing perpetually from the same ground, and identical with itself at every part. In this view, the Church is truly the mother of all her children. They do not impart life to her, but she imparts life to them. Christ lives in the Church and through the Church in its particular members; just as Adam lives in the human race generally considered, and through the race in every individual man. This view of the relation of the Church to the salvation of the individual exerts an important influence, in the case before us, on the whole system of action by which it is sought to reach this object.

"Where it prevails a serious interest will be taken in the case of children, as proper subjects for the Christian salvation, from the earliest age. Infants, born in the Church, are regarded and treated as members of it from the beginning, and this privilege is felt to be something more than an empty show. Children growing up in the bosom of the Church, under the faithful application of the means of grace, should be quickened into spiritual life in a comparatively quiet way, and spring up numerously 'as willows by the water courses,' to adorn the Christian profession, without be-

ing able at all to trace the process by which the glorious change has been effected.

"Otherwise, as a matter of course, baptism becomes a barren sign, and the children of the Church are left to grow up like the children of the world, under most heartless and disastrous general neglect. Only where the system of the Catechism is in honor and vigorous force, do we ever find a properly earnest and comprehensive regard exhibited for the salvation of the young; a regard that operates not partially and occasionally only, but follows its subject with all-compassing interest, like the air and light of heaven, from the first breath of infancy onwards; a regard that cannot be satisfied in their behalf with the spasmodic experience of the Anxious Bench, but travails in birth for them continually, until Christ be formed in their hearts the hope of glory.

"Thus due regard is had to the *family*, the domestic institution, as a vital and fundamental fact, in the general organization of the Church; and all proper pains are taken to promote religion in families, as the indispensable condition of its prosperity under all other forms. Parents are engaged to pray for their children, and to watch over them, with true spiritual solicitude, continually endeavoring to draw them to the Church. With such feelings, they will have, of course, a family altar, and daily sacrifice of prayer and praise in the midst of their house. They will be careful, too, to instil into the minds of their children the great truths of religion, 'in the house, and by the way.' Catechetical instruction, in particular, will be faithfully employed from the beginning. And to crown all, the power of a pious and holy example will be sought, as necessary to impart life to all other forms of influence. All this belongs properly to the system of the Catechism.

"In close connection with this domestic training, the ministrations of the Church come in, under a more public form, to carry forward the same work. She feels herself bound to watch over the children born in her bosom, and to follow them with counsel, instruction and prayer, from one year always on to another. They are required to attend upon the services of the sanctuary. Especially, the process of catechetical instruction is employed with constancy and patience, to cast, if possible, both the understanding and the heart into the mould of evangelical doctrine.

"The regular administration of the Word and Sacraments forms, of course, an essential part of the same system. The ordinances of the sanctuary, being of divine institution, are regarded as channels of a power higher than themselves; and are administered ac-

cordingly with such earnestness and diligence as bespeak a proper confidence in their virtue, under this view.

"And then to crown all a *living* ministry is needed to build up the interests of Christianity in a firm and sure way; a ministry apt to teach; sermons full of unction and light; zeal for the interests of holiness; catechetical training; due attention to order and discipline; and patient perseverance in the details of the ministerial work. And then the system includes the wide range of the proper pastoral work, as distinguished from the pulpit. The faithful minister is found preaching the Gospel like Paul from house to house, as well as in a more public way; visiting the families that are under his care, expressly for this purpose; conversing with the old and the young on the great subject of personal religion; mingling with the poor in their humble dwellings as well as with those in better circumstances; ministering the instructions of religion, or its consolations at the bed of the sick or dying; and in one word, laying himself out in continual labors of love towards all, as the servant of all for Jesus' sake. In these circumstances, the holiness of his own life particularly becomes an agency powerful beyond all others, to recommend and enforce the Gospel he is called to preach. His very presence will carry with it the weight of an impressive testimony in favor of the truth.

"These are the agencies by which alone the Kingdom of God may be expected to go steadily forward. When these are employed there will be revivals; but they will be only as it were the natural fruit of the general culture going before, without that spasmodic, meteoric character, which too often distinguishes excitements under this name; while the life of religion will show itself abidingly at work in the reigning temper of the Church at all other times. Happy the congregation that may be placed under such spiritual auspices! Happy for our German Zion, if such might be the system that should prevail to the exclusion of every other within her borders. We may style it, for the sake of distinction, the system of the Catechism. God is not so much in the whirlwind, earthquake and tempest, as in the still small voice of the falling dew or growing grass."

The pamphlet of fifty-six pages immediately excited attention. In the circumstances, when religious excitements ran high, it was a very bold thing for the author, a professor of theology, to rebuke them. It exposed him to the danger of being classed with "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort," who were opposed to all kinds of religion. It was for him at first an experiment of a more or less

doubtful character, and for a time at least he was anxious to know the result. His mind, however, was not left very long in suspense. Prominent laymen, as well as ministers from all parts of the Church, wrote to him in commendation of the position he had assumed. Among these were some from whom an approval was more or less doubtful, as they had apparently committed themselves to the system of new measures. The *Messenger*, the organ of the Church, up to this time not very decided one way or the other, came out in an editorial from Rev. S. R. Fisher endorsing the Tract and its doctrines. The conservative religious press generally did the same thing. The *Christian Intelligencer*, Dutch Reformed, said "the pamphlet is the production of a master mind, well informed and well balanced and we hope it will have a wide circulation;" and the *Presbyterian*, "that Dr. Nevin had in a thorough, sober and forcible measure expressed the new measure system of religion." The *Princeton Review* noticed the Tract in highly commendatory terms, and concurred in the argument against the Anxious Bench which by a false zeal had been "erected into a third sacrament."

In other directions, however, as was expected, the Tract excited an intense opposition, ending in a long and angry controversy. Religious excitements, or the so-called revivals, were the order of the day in many communities, to which there had been little or no hinderance; but now a voice from Mercersburg, firm and decided, spoke out that their aggressive spirit should go no farther, so far at least as the German Churches were concerned, if it could possibly be prevented. It was not long before the issue was understood, and there was no lack of combatants rushing into the field. Mr. Finney had a few disciples in the Reformed Church, of whom the Rev. Jacob Helfenstein was the most ardent. He felt it incumbent on himself to give his testimony, in a number of articles, against a publication which he considered as inimical to vital godliness. He admitted what he called the abuses of the revival system, but defended the system itself as the work of God. Dr. Nevin considered both as one and the same thing, and that was the difference between him and his opponent in this controversy. Over a system that left out the sacramental and churchly elements of Christianity, he believed that he was authorized to write the word "Tekel."

The Reformed Synod of Ohio, where new measures were in vogue, recommended to its ministers to read with candor the little book from the East, but one of its members, less noble than his brethren, became recalcitrant, and vowed that he would not "touch the wicked little thing with a ten-foot pole." In some other places

in the Church, similar naughty speeches were made by emotional Christians against the "godless professor," who was represented as opposing the progress of true religion. Various surrounding bodies, predominantly Methodistical, among whom the Anxious Bench had become more or less a means of grace, thought they were attacked as denominations—a palpable mistake—and that it was their duty to repel this assault upon vital Christianity. Their replies were amusing and interesting as specimens of natural simplicity.

The Tract made an immediate and wide-spread sensation in the Lutheran Church, fully as much so as in the Reformed. There the two parties, the old and the new schools, were gathering together into two different camps, and their relations to each other were strained. The former, holding fast to the traditions of their grand old Church, were, in a measure, helpless and somewhat drowsy, if not asleep, like their Reformed brethren in like circumstances. The voice from Mercersburg came upon them like a thunder-clap, but it was just what they wished to hear. Some of their clergy were quite outspoken and encouraged their people to read the Anxious Bench, which they were in fact very willing to do. It was a subject in which they were interested and wished for information. When they were told that the writer, Dr. Nevin, had come from the Presbyterian Church, which they supposed had a hand in starting the so-called new measures, their wonder was only increased. Never before were the Lutherans of this wing more friendly to the Reformed. It was an illustration of the deep unity subsisting, in fact, between the two denominations, in consequence of which no vital movement could take place in the one without affecting the other.

This portion of the Lutheran Church had an opportunity to express itself in the English language through the *Lutheran Standard*, published in the West, at Columbus, Ohio. Its first editor, Emanuel Greenwalt, had travelled on horse-back to Ohio from Maryland as a licentiate in 1831, and labored more or less as a missionary until 1836, when he was regularly ordained. In 1842, while serving numerous congregations, he was elected editor of the *Standard*. Although surrounded by the wildest fanaticism in the congregations, he continued steadfast in the moderate, conservative Lutheran faith which he had brought with him from the East. As an editor he was decided in his utterances, and when the Anxious Bench controversy broke out at Mercersburg, he sustained Dr. Nevin, extracted largely from his pamphlet for the benefit of his readers, and affirmed that "the publication was timely, long and loudly called for." His paper

manifested a truly Christian spirit, and was read with interest both in the East and the West. Subsequently Dr. Greenwalt became highly useful in his own denomination, wrote a number of edifying books, and served in various responsible positions until his death in 1885, universally esteemed and honored. He was among the first to call forth a reaction against the revival system in favor of conservative Lutheranism, and was a prince in the Lutheran Israel of this country, to a much larger extent than he in his humble estimate of himself and services had probably imagined. Of him it may be truthfully said that his works do follow him.

In the other branch of the sister Church, which was waking up and putting off dull sloth as fast as it could in the diligent use of what was apparently a new means of grace, the Mercersburg protest was well received and regarded as opportune by many. The system, they said, had been useful in various ways, but it had had its day, and ought now to be given up for something better. They were getting tired of it. A larger number, perhaps, only halted and began to think. There were, however, likewise many others who had faith in it and thought it ought to be upheld as the mighty power of God. Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, editor of the *Lutheran Observer* at Baltimore, one of the most prominent organizers of the new order in the Lutheran Church, sometimes called its corypheus, instinctively felt that his own position was compromised, and so he went to work to fight for it. He wrote many articles in reply to Dr. Nevin's book, and kept toiling at his up-hill work from week to week until his readers probably became tired of reading his papers. His original idea was to publish them in book-form, but they were never called for as far as we know. They would have probably made a larger book than the one he attempted to refute. Dr. Nevin had said something about women and young persons who were most liable to be carried along in a religious excitement, in reply to which Dr. Kurtz replied that "females and persons who were quite young have souls to be saved, as well as men and persons who are advanced in years; nay, mere boys and girls have an eternal interest pending;" and then turning on his opponent he asks him "whether hysterical girls have not souls to be saved." To this Dr. Nevin replied that "after due reflection it seems necessary to answer this searching interrogatory in the *affirmative*."

The Rev. Reuben Weiser, one of Dr. Kurtz's warm admirers, at the time, engaged in revivals in the mountain districts of Bedford Co., Pa., and full of the revival spirit, published a somewhat breezy pamphlet on the Mourners' Bench, in reply to the Anxious Bench.

In his zeal he denounced the Mercersburg professor as well as his book, because, as he affirmed, he was interfering with God's own work on earth. He used some of the terms applied to the persecutors of the Apostle Paul at Thessalonica, which need not here be repeated. Dr. Nevin noticed him in a humorous way, styling him the "Mountain blast," as he came up next in order among his assailants. At that time he was young and inexperienced, but he lived to grow wiser as age advanced. A few years ago he came out in the *Lutheran Observer*, in an admirable article, reviewing the past, and to the surprise of everybody took back his offensive language towards Dr. Nevin, and affirmed that he was then convinced that he was right in publishing such a work as he did at the time. Dr. Weiser was earnest and sincere in his convictions, and rendered himself useful to his church in his day and generation. Not long after his noble and candid letter in the *Observer*, he rested from his labors on earth, and fell asleep in the Lord. Others of his brethren showed equal candor, acknowledged their error and thanked Dr. Nevin for having written the Tract for the Times, as something called for in its day.

Dr. Nevin waited until he had received six replies, five of them from different denominations, and then answered them all in a single article in the *Messenger*, commencing with the famous quotation from Virgil:

*Venti, velut agmine facto,
Qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant.*

His notices of each one were short, crispy, humorous, and good-natured, and produced a roar of laughter throughout the churches. The vindication was followed by several other more lengthy articles of a defensive character, in which the writer, in his usual trenchant style showed the difference between "a true and bastard revival." This practically ended the controversy. The object arrived at in the publication of the *Anxious Bench* was secured. The system of revivals prevalent at the time, with the theory underlying them, was weighed and found wanting in the churches of German origin. The Catechetical system was rehabilitated, the Mercersburg professor was sustained, and he was allowed full freedom to labor in building up true historic Christianity in harmony with its spirit and life. The controversy was attended with benefits in many directions. Its influence on the Lutheran branch of the German Church was in many respects salutary; in the Reformed, it was the turning point in its theological and religious life, from which followed its subsequent churchly tendency and many other useful results—as a healthy historical reaction.

CHAPTER XIX

IT was customary for the Goethean Literary Society of Marshall College to celebrate the anniversary of the birth-day of Goethe, on the 19th of August, on which occasion some one, generally a professor, was secured to pronounce a suitable discourse. Dr. Rauch had thus delivered a very elaborate eulogy on Goethe and his commanding genius, which unhappily has never appeared in print. In the year 1842 it devolved on Dr. Nevin to deliver the usual address, when he availed himself of the opportunity to call the attention of the students to the great and noble language which Goethe spoke, of which his writings were at the same time the mirror and the brightest ornament. Its characteristic merits and its claims upon the regard of American students constituted the theme of the discourse. By this time the speaker had fully mastered the language himself, and was well qualified to introduce it to others. His thoughts on the subject are still as worthy of attention as when they were expressed in his own vigorous language, and we therefore furnish the reader the entire address, which is, in part at least, a philosophical essay, omitting the introduction.

To deal with the subject properly, we must attempt in the first place to give some account of the nature of language in general, with the view of showing on what grounds and under what views it deserves to be made in any case an object of study. Only in this way can we reasonably expect to come to any satisfactory result, in trying to estimate the comparative worth of the German, or any other particular language, to which our attention may be turned. Vast ignorance and error prevail very generally on this subject. To Germany in particular, above all other lands, is the world indebted, in modern times, for even a partial insight into the great and stupendous mystery which is here brought into view. No field of inquiry perhaps has yielded more beautiful or splendid results.

Language stands in the most intimate and vital connection with thought. There is no room for the supposition of the latter, in the case of the human mind, apart from the presence of the former. We cannot with any propriety speak of either, as older than the other. When the question is debated, whether language be of human or divine origin, a wrong view of the case, as it regards this point, is

commonly taken on both sides. Those who suppose it to have been invented by man, and those who refer it to supernatural communication, have seemed generally to agree in thinking that the mind might be developed, to some considerable extent, before the use of language was enjoyed. In the first case, reason has been regarded as designing and contriving an artificial scheme for its own accommodation; while according to the other hypothesis, the convenience is supposed to have been provided for it by special inspiration, answerable to the demands of the case. Under both views, the relation between speech and thought is taken to be merely external. The use of language, it is assumed, is simply to serve as a medium for the communication of thought. In its whole nature, accordingly, it is made to appear comparatively mechanical and dead; as though the proper life of the mind were something different altogether, which has come only by arbitrary conventional usage among men to be represented in this way. But every such conception of the case is superficial and false. Language is no invention of man. Neither is it on the other hand an instrument, with which he has been furnished, ready made, from God. It is the natural, necessary product of his own spiritual nature. It is a constituent part of the life of the soul itself. This cannot be developed without manifesting itself under this form. As the germ, in a lower sphere of existence, throws forth stem and leaves, in the mere process of growth, so the rational nature of man expands itself from the beginning in the form of thought *and* speech. Where the one has begun to appear, there the other must show itself at the same time. To talk of contrivance, calculation or conventional understanding, as concerned in the production of language, is just as absurd as it would be to talk of any thing of the sort as concerned in the production of thought itself. The body is not more strictly united in one life with the soul, than language is with the exercise of reason. The two forms of life are in their ground indeed identical. To think, is to speak. Language is necessary, not simply for the communication of thought, but for its existence also and development. Ideas must become concrete, in the form of words, to be distinctly discerned, and permanently retained by the mind, from whose depths they spring. The workings of the soul continue altogether chaotic, till language comes in to give shape to its creations; and order and light within it keep pace afterwards exactly with the power of using words. The internal and the external, in the case, go hand in hand together.

Under this view then, language, like all life, is organic. It is not

made up of a great multitude of parts, brought mechanically together in an external way. It evolves itself, as a whole, from its own living ground in the soul, deriving both form and substance from the creative force which it carries in its own nature. Its principle is in itself, and not in any thing out of itself. Like the growth of the plant, like the development of the animal from the *punctum saliens* upwards and outwards to mature life, it is strictly and altogether an organic production. It is indeed the evolution of the life of the mind itself, the form in which it becomes concrete. By means of language, thought makes its escape from the germ, in which it would otherwise continue to sleep as a mere possibility, and emerges into the sphere of reality. Language is thought itself corporealized and made external, and it must be penetrated of course with the same organic life in all its parts.

The different languages then that exist in the world are the types of so many different conformations of mind, into which the general life of the human race has come to be cast. If it be asked, why there should be so many languages instead of one, if the growth of speech be thus organic and necessary; we have only to ask again in reply, why the mind itself, as it spreads itself out in countless ramifications, is found existing under so many phases, as various as the forms of speech which have come into use. The origin of language, and its meaning universally, must be sought in the nîsus or effort of the soul to develop itself in a way suitable to its own nature. But this nîsus, modified and controlled by the diversified educational influences which have wrought upon mind in different circumstances, has never yet accomplished more than an approximation, under various forms, towards the resolution of its own problem. As in the world of nature no individual form fully expresses the idea of the species to which it belongs, so here no language can be regarded as a full, perfectly symmetrical, and absolutely transparent, corporification of the true inward life of thought; although that is the ideal which it has been proposed in every case to realize. The several languages of the world are the results, we may say, of so many distinct efforts on the part of the soul, to evolve in an adequate way its own life, conditioned and determined by the circumstances in which it has been variously placed. Each one accordingly is the standing type of the mental conformation, out of which it originally took its rise; and in this form, it rules and controls also the life of thought itself. Language once established becomes the necessary channel of thinking for the people to whom it belongs. Vast differences may characterize the mental life

of a nation, partly constitutional and partly the result of education. The range of thought in one case may be immensely more free and large than it is in another. And so in different ages, the same nation may present widely different aspects of cultivation. The sphere of its thinking may be continually growing more wide, so that no comparison shall seem to hold between the poverty of its conceptions in one age and their overflowing fulness in another. Still under all these differences, we say, the life of the nation carries upon it its own distinctive form, represented and at the same time determined by the language in which it is accustomed to think and speak. This is the mould in which thought is cast, from generation to generation. The identity of an organism does not depend on its external volume. The twig may grow to be a giant oak, and yet its life will be the same. So a language may admit indefinite expansion, and with its expansion mind may spread itself out with corresponding volume; but in the end the language carries the same type, and embraces the same conformation of thought. It is expansion in a certain kind, and according to a certain organic law. Thought continues free and creative, but not absolutely: it must act in the direction of the general life to which it belongs. Thus the language of every people is at once the creature and the creator of its specific intellectual and moral life.

Thus we are prepared to estimate, in a general way, the importance of the study of languages. The grounds on which this is made to rest frequently by its advocates are such as may be considered treasonable to the cause they are adduced to support. Language, is the life of the soul, externally considered. To study a language then, is to study the soul itself, under one of the manifold forms in which it is found struggling to bring its secret nature into light. No subject, rightly apprehended, can be less mechanical and dead; no study better adapted to form and improve the mind, in an educational way. Such study is not a mere work of memory, employed in treasuring up words and rules; it is a constant exercise in thinking, and in no other way can the same discipline, under this view, be as well secured. To master the language of a people is at the same time to enter their spirit, and to become acquainted with their character, as it never can be understood without this by any other form of observation. The history of a nation, its customs and institutions, become fairly intelligible, only when we are enabled to approach them through the medium of its own tongue. In making ourselves familiar with the language of a nation, we penetrate as it were into the inmost recesses of its life. Whatever knowledge we

may seem to have of it without this, must be considered superficial and more or less visionary. We cannot understand the mind which a language embodies simply by report. It is not enough to be told, in our own tongue, what men of a different speech have thought, and spoken and done. All that can give us only dead representations of their life, which to become animated again for us at all, are made to borrow a new spirit from ourselves, and so to appear under a complexion and expression foreign altogether from their original nature. By being forced simply to pass over to our sphere of thinking, the life of a foreign people is in fact cast into a new mould and clothed with a new form. To understand it fairly, we must forsake our own sphere and pass over ourselves into the foreign world, in which it has its true and proper home. We must commune with it, in its own language. There it meets us in its actual concrete shape. There it has its own complexion and expression. There it becomes intelligible. And now its literature, history, legislation, science and social life, begin to appear in their true light also. The key by which their secret significance is finally brought into view is the spirit of the nation corporealized in its language.

Every new language, then, which the student masters widens the region of his soul, and renders his inward life, intellectually considered, more large and free. The man who has never been from home is apt to make his own particular existence the measure of the absolute and the universal. Restricted to one single stand-point of observation, and pent up in the narrow sphere of his individual history, he is accustomed to think of all that lies beyond as barbarous and wrong, exactly in the proportion in which it may vary from his own experience. Travelling is well suited to overcome the force of this narrow habit. Reading generally, where it is wisely conducted, may be made happily to serve the same purpose. By quitting his own position, and entering into contact with other forms of life, remote either in space or in time, the man who thus goes abroad finds the sphere of his existence made more wide and free. So in the case before us. To enter a new language, is to burst the barriers which have previously circumscribed the life of the soul. It is indeed the same life which animates the human nature, wherever it is to be found. But it is the same life under various aspects, and turning different sides of its manifold generality to the view of the beholder. Every language presents it under a phase, which is peculiarly its own. As we enter other languages, we make ourselves at home to the same extent in foreign systems of thought. The idea of mind in its generality is brought

home to our consciousness. The particular is no longer mistaken for the universal. Our existence is, as it were, multiplied, and made to have more than a single side. Without this, we are not prepared to estimate properly foreign modes of being, intellectual or moral. There is always indeed a measure of presumption involved in our conduct, where we undertake to pronounce an absolute judgment on the character of a people, or upon their mental constitution, without having first entered the sphere of their actual life, in some measure at least, by making ourselves acquainted with their language.

We may see finally, from the view now presented of the general nature of language, on what ground we are authorized to attribute to some languages an intrinsic superiority over others. The end contemplated in speech is in all cases one and the same. It springs universally from the nîsus of the soul, to evolve itself in a concrete form. Under the action of this deep mysterious force, thought and language burst forth simultaneously, like the vegetable sprout breaking from its germ, and form thenceforward an inseparable life. The problem to be solved in the case, when languages had their origin, was the production of a living form that should fully reveal, with adequate and exactly commensurate expression, the organic idea of the mind itself. The various languages that appear are the result of so many different efforts made to realize this end. All of course cannot be equally perfect. They are different, as being more or less successful approaches to the ideal, which it has been the object of all to reach. They excel in the degree, in which they are internally fitted to forward a free, full, symmetrical growth of the spirit, in its most general form. A perfect language would be like a garment of light, unfolding with clear transparency the life it was formed to invest and represent. Among existing languages, some approximate to this perfection much more nearly than others, and are entitled to respect and admiration accordingly. It is not the amount of its literature then simply—although this may reasonably be taken as a separate consideration to recommend the study of it—that forms the distinctive worth of a particular language. Nor is this determined by the mere cultivation, with which it may have been refined and enriched in its own nature, under any view. A language may be comparatively poor in words at a given time, and yet vastly superior in its constitution to another, whose words are like the leaves of the forest. The perfection of an organic production must never be measured by its volume. Cultivation in the case of a language cannot change its organic nature, cannot trans-

fund it into a new and different type. It may grow and become continually more rich in words; but as a garment for the soul, it must remain always substantially the same. Thus a rude barbarous people may have a language, which shall intrinsically surpass that of the most polished; and all that may be wanted to make the superiority clear to all, would be in such a case that it should be organically extended to such volume, as to make it parallel with the other in point of cultivation. The main difference between languages lies in their intrinsic character, without regard to culture, and forms a part of their original inalienable constitution.

I proceed now to consider directly, as proposed in the beginning, the grounds on which I conceive the German language in particular to be entitled to respect as an object of study, especially in our circumstances. The views, which have been given of the nature of language in general, will not be without their use, it is trusted, in assisting us to come to an intelligent judgment on this subject. It will not be expected, however, that I should attempt to determine the precise value of the German language, intrinsically considered, as compared with other languages, ancient or modern, according to the theoretic principles which have now been stated. I entertain no such presumptuous thought; and will not consider it necessary, therefore, to confine myself to views, carrying in any measure the form of a regular practical application of the theory. My object is simply to recommend the German language to your respect, by any considerations that may seem to be pertinent to the purpose—satisfied if the remarks thus far made on the subject of language in general may only assist, under any point of view, directly or indirectly, in leading to a correct estimate of the case.

The physician, *Goropius*, maintained that the German language was spoken by our first parents in the Garden of Eden. Without challenging for it this high and venerable antiquity, we may be allowed to refer to its origin and history, under a different view, as a primary ground of distinction in its favor. It differs from all the other cultivated languages of modern Europe, in being, to borrow a term from itself, “eine Ursprache,” a primitive language, and not one of mixed origin and constitution. It is not meant by this, that it has had its source strictly in itself, as it now exists. Recent investigations have shown quite clearly that it sprang originally, as did also the Latin, Greek and Persian, from the oriental Sanskrit. But however it may have started, it carries in its nature all the distinctive properties of a primitive tongue. It is the original Teutonic language, as it was brought with the race who spoke it from

Asia to Europe. The general language was not thus preserved by all the tribes of Teutonic origin. It maintained its ground only among the Germans, strictly so called. They kept themselves permanently to the same soil, and held fast to the language of their fathers. In other cases, the stock assumed a new complexion by mingling with other races, and fell at the same time into new forms of language. The languages of modern Europe, generally, are mixed in their composition. The Italian, Spanish and French are made up to a great extent of material supplied from the Latin. The English is the old Saxon, filled out with forms from the Latin, Greek and French. These languages do not indeed cease to be organic, by being thus mixed. Each of them has still its own soul, throwing forth its distinctive life in all the parts of which it is composed. The mixture by which it grows is not in the way of outward accretion simply. The foreign material is taken up into the system, so as to form with it one life. But the growth of a language, in such circumstances, must be more or less stunted and cramped; like the growth of a tree, planted in some uncongenial soil or excluded from the open light of heaven. The development cannot be free, full and harmonious; and it will be characterized by some want of symmetry and compact strength, answerable to the extent in which the union of heterogeneous elements may prevail. From this defect the German is entirely clear. Its life is all its own. Like the free and hardy race, whose spirit it is made to mirror, it has in all ages refused to bend its neck to a foreign yoke. In this respect it is as primitive and original as the Greek, which it resembles in all points more than any other modern tongue.

It might however be thus primitive in its constitution, and yet have no great claims upon our respect. It might be in point of development rude and circumscribed, like the language of one of our own Indian tribes, which nobody but a missionary or a trader is concerned to study. But this is not the case. The German language did not indeed perfect itself so rapidly as the mixed tongues with which it has just been compared. Their form in this respect was perhaps favorable, within certain limits, to their progress. Their life appeared more on the surface, and was on this account more easily matured. In due time, however, the German came up with them, in the career of cultivation. As a language it may be said now to have reached a ripe and full development. It has flung its branches far and wide, and covered itself with innumerable leaves and blossoms. It has, through various fortunes, fairly reached at last its Augustan age; and, whether the breadth, or depth or in-

trinsic wealth of its literature be regarded, it may justly challenge comparison, to say the least, with any of the tongues in which the civilization of modern Europe is accustomed to speak.

As a primitive language, the German is remarkably *full* and *rich* in point of matter. It has been sometimes indeed stigmatized as poor under this view by the admirers of the French tongue. But no judgment could well be more wide of the mark. While the French is said to contain about 28,000 words, it has been reckoned that there are in the German not less than 80,000. One writer carries the computation six times as high, and places it at half a million; which may be allowed to be sufficiently extravagant. The truth is, however, it is not easy to say where a computation of this kind should stop, in the case of the German tongue. The modifications of meaning which words are made to assume by inflection, position, combination, and production, cannot easily be specified. The language may be said to be, in this respect indeed, capable of an indefinite extension. No limits can be placed upon its growth. It can never be said of it that it has become perfect; for that would imply fixed boundaries and borders, beyond which its life could not pass. We can only say of it that it is *perfectible*. Its life is formed for constant expansion and refuses to be circumscribed by any bounds.

As it regards radical or stem-words, the German falls far behind the French. This might seem, at first view, to conflict with the general representations now given of its fulness and wealth. It is however in fact in full correspondence with it. The German language has few roots, because it is original and self-produced. Its ground is wholly within itself. The French, on the other hand, has appropriated a large amount of foreign material. This has no root or ground in the language itself, and being separated from its original foundation, is made to bear of course an independent form. Hence a multitude of words stand as roots, simply because they do not spring from the life of the language itself. They are of foreign growth, and become stem-words only by having been torn away from their natural connections, and forced into a system to which genealogically they do not belong. The multitude of its radical or primary forms, in the case of the French, as compared with the sum total of the language, is a striking argument of its poverty.

And here it may be remarked, at the same time by the way, that the French must ever be for the reason now presented also a difficult language to learn, for those who have not been accustomed to speak it from childhood. A different opinion, I am aware, is gen-

erally entertained with regard to this point. Boarding school misses, and fashionable young gentlemen with the most common breadth of brain, can be taught to jabber something that sounds like it, in the course of a few months. But so can an active parrot master phrases too, with quite imposing success, and be only a parrot when all is done. Such mechanical exploits involve no knowledge. Where a large portion of the words of a language are primary, having no internal affinity, and no common ground, wide room is given for uncertain and fluctuating phases of sense. A great deal must be perfectly arbitrary, and liable to constant change. Only the most intimate familiarity with the actual *usus loquendi*, in those circumstances, can be sufficient to reduce the Protean system to a clear representation for the mind. The French language, accordingly, is seldom mastered by foreigners, so as to make them tolerable in the use of it to those who speak it as their native tongue. The German, on the other hand, with its boundless sea of words, is by no means so difficult to master. Its roots are not numerous. Its forms of derivation and composition are fixed. Words are kept in their place, by the force of the common life, which by innumerable ramifications binds them together as one great whole. Let only the life of the language be penetrated, and it becomes a comparatively easy thing to follow it afterwards in its organic development, no matter how far it may be extended.

The German owes its wealth of words to the capacity for *expansion*, which it carries in its own nature. This unfolds itself mainly in two forms, boundless composition and endless derivation. Words of all sorts can be joined together, with the most perfect ease, so as to give new terms, in which two different thoughts are made to meet in a third. Almost every word, by prefixes and suffixes of invariable force, can be made to shoot out into a whole tree of derivatives, by which its meaning is modified in all conceivable ways. The Greek is uncommonly rich in this power of self-enlargement. No language of antiquity had the same expansibility, and no language accordingly was so free or so full. The only modern tongue that may be compared with it, under this view, is the German. This may well be considered a proud distinction. So far as derivation is concerned, the German is supposed to leave even the Greek behind. To estimate properly its whole advantage as it regards intrinsic fruitfulness, let it be compared again with the so-called court language of Europe. The French has almost no expansibility. It may be said to press already, at every point, on its established limits. It cannot compound with any sort of freedom. Many of

its stem-words are perfectly barren, while the rest of them are productive only to a small extent. No fixed and universal analogies rule the process of derivation, as far as it is allowed to proceed. All is arbitrary, irregular, cold and stiff. The superiority of the German is like that of the giant forest oak over some slim poplar, shooting upwards from a city pavement.

"Our language," says Franz Horn, "is one of free origin, springing directly out of our nature. It is firmly settled in its root, which is immovable as necessity itself; but its blossoms and fruits are eternally manifold and eternally young. Our language is rich; not like a well stored cabinet of artificial curiosities, but rich as the spiritual nature of man himself, and like this susceptible of indefinite improvement. It cannot, in the way of languages of unfree constitution, be materially ended, and rounded in, as a finished system; but throws itself open still, with ever new life, to the service of true genius, wherever utterance is required for new thoughts and feelings." The French, on the contrary, he tells us, boasts of being shut up and completed, and it is made a great point, since the age of Louis XIV, to maintain its boundaries inviolate; so that writers of spirit have to complain that they cannot say what they would, by reason of the restraints of the language.

To make full account, however, of the wealth of the German language, we must consider the inward character of the materials in which this wealth consists. It has been already intimated, that it is emphatically a *living language*. All languages necessarily embody life; but some have a great deal more of it than others. The vitality of some is sickly and weak, while that of others is characterized by energy and strength. The French may be taken here again as a specimen of comparative imperfection. The materials of which it is formed have been brought from various quarters, and for want of a full internal assimilation with the common ground on which they are made to rest, hang more or less loosely together, and are in the same proportion devoid of spirit. The language accordingly, while it admits the finest polish on the surface, is artificial and cold. In broad contrast with it, the German stands before us *full of life*. It is the direct primitive expression of the living mind it has been made to embody. From its ground upwards, through all successive stages of development, it has been one and the same organic force, materializing itself and clothing itself with form, with free spontaneous growth. Every foreign element has been steadily repelled. All is the result strictly and exclusively of self-evolution. The whole is pervaded with the force of a single

life, equally active at every point. A large proportion of the primary words are clearly onomatopoeic; all are true transcripts of the meaning they represent. From these the entire growth springs organically, by necessary and universal analogies included in the general life. No part is separate and dead. The entire system teems with vitality. The breathing freshness of nature is felt throughout the whole.

In the French language, an unnatural divorce has been effected, between the upper and lower regions of thought. They are not bound together by the presence of a common life. The language of literature and polite society does not grow forth from that which fills the mouths of the common people. It forms a caste within itself. A multitude of perfectly honest words, in free use among the people, it is not permitted to touch, for fear of defilement, simply because they are thus current. In return, to the people it is always itself more or less unintelligible, besides being made to suffer very seriously in point of ease and freedom. In the German no such separation holds. The language of the school and the court, only in a more cultivated form, is the language of the most common walks of life. No honest word is frowned out of good company, simply because it is in use among the rabble. Thus an active communion is continually maintained between the literature and the general spirit of the nation. The first proceeds directly from the second, and draws fresh life from it perpetually, as the leaves and blossoms of the tree from the limbs, by which they communicate with the trunk. Hence the language of the educated class is intelligible to those who have no education. Even new words, for the most part, present no difficulty. The manner of their formation reveals their sense.

The constitution of the German gives it unusual *depth* and *force*. Only where the language is the living product of life, in all its parts, can it be possessed of these qualities. The French has no depth and no force. It plays perpetually, with light and graceful movement, on the surface of the soul. In mere mechanical precision, it may not be easily excelled, but for representing the deep forces of the spirit, it is to a great extent destitute of power. Not so the German. Here every word is instinct with the general life. It is felt, not as an abstraction or isolated sign, but as a living element in the midst of living relations. The process, by which mind has risen from lower to higher forms of thought, is still preserved in the language itself. Words represent the inward constitution of thoughts.

How much is gained by this for inwardness and strength may appear, if we consider to what extent a nervous style is promoted, in the English language, by the use of Saxon words in preference to such as are of foreign origin. Such words root themselves directly in the general life of the language, and are felt accordingly in their living force as commensurate with the inmost nature of the things they are made to represent. In proportion as these prevail in the style of a writer, it will be pure and full strong; while high sounding periods, made up of terms from the Latin, after the manner of Johnson, will be found in comparison watery and weak. Much of the force of our English translation of the Bible lies in its predominant use of words of Saxon growth. To change its style in this respect, would be to despoil it in a great measure of its glory. Of this any one can be satisfied, who will take the trouble to substitute almost any where terms derived from the Latin for the Saxon forms of the text. The Latin may sound larger, but it will mean less, and can never have the same life.

It is a great advantage, in the case of the English, as compared for instance with the Italian or the French, that it includes in its composition so large a body of this home material. Here mainly we have the source of its freshness and strength. But the advantage which belongs to the German, in the same view, is vastly greater. Here *all* is home growth and home manufacture. Roots, combinations and derived forms, are all alike the product of the same soil. Words are transparent with the life they enshrine. Thoughts move and speak in the sounds, by which they are rendered concrete. They are felt from their innermost ground outwards and upwards. The whole language is a stream of living water, perpetually springing, free, vigorous and fresh, from the same deep birth-place in the bowels of the earth. No modern tongue can compare with it in this respect.

As the German is deep, so it is uncommonly *free* and *flexible*. The French, with all its flippancy of movement, can boast of no such freedom. Its liberty at best is like the aptness of a dancing master, in making bows and showing off postures. In the very nature of the language, it must always be spiritually stiff and starched. Full evidence of this is presented in the fact, that it is acknowledged to be so difficult to make translations into the French from other languages. This is the true test of freedom. French translations are generally loose paraphrastic versions, in which the spirit of the original is in a great measure sacrificed entirely. Voltaire went so far indeed as to say, that whatever could not be trans-

lated into French must be pronounced destitute of literary merit—making his own language the absolute measure of good taste for the whole world; and it has been quite fashionable in France, accordingly, to undervalue in particular the classic monuments of the Grecian mind, as refusing to suit themselves to the Procrustean judgment of the “Grand Nation.” All this is abundantly self-complacent. The world, however, is not likely soon to succumb to the maxim, that the capabilities of the French tongue form the *ne plus ultra* of spiritual progress for the human mind. On the contrary, that Homer and Plato should become so insipid when they are made to utter themselves in French, will be taken rather as good proof that the language itself is superficial and jejune. Tried by the same general test, the German will be found as free as its Gallic rival is mechanical and stiff. No tongue can well be more supple, more ready to yield to the plastic force of thought, under whatever form it may be required to give it body and living motion. It has all the spiritual flexibility of the ancient Greek. Hence it admits translations from all other languages, with extraordinary freedom. To translate French into German creates not the slightest difficulty; but to translate German into French is often utterly impossible; such want of commensurability is there between the two tongues, the one being so much more universal than the other. The ancient classics, Latin and Greek, are made to speak in German, as in no tongue besides but their own. Not only are their thoughts translated, but their form and coloring are retained with the most graphic fidelity. Voss, in his translations of Hesiod and Homer from the Greek, and of Horace and Virgil from the Latin, carries this fidelity so far, as to give his originals verse for verse, with full transcript of measure, movement and complexion, from beginning to end. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of such a method, we may well admire the resources of the language which could at all allow its use. It were a perfectly wild design, to attempt a similar work in any other modern tongue. No people have such translations as the Germans.

The flexibility of the language is strikingly illustrated again, in the freedom with which every original writer causes it to take the particular conformation of his own mind. In all languages, different writers make use to some extent of different styles. But in the German, this liberty has almost no limits. Every great genius creates it, as it were, into a new world, for his own use. Whatever may be the form under which the spirit of the nation may individualize itself, the language at once shapes itself accordingly, and

becomes a commensurate concrete image of its very life. The language of *Goethe* is wholly his own, the very transcript of his clear, transparent, many-sided mind. And what language under heaven save the German, we may ask, could have allowed free scope to the inward life of *Jean Paul*, as it now sports with leviathan strength, free and untrammelled, in its native element. Such a spirit imprisoned in the meagre forms of French, might have floundered in vain in trying to make itself room, till it should have worn itself out with the effort. It might have been worthy of notice, in such case, under some other form, but it could not have been *Jean Paul*.

We have been contemplating thus far simply the German language itself, as it holds in its natural constitution. As a primitive tongue having its life wholly within itself, we have found it to be distinguished for fulness, vitality, depth, inwardness, strength and freedom. But in all this, it is only the mirror of the German mind, with which we communicate by its means. This is, too, characteristically free and strong. It is inward, full and deep—the very home of poetry and philosophy, in their most spiritual form. Acquaintance with it should be considered a privilege, and can hardly fail to be attended with important benefit, when wisely cultivated. Of all the different spheres of thought and feeling which make up the life of the modern world, there is surely not one more worthy of being penetrated and understood. France, Spain, Italy, may have brighter and softer skies; but the life of the soul belongs emphatically to Germany. Under no French, Spanish or Italian form, is it exhibited with the same deep, full freshness and power. Independently altogether of its productions, in a literary point of view, such a life may be expected to have a salutary educational influence, wherever the force of it is felt. Communion with it will be awakening and invigorating. But to commune with the German mind, we must make ourselves familiar with the German language. We cannot understand it simply by translation or report.

I might go on to speak of the broad fields of learning, to which access is had by a knowledge of the German tongue. Germany is the land emphatically of books. In no part of the world are the sciences cultivated with greater diligence or success. Nowhere is literature more entirely at home. Nowhere are the depths of philosophy more thoroughly explored. All this might be urged, in recommendation of the language, as the key by which those stores of knowledge are to be unlocked. But my limits will not permit me to dwell on this particularly now. Let it be sufficient to say, that a knowledge of the German, under the view now mentioned, has

come to be regarded, both in England and in this country, as almost indispensable to thorough scholarship, in any profession.

It is true indeed that the literature of Germany includes a vast amount of impiety and nonsense. Its influence in many respects is to be deprecated, as dangerous to religion. Insidious forms of error, mysticism, transcendentalism, pantheism, and all sorts of rationalism, are wrought more or less into its very texture, and twine themselves around it in every direction. But all this cannot annihilate its worth, in other respects; nor is it a sufficient reason for cutting ourselves off absolutely from the vast body of vigorous living thought, which with all its errors it is found to embrace. It is however most certainly a good reason for great caution and jealousy, in the case of all who feel authorized to trust themselves on this enchanted ground. Much might be said on the whole subject; but it cannot be prosecuted farther, with propriety, at the present time.

The study of the German language may be recommended, as an important help for acquiring a full and thorough knowledge of the English. The two languages are intimately related, both in form and spirit. Both spring from the same Teutonic source—since it is to Saxon properly the English owes its constitution and life. The English, indeed, is not so entirely primitive as the German in its structure. It has appropriated no small amount of material of foreign growth. But still it is no such jumble of heterogeneous elements as the Italian or the French. It bears a much closer resemblance, in its constitution, to the German. The original Saxon life still pervades all its parts. It exhibits a Saxon body and a Saxon soul. Hence innumerable affinities hold between it and the German. The study of the one language sheds light perpetually on the other. In this view, the German has far greater claims upon our regard than the French, Spanish or Italian. It carries us directly back to the fountains of our own life, as involved in the general life with which we are surrounded. It tends to give us a better knowledge and a more full possession of our proper spiritual being. We cannot make ourselves at home in it, without being better prepared so far to understand the true spirit of the English. To study the German is in our case to study the English at the same time.

Such in a general way are the grounds on which the language of Germany may be recommended to our attention and respect. It is a strange illustration of the blindness of fashion, in the case of the most important interests, that both in England and in this

country, the French should so generally form an object of prominent concern in what is called a polite education, while the German is not only overlooked but treated it may be with absolute scorn. Fashionable families are willing to pay handsomely to have their children taught to smatter phrases in the first, but would scarce consider it an accomplishment at all to have them thoroughly at home in the second. And yet, for all educational ends, the German is vastly to be preferred to the French. In its very constitution and structure, it is fitted to unfold the powers of the youthful spirit, to widen the sphere of its life, to invigorate its perceptions, to spiritualize its feelings, and to fill it with the rich deep poetry of nature. The French, on the contrary, is constitutionally poor, and dry, and lean. Its structure is mechanical. No fresh vigorous life breathes through its artificial forms. To commune with it, is to turn the back on the world of poetry and song. Its poetry has been not unaptly denominated "circumcised prose." The spirit of the language is cold and barren. It has no soul, no *Gemueth*, as it is styled among the Germans. So entirely is this wanting, that no French word can be found to express the idea. And this is the language, which, above all others, English taste has selected to be the instrument of cultivation for the youthful heart! For my own part, I consider the time bestowed upon French in this country as almost entirely thrown away—about as much so as if it were expended in the study of the Cherokee. As a passport to French learning, in the case of literary men, it is all well enough. But as an educational discipline, or a polite accomplishment, it is worth almost nothing; and to make the matter still worse, it is the name only for the most part—the mere shadow of a shade—that is made to stand in our boarding schools and fashionable circles for the thing.

The German is generally counted a more rude language than the French. Its movements seem to be awkward and unwieldy. It is considered deficient in sound, rough and unmusical rather than polite. We may say, however, that the smoothness and lightness of the French and Italian are the result of a one-sided development of life in their case. A *full* free life can be brought out only by a full free use of the voice, on all sides and at all points. The German has its grace and harmony too, only there must be depth and earnestness in the soul in order that they may be felt. Nature often seems rude and awkward in comparison with art. But let the observation become sufficiently deep, and how triumphantly is the comparison reversed. There is more harmony in the mountains,

valleys and resplendent rivers, than there is in the measured walks and piles of architecture, that make up the idea of a city. The storm itself is full of a deep living music, which the smooth pageantry of courts can never reach.

It has been no uncommon thing, however, for Germans to be ashamed of their own language, as contrasting awkwardly to their feelings with the more mercurial spirit of other tongues. Thus at one time it seemed in danger, even in Germany itself, of succumbing completely to the arrogant pretensions of the French; such was the rage that prevailed for writing, talking and playing the fool, in this gay language. So it is quite common for the descendants of Germans in this country, in the midst of English manners and feelings, to have a low esteem for the language of their fathers. Some such seem to make a merit of having as little to do with it as possible. It puts them out of countenance, to have it supposed that they can speak or understand a word of German. Such persons are to be pitied for their narrow order of thinking. The German is not a language of which any one need be ashamed. True, it does not generally appear in its holiday dress in this country. It is for the most part barbarously spoken. But there is no good reason why it should be undervalued or slighted on this account. It is barbarously spoken in some sections of Germany too. Provincial distortions, however, do not overthrow the language itself, nor destroy its title to respect. Let it be honored for what it is in its true form, and studied accordingly. Those especially, who have German blood in their veins, should consider it an accomplishment under any circumstances, to be able to read and speak the German tongue. In such a college as ours, it should be an object of general regard and general study.

But if the language be worthy of this general attention in the case of our students, it must be acknowledged to have special claims on those who are here as candidates for the sacred ministry, in the bosom of the German Churches. The time will come, no doubt, when the German will not be needed at all for pastoral purposes, in our pulpits or out of them. But that time most clearly has not come *yet*. For many years the German will be extensively required. What the Church needs mainly, at this moment, is men qualified to preach in the German language. Even where the English has come to be generally used, there is still room, to say no more, at most points, for doing good also by means of the German, if not in the pulpit, at least out of it in the work of pastoral visitation; while over a wide territory, full of promise for the Church, the minister

without it can have no free access at all publicly or privately to the body of the people. In these circumstances, it might seem to be a plain case that candidates for the ministry, as a general thing, in the German Reformed Church, should, with their other preparation, take pains to make themselves in some degree familiar with the German language. There are points where it is not absolutely needed. A man may be useful in the Church without it. But still it may be said to enter into the general idea of a preparation for this field. Other things being equal, the candidate who has a knowledge of the German is more fully fitted for service in the ministry of the Reformed Church, and has a better prospect of usefulness than one who is destitute of this advantage. Now this should of itself in a general view bind our candidates for the ministry to cultivate an acquaintance with the language. Such are to be ambitious of being as fully fitted as possible for usefulness. Were they called to some foreign field, they would calculate, as a matter of course, on mastering a new language, or perhaps two or three of them, as necessary to success in their mission. And if a knowledge of the German be in itself an enlargement of a man's qualifications for usefulness in the ministry, why should they not be stimulated in like manner, under the prospect of entering this field, to make the accomplishment their own. The duty of every candidate for the sacred office is to covet earnestly all gifts, within his reach, that may be made available for the success of his ministry; to "seek that he may excel, to the edifying of the Church." On this principle, in the case before us, students who have it in view to enter the ministry of a German Church should be exhorted to cultivate the gift of speaking German. Those who have had any knowledge of it previously, however small, should feel specially bound to improve the advantage, by making it the ground of a knowledge that may be more full and accurate. They should stir up the gift that is in them, and not allow it to perish for want of cultivation. And those who have no such previous advantage at all, should not look on it as a very formidable undertaking to learn the language, out and out, in the course of their other preparation for the office they are seeking. Any student of tolerable capacity, penetrated with a sense of the importance of the German, and seriously bent on making himself as fully as possible "meet for the Master's use," in the seven or eight years which he ought to spend in preparing himself to be a preacher, might easily add this to his other accomplishments. And why should it not be expected at his hands. Even if the language has no other value whatever,

it would be reason enough for *him* to study it, that it was called for, as a help to his usefulness, on his contemplated field of service in the Church. He might cheerfully address himself, under the influence of this consideration, to the study of the purest language that is spoken. With how much greater alacrity then should he respond to the challenge, when it calls him to study the *German*—one of the richest languages in the world, which he might well count it a privilege to make his own, apart from the particular consideration now in view altogether.

CHAPTER XX

AFTER the death of Dr. Rauch, Dr. Nevin, by general request, became President of the College *pro tempore*, which, contrary to the fears of its friends, continued to grow and prosper; in fact, it entered upon a new career of prosperity. The contributions for its relief during the Centennial year removed it above pressing financial difficulties; the faculty was sufficiently full, including four professors, complemented always by two or three adjunct-professors or tutors. Dr. Nevin took charge of the classes at the chapter or place in the book where Dr. Rauch had left off teaching, and showed that he had the ability to lead the students over the philosophic field, in the spirit of their revered instructor who had fallen asleep, to study the phenomena of the spirit in a higher realm. In the Seminary all the branches of a theological course were taught ably and thoroughly, but this involved many and onerous duties for one professor, single-handed and alone, to discharge. They were performed noiselessly and without complaint, although largely increased by frequent contributions to the public press, which the circumstances and environments of the professor at the time seemed to require from his pen. But it was not very long before it began to be felt that he needed assistance in his work. On one occasion, after a day of fasting, he felt back unconscious from his seat at the table in a syncope of the heart, and it was some time before he rallied and regained his usual strength. It was a mere incident at the time, yet it hastened thought and reflection on the part of the friends of the institutions.

Had Dr. Nevin, upon whom so much rested, been removed by death at that time, it would have been a greater loss to all the interests concerned than was the death of Dr. Rauch sometime before. But where was the man to be found who was to stand by his side in the Seminary? It was difficult to say. It must be one who possessed gifts, and qualifications of a special kind. Such questions are sometimes answered by an inspiration that does not seem to be based on any large amount of cool reflection. And so it turned out in this instance. A voice came from the English portion of the Church—again from the Classis of Maryland—that the man for the place should be Dr. Krummacher, the great pulpit orator of Germany, favorably known in this country as the author of

Elijah the Tishbite, and everywhere highly respected for his learning and evangelical faith. The choice was generally commended, and the name itself helped to add enthusiasm to the movement. The more considerate ones doubted whether the distinguished preacher could be induced to leave his field of usefulness at home, or whether, even if he should decide to cross the ocean, it would be wise for him at his advanced age to do so. Dr. Nevin was one who thought in this way, but he encouraged the movement with his pen. It looked as if Providence was in it; and it was clear that, if Dr. Krummacher could not be secured, there were other or younger theologians in Germany from whom a choice could be made. A special meeting of the Synod, therefore, was held to act on the German professorship at Lebanon, Pa., in January, 1843, in the same month and during the same week in which the English professor in the Seminary had been elected three years before. A letter from Dr. Nevin addressed to the Synod was read at this meeting, in which the gravity of the situation and the importance of the step about to be taken were fully discussed, and the election of Dr. Krummacher urged as a necessity in the circumstances.

During the second day of the session, the engrossing subject which had called the Synod together in mid-winter was earnestly considered in connection with Dr. Nevin's letter, which had made a deep impression and was listened to with solemn interest. At the opening of the afternoon session the Synod was led in prayer in the German language by the Rev. Henry Bibighouse and in the English by Dr. Bernard C. Wolff. At the time appointed for filling the vacant professorship, the Synod was again led in prayer by the President, and the election resulted in the unanimous choice of the Rev. Frederick William Krummacher, D.D., of Elberfeld, Germany. The call to the Professor-elect was immediately prepared, his salary fixed, and commissioners consisting of Rev. Theodore L. Hoffeditz, D.D., and Rev. Benjamin S. Schneck were appointed to proceed to Germany to convey the call in person to Dr. Krummacher. All this was done in the fear of God and in the exercise of faith, without any special reference to the treasury of the Seminary, which at this time was scarcely able to meet its current expenses.

But after the act was consummated, some of the business men present, elders, began to inquire how the increased expenditure in the Seminary was to be met, and, learning the situation of affairs, they commenced to make their contributions for the endowment of the new professorship. In those days, however, an effort of that kind required time and progressed slowly. The Commissioners,

after securing their credentials and making preparations for their voyage to Europe in the spring, found themselves embarrassed by an empty treasury, and began to think that for appearance's sake, at least, they had better remain at home. But the dilemma was explained to a plain wealthy German farmer living in Oley township, Berks Co., Pa., Elder Daniel Kieffer, who urged the brethren to prosecute the object of their appointment, and promised to leave \$10,000 for the support of the German professor (which he afterwards increased to \$15,000) in his will. He was advanced in years, and armed with such a promise the commissioners embarked for Europe in the month of May. It was now more evident than ever before that the hand of Providence was in this movement, as subsequent events demonstrated still more fully.

Dr. Krummacher was much exercised by this unexpected call to labor in America, and as there seemed to be something remarkable about it, he gave it a careful and prolonged consideration. The conclusion arrived at was that he ought to continue his ministry in Germany, in which his friends at home and in this country coincided. As an evangelical preacher, as a great pulpit orator, he was needed where he was in upholding the faith of the Gospel against the subtle attacks of neology and wide spread unbelief. In this country his influence would have no doubt been salutary, but his field would have been much more limited and his scholastic work probably somewhat oppressive to him. His proper sphere was the pulpit, not the professorial chair. His call to this country, singularly void of calculation from the time it was proposed, was, however, an interesting episode in his life. By his books and his high reputation, he was to some extent unconsciously the means of initiating a movement by which a German professor was transplanted to this country, through whom an impulse was imparted to theological science which is felt to the present day, not only in his own denomination but in others as well.

By the recommendations of such theologians as Neander, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, and Julius Mueller, Dr. Philip Schaff was selected to take the position offered to Dr. Krummacher. He was just beginning his career as a theological lecturer in the University of Berlin, had already distinguished himself by the publication of several learned brochures, was still young, a Swiss and a republican by birth, an orthodox Calvinist in his faith, and an interesting pulpit orator. A better or more suitable selection for the position at Mercersburg perhaps could not have been made. He was a gift from the fatherland to the daughter Church on this side of the

ocean, and we may add, to the country at large, destined to serve as an important link connecting the theological science of this country with that of Germany.

Dr. Schaff, supplied with the testimonials of the German theologians already mentioned, was formally elected by the Synod in the fall of 1843 to fill the chair of Church History and Biblical Literature in the Seminary, and he arrived in this country in the summer of 1844. His reception on his arrival at Mercersburg was of a highly flattering character, and must have taken him by surprise. In the evening the students and citizens, with a band of music, met him in the suburbs of the town, and conducted him in a torch-light procession to the Seminary building, where he was welcomed to his new sphere of labor in English and German addresses, by representatives from the College and the Seminary. With the music of the band, the illuminations of the Seminary and many other buildings in the town, festoons and triumphal arches, the scene was highly imposing. The object of such a reception was to make it conform as far as possible to similar demonstrations made by the students in Germany—a genuine *Fackelzug*—on occasions when distinguished scholars were called to enter upon their duties in the Universities as professors. The American students therefore entered into it with much vim. Under this view it was successful, honorable to all concerned, and altogether in keeping with the Anglo-German character of the institution. Dr. Schaff said that for the moment he felt as if he were still in Germany. He soon found himself at home among warm friends in a land of strangers. What was especially gratifying to him and very bracing to his nerves, no doubt, was the fact that he at once found that Dr. Nevins was in intelligent sympathy with German theology. Thus he found a colleague and friend upon whom, as Dr. Rauch had done before, he could rely for comfort and support. He accordingly entered upon his duties in the Seminary without delay, and set himself to work to prepare his famous Inaugural Address.

At first he was at a loss to find out what its particular character ought to be. He might have prepared an introductory address, such as in ordinary circumstances would have been regarded as appropriate and sufficient for the occasion. But as he had come to this country from the famous centre of theological learning at Berlin, and would naturally be regarded as in some sense a representative and exponent of German theology in America, he felt that he ought to define his position more or less fully as a German divine. This much might be reasonably expected of him, and es-

pecially so, in view of the fact that German theology at that time was not everywhere in this country in very high repute. For the most part it was regarded with grave suspicion in our highest seats of learning as well as by the religious press generally. It was therefore thought best that he should be allowed full freedom to give expression to his theological views on some one of the great questions of the day, from his own evangelical German stand-point; and in this he was encouraged, and no doubt abundantly stimulated by his new friend, Dr. Nevin. The result was a theological treatise of considerable length on "The Principle of Protestantism as related to the Present State of the Church," or in other words, a contribution to the solution of the Church Question, which was then looming up as the great problem of the age.

At his installation into office at Reading, Pa., in October, 1844, Dr. Schaff could read only portions of the address, little more than its introduction, or a general synopsis of its contents. It was, however, in due season, translated into the English language, and introduced to the American public during the spring of 1845, with an admirable introduction by his colleague. As Dr. Schaff had quoted largely in the body of his work from Dr. Nevin's Sermon on Catholic Unity, delivered at the Triennial Convention of the Dutch and German Reformed Churches at Harrisburg on the 8th of August, 1844, at his request the sermon was published as an Appendix to the so-called Inaugural Address. The original work, as thus enlarged, formed a volume of 215 pages.

A production of this nature launched upon the theological public, at that particular time, was somewhat meteoric, and needed just such an explanation as Dr. Nevin gave it in his Introduction. The translation was admirable, in as smooth and pure English as could be desired; but the method, the character of its arguments, its thoughts and its inbreathing spirit remained nevertheless invincibly German; and yet, notwithstanding the honesty beaming in its face, its natural character was just the feature which was calculated to excite doubt and suspicion in the minds of many. As already said, there was at the time considerable zeal arrayed against German thinking as characteristically bad, both philosophically and theologically, and there were some very excellent men, in their way, who, perhaps, would have kept it from crossing the ocean altogether, if it had been in their power. Dr. Nevin, himself, had once been of this way of thinking, but he had advanced somewhat in knowledge, and was now of a different mind. He had arrived at the conclusion that it was an immense mistake to assume that the

Anglo-American order of religious life was all right and complete in itself, whilst the German life under the same aspect was all wrong. It might be supposed that both include distinctive qualities of the highest order, and that standing by themselves they were, more or less, one-sided, involving corresponding defects and false tendencies. Sound reason and ordinary common sense, therefore, would say that there should be a judicious union of both, in which what is truly good in each should find its proper supplement in what is true and good in the other, and that in this way both extremes should be mutually corrected and reciprocally restrained. In all such cases the truth can be held only in their union. So much at least had to be said in the way of an apology for the introduction of German theology into this country forty or fifty years ago; but there surely ought not to have been anything of the kind necessary in the case of Professor Schaff. He certainly needed no apology for appearing before the American public. He came to this country not in any way to interfere with the order of life already established, but in obedience to a call of Providence to labor for a German people and a German Church, which needed his services; and if his Christian activity, outside of his own more immediate circle of German people, should prove to be useful it would only be so much the better.

But the Inaugural, quite naturally, served to awaken distrust and suspicion, not so much by its German source and costume, as by its thoughts or contents. In Germany these would have met with favor by orthodox theologians generally, and scarcely been regarded in any way as forming a new departure. They proceeded from the school of Neander, with indications here and there of a higher tone of orthodoxy. In this country, however, they were comparatively new, and running counter to popular views of the Church and history in general, they were of such a character as to arouse opposition, and were liable to be misunderstood or misrepresented. Dr. Nevins in his gentle, apologetic Introduction, therefore, endeavored to disarm prejudice and to prepare the reader for a candid and liberal perusal of the Inaugural, in which, however, he only partially succeeded. As the Address was the starting point of the controversies in which he took such a prominent part, and was, in fact, a *magna pars*, it seems proper that we should furnish the readers with some intelligible account of the drift and animus of the book.

Its title was the Principle of Protestantism, which the author found in the doctrine of justification by faith on the one hand and in the supreme authority of the Scriptures as the rule of faith on

the other. These two, the former represented more prominently by the Lutheran and the latter by the Reformed Church, are inseparable and constitute together only one *fons et origo*, only different aspects of one and the same principle. But the book covers a much wider ground than its title at first view would suggest. It is in fact a vindication of the Protestant movement as a whole, admits its defects and weakness, and seeks to point out the course it should pursue in order to outgrow its present limitations and pass over into something higher and better, carrying with it, into a new order of things in the future, all that is valuable and true in it now. It was not a religious Revolution in the sixteenth century as some would have it, nor a mere Restoration of ancient Christianity as other friends would like to regard it. It was, as the name applied to it expresses, a Reformation; not such a violent break with the history that went before as some imagine, but the ripe fruit of ages, the living result of their struggles and conflicts brought about by a valid historical development, in which the human and divine factors of history were equally active. The preparation for this great outcome of humanity in its upward struggle was slowly made from century to century in the several departments of politics, science, and polite literature, but more especially in Theology, in the Church and in the religious life of the people. The Reformation abolished as far as it knew how the errors, the abuses, the superstitions and the corruptions that had been the accumulations of ages, and held fast to the truths that had come down from the early and primitive Church as its own rightful inheritance. But, as already said, it was an advance in the history of the Church. It brought out more clearly than ever before the doctrine of salvation by grace, and of free access to the throne of the Father in heaven through His only begotten Son. The Church of the Middle Ages was the Church of the Latin race, and carried in it an element of legalism always characteristic of that race, which stood in the way of the liberty of the individual and debarred him from the full enjoyment of the blessings of salvation in Christ. The Gospel involved in it freedom in the true sense of the term, and it became necessary that the Germanic people should be called on to embody it in the onward march of history. Protestantism or the Evangelical Church is the Christianity of the Germanic race. The latter is not a reconstruction of the Christian faith *de novo*, as is sometimes affirmed, but the result of an historical process or development, always existing in the Gospel and in the deeper life of the Church, but now brought out in the fullness of time as the flower and

the fruit of a long process of growth. Such in brief was Dr. Schaff's view of Church History and of the genesis of the Reformation.

But when this is admitted it follows that Protestantism itself ought not to be regarded as the final and only perfect form of the Christian faith. It too must pass through a course of development until it reaches something higher and better. As it began to unfold itself in the Christian life of Europe, it soon brought along with it diseases, tendencies destructive to its inner life in Rationalism and Sectism which are the licentious abuses of Evangelical freedom. Puseyism, an important movement in its day, was a well-meant attempt to save Protestantism from the dissolution that threatened it in the disintegrating tendencies at work within its pale, but insufficient to work a lasting cure for these diseases. It looked backwards not forwards. It was restoration, repristination, not reformation. The only true stand-point, therefore, according to Dr. Schaff, for the farther progress of Protestantism and of Christianity in general, is to be found in the principle of historical development, understood in a scriptural or evangelical sense. Under the Providence of God, it must be our guide out of the evils and difficulties of the present, and the door for such enlargement of Christian freedom as will lead finally to the union of all branches of the Christian Church, in one body, the prayer not only of such men as Moehler in the Catholic Church, but of all true Christians.

The Inaugural does not pretend to say what particular form the Christianity of the future is to be, or how it is to be distinguished, except that it will manifest a higher degree of unity than it does in its present interimistic period; but it regards with favor the speculations of the philosopher Schelling, as he advanced them in the latter part of his career in his famous lectures at the University of Berlin. Historical Christianity was at first Petrine, from Peter, the apostle of the Father, deriving its form from the principle of law and authority and ending in Popery; at the Reformation it became Pauline, from Paul the apostle of the Son, the representative of freedom, of progress and enlargement; but in the future it is destined to become Johannean, in which the antagonisms and antitheses of the preceding periods will be reconciled in one Holy Catholic Church of love mirrored forth already in the life and writings of John, the Apostle of the Holy Ghost, who lay on Jesus' breast at the first Lord's Supper and was the disciple whom he loved. If such should be the ordering of Providence, then we may expect that the reign of charity will become wider and stronger among Christians, just as it should be.

CHAPTER XXI

THE Inaugural closes with a formal summary, consisting of 112 propositions or theses, supposed to be suitable for the time. They lie back of the Address, but they go beyond it in their range, and form, moreover, a short treatise on speculative theology, a volume in fact, all in a brief space. They were quite as practical in their day as they were speculative. As they lay, more or less, at the foundation of the theological movement that took its rise at Mercersburg, we here present them to the reader, somewhat abbreviated, but without any material omissions, in order to supplement our short and imperfect sketch of the Address itself:

Every period of the Church and Theology has its particular problem to solve, and the main question of *our* time is concerning the nature of the Church itself in its relation to the world and individual Christians.

The Church is the Body of Christ; an institution founded by Christ Himself, proceeding from His loins, and anointed by His spirit, for the glory of God and the salvation of man; and the necessary organ through which the revelation of God in Christ becomes effective in the world's history, beyond which, as there is no Christianity, there can be no salvation.

At the same time she is like every body or organism, a living unity of different members; a communion of faith and love, visible as well as invisible, external as well as internal, of the most manifold individualities, gifts and powers, pervaded by the same spirit and serving the same end; and, therefore, the depository and continuation of the earthly human life of the Redeemer in his three-fold offices of Prophet, Priest and King.

Hence, like her founder, she possesses a divine and a human, an ideal and a real, a heavenly and an earthly nature, possessing only the principle of holiness and the full truth, mixed, however, still with sin and error.

It is the mission of the Church to purify the world in its different spheres of Science, Art, Government, and Social life, with the purifying power of her own divine life; to formally organize it as the Kingdom of God; which must invoke the absolute identity of Church and State, Theology and Philosophy, Worship and Art, Religion and Morality; and to renovate the whole earth, in which

Christianity shall become completely the same with humanity, and God Himself shall be All in all.

The Church is the Mother of believers from whom they derive their religious life, and to whom they owe constant fidelity, gratitude and obedience. She is the power of the objective and general, to which the subjective and particular should ever be subordinate. It is only in such rational subordination that the individual can be free. Apart from communion with the life of the Church, he is like a limb separated from the body, or a branch torn from the vine.

Christianity in itself is the *absolute* religion, which admits of no improvement; but its subjective *apprehension and appropriation* by the minds of men undergo a process of development which will become complete only at the coming of the Lord.

The Church may be in possession of a truth, long before it becomes conscious of it, or is able to define it. So it was, for instance, with the doctrine of the Trinity before the time of Athanasius, with the doctrine of human freedom and divine grace before Augustine, and with the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith previous to the Reformation.

The idea unfolded in profound style more particularly by the later German Philosophy that history involves a continual progress towards something better by means of dialectic antitheses, (*Gegen-saetze*), is substantially true and correct, provided we recognize in such conflicts a corresponding movement of evil also towards that which is worse. The wheat and the tares grow together until the two developments shall become complete.

In the Church, therefore, we must distinguish between idea and manifestation. As to the former she is complete; as to the latter she is imperfect and must pass through different stages of life until the ideal actualized in Christ is actualized in humanity at large, and his body appears thus in the ripeness of complete manhood.

Such a dialectic process or growth is attended with diseases and crises, theoretical in the form of heresies, and practical in the form of schisms.

In the wise Providence of God all heresies and schisms are so overruled as to bring the Church to a clearer consciousness of her true vocation, a deeper apprehension of her faith, and a purer revelation of the power included in her life.

The presence of disease in the body of Christ requires a remedial or creative process, not in violent Revolution or in conservative Repristination; but in health-inspiring reformation. Protestantism, consequently, in its proper sense, belongs indispensably to

the life of the Church, as the reaction of her own proper vitality in opposition to the workings of disease lurking in her system.

Protestantism runs through the entire history of the Church, and will continue to be active until she is purged from all impure elements. The most grand and widely influential exhibition of Protestantism is presented to us in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, leading to the formal constitution of the Evangelical Church, as originated and in its most deep inward and truly apostolic form, carried out and consummated by the German nation.

It is a jejune and narrow conception of this event to look upon it simply as a restoration of the original state of the Church, or a renewal of Augustinism against the Pelagian system, by which it had been supplanted. Such a view proceeds on the fundamentally erroneous position, that the religious life revealed in the person of Christ primarily, and by derivation from Him in His Apostles, has been fully actualized also from the beginning in the general mass of the Church. Rather, the Reformation must be viewed as an actual advance of the religious life and consciousness of the Church, by a deeper apprehension of God's word, beyond all previous attainments of Christendom.

But just as little must the Reformation be viewed as a revolutionary separation from the Catholic Church, holding connection at best, perhaps, with some fractionary sect of the Middle Ages, and only through this and the help of certain desperate historical leaps besides, reaching back to the age of the Apostles.

Rather, the Reformation must be viewed as the greatest act of the Catholic Church itself, the full ripe fruit of all its better tendencies, particularly of the deep spiritual law conflicts of the Middle Period, which were as a schoolmaster towards the Protestant doctrine of justification.

The separation was produced, not by the will of the Reformers, but by the stiff-necked Papacy, which, like Judaism at the time of Christ, identifying itself in a fleshly way with the idea of the absolute Church, refused to admit the onward movement.

Thus apprehended, Protestantism has as large an interest in the vast historical treasures of the previous period, as can be claimed rightfully by the Church of Rome. Hence the arguments drawn by Romanists from this quarter, and particularly from the Middle Ages, the proper cradle of the Reformation, have no application against our stand-point. Equally false finally is the view, whether popular or philosophical, by which the Reformation is made to consist in the absolute emancipation of the Christian life,

subjectively considered from all Church authority, and the exaltation of private judgment to the papal throne.

On the contrary, it is quite clear from history that the Reformers aimed only at such liberty of faith and conscience, and such independence of private judgment as should involve an humble subjection of the natural will, which they held to be incapable of all good, to God's grace, and of the human reason to God's Word. Indeed their opposition to the Roman traditions was itself based on the conviction, that they were the product of such reason, sundered from the Divine Word.

The material, or life principle of Protestantism, is the Doctrine of Justification by Grace alone, through the merits of Jesus Christ, by means of living faith; that is, the personal appropriation of Christ in the totality of the inner man. This does not overthrow good works; rather, they are rightly called for and made possible only in this way; with dependence, however, on faith, as being its necessary fruit, the subjective impression of the life of Christ, in opposition to Pelagianism, which places works parallel with faith, or even above it.

The formal or knowledge principle of Protestantism is the sufficiency and unerring certainty of the Holy Scriptures as the only norm of saving knowledge. This does not overthrow the idea of Church tradition; but simply makes it dependent on the written word, as the stream is upon the fountain—the necessary, ever-deepening onward flow of the sense of Scripture itself, as it is carried forward in the consciousness of the Christian world; contrary to the Romish dogma, by which tradition, as the bearer of different contents altogether, is made co-ordinate with the Bible, or even exalted above it.

These two principles, rightly apprehended, are only different mutually supplementary sides of one and the same principle, and their living interpenetration forms the criterion of orthodox Protestantism.

Opposition to the Roman Catholic extreme, according to the general law of historical progress, led the Reformers to place the strongest emphasis on justification and faith, scripture and preaching; whence the possibility of a one-sided development, in which holiness and love, tradition and sacrament, might not be allowed to come to their full rights.

Respect for the Reformation as a divine work in no way forbids the admission that it included some mixture of error and sin; as where God builds a church, the Devil erects a chapel by its side.

In any view, however, the Reformation must be regarded as still incomplete. It needs yet its concluding act, to unite what has fallen asunder, to bring the subjective to a reconciliation with the objective.

Puritanism may be considered a sort of second reformation, called forth by the reappearance of Romanizing elements in the Anglican Church, and as such forms the basis to a great extent of American Protestantism, particularly in New England. Its highest recommendation, bearing a divine signature, is presented in its deep practical earnestness as it regards religion, and its zeal for personal piety; by which it has been more successful perhaps than any other section of the Church, for a time, in the work of saving individual souls.

On the other hand, it falls far beyond the German Reformation by its revolutionary, unhistorical, and consequently unchurchly character, and carries in itself no protection whatever against an indefinite subdivision of the Church into separate atomistic sects. For, having no proper conception of a historical development of Christianity, and with its negative attitude of blind irrational zeal towards the past in its own rear, it may be said to have armed its children with the same right, and the same tendency too, to treat its authority with equal independence and contempt.

Protestantism has formed the starting point and centre of all important movements in the history of the last three centuries, and constitutes now also the main interest of the time.

The history of Protestantism, in the sphere of Religion, Science, Art, and Government, especially since the beginning of the eighteenth century, may be regarded as the development of the principle of *subjectivity*, the consciousness of *freedom*.

In this development, however, it has gradually become estranged to a great extent from its own original nature, and fallen dialectically into its opposite, according to the general course of history. Its grand maladies at this time are *Rationalism* and *Sectism*.

Sectism is one-sided *practical religious subjectivism*, and has found its classic soil within the territory of the Reformed Church, in the predominantly practical countries, England and America.

Rationalism is one-sided *theoretic religious subjectivism*, and its fullest and most perfect exhibition has taken place accordingly in Germany, the land of theory and science, and in the bosom of the Lutheran Church.

These two diseases stand in a relation to Protestantism, similar to that of the papacy to catholicism in the Middle Ages; that is, they have a conditional historical necessity, and an outward con-

nection with the system to which they adhere, but nevertheless contradict and caricature its inmost nature.

The secular interests, Science, Art, Government, and Social Life, have become since the Reformation dissociated from the Church, in whose service they stood, although with an unfree subjugation in the Middle Ages, and in this separate form are advanced to a high state of perfection. This, however, is a false position, since the Kingdom of God requires that all divinely constituted forms and spheres of life should be brought to serve Him in the most intimate alliance with religion, that God may be all in all.

The orthodox Protestantism of the present day, although something different from Rationalism and Sectarism in all other respects, is distinguished in common with them, particularly in this country, by the quality of a one-sided subjectivity, which, however, embodies in it at the same time a large amount of personal piety. Its great defect, therefore, is the want of an adequate conception of the nature of the Church and of its relation to the individual Christian on the one hand, and the general life of man on the other.

Hence proceeds, first, indifference towards Sectarism, or at least denominational divisions which are at war with the idea of the Church as the Body of Christ.

Secondly, a want of respect for history, and a disposition to fall back directly and wholly upon the Scriptures, without regard to the development of their contents in the life of the Church, as it stood from the beginning.

Thirdly, an undervaluation of the Sacraments as objective institutions of the Lord, independent of individual views and states.

Fourthly, a disproportionate esteem for the service of preaching, with a corresponding sacrifice in the case of the Liturgy, the standing objective part of divine worship, in which the *whole congregation* is called to pour forth its religious life to God.

And fifthly, a circumscribed conception of the all-pervading heaven-like nature of the Gospel, involving an abstract separation of religion from the divinely established order of the world in other spheres.

To this must be added, in the case of a number of denominations, the fancy of their own perfection, an idea that *their* particular traditional style of religion can never be improved into anything better, which is a rejection of the Protestant principle of mobility and progress, and a virtual relapse accordingly into the ground error of the Church of Rome.

The stand-point and with it the wants of our time are wholly

different from those of the sixteenth century. Our most immediate danger now is not from the Church of Rome, but from a one-sided subjectivism; in part heterodox and anti-christian, in part orthodox and pious, but always false, by which the rights of the Church are wronged in our midst.

The redeeming tendency of the age, therefore, is not that which shall emancipate its subjectivity from the fetters of bondage, as at the time of the Reformation, but it is rather that which regards the claims of objectivity in the true idea of the Church.

Not until Protestantism shall have repented of its own faults and healed its own wounds, may it expect to prevail finally over the Church of Rome. The fact that Popery has been enabled to make such formidable progress latterly, especially in England and the United States, may be regarded as a divine judgment, because Protestantism has in a great measure here neglected its duty.

Puseyism, (with which of course we must not confound the spurious after-birth of fantastic hollow-hearted affectation, always to be expected in such a case), may be considered in its original intention and best tendency a well-meant, but insufficient and unsuccessful attempt to correct the ultra subjectivity of Protestantism.

In this view we have reason to rejoice in its appearance, as indicating on the part of the Protestant world a waking consciousness of the malady under which it labors in this direction, and serving also to promote right church feeling.

By its reverence for Church antiquity, it exerts a salutary influence against what may be considered as the reigning error of the times, a wild revolutionary zeal for liberty, coupled with a profane scorn of all that is holy in the experience of the past.

So also its stress laid upon forms exhibits a wholesome reaction against the irrational hyper-spiritualism, so common among even the best Protestants, which the doctrine of the resurrection alone, as taught in the Bible, is enough to prove fallacious.

Church forms serve two general purposes: First, they are for the lower stages of religious development conductors over into the life of the Spirit; secondly, they are for the Church at large the necessary utterances or corporealization of the spirit in the view in which Oetinger's remark holds good, that "*Corporeity is the scope of God's ways.*"

All turns simply on this, that the form be answerable to the contents, and be actuated by the Spirit. A formless spiritualism is no whit better than a spiritless or dead formalism. The only right condition is a sound spirit within a sound body.

The grand defect of Puseyism, on the other hand, is its unprotestant character, in not recognizing the importance of the Reformation, and the idea of progress in the life of the Church since.

It is for this reason only half historical and half Catholic, since its sympathy and respect for the past life of the Church stop short with the sixteenth century.

Its view of the Church altogether is outward and mechanical, excluding the conception of a living development through the successive periods of its history.

This character appears particularly in its theory of the Episcopal succession; which is only a new form of the old Pharisaic Judaism and makes the apostolicity of the Church dependent on an historical inquiry (in the case of which, besides, no absolute certainty is possible), resting it thus on a wholly precarious foundation.

Puseyism then is to be regarded as nothing more than a simple reaction, which has served to bring to light the evils of ultra pseudo-protestant individualism, but offers no remedy for it save the perilous alternative of falling back to a stand-point already surmounted in the way of religious progress.

The true stand-point, all necessary for the wants of the times, is that of *Protestant Catholicism*, or genuine historical progress.

This holds equally remote from all unchurchly subjectivity and all Romanizing churchism, although it acknowledges and seeks to unite in itself the truth which lies at the foundation of both these extremes.

Occupying this historical stand-point from which the moving of God's spirit is discerned in all periods of the Church, we may not in the first place surrender anything essential of the positive acquisition secured by the Reformation, whether Lutheran or Reformed.

Neither may we again absolutely negative the later developments of Protestantism, not even Rationalism and Sectarism themselves, but must appropriate to ourselves rather the element of truth they contain, rejecting only the vast alloy of error from which it is to be extracted.

Rationalism and Sectism possess historical right, so far as the principle of subjectivity, individuality, singleness and independence can be said to be possessed of right; that is, so far as this comes not in conflict with the principle of objectivity, generality, the Church, authority and law; so far then as it continues subordinate to these forces.

Rationalism was a necessary schoolmaster for the orthodox the-

ology, destroying its groundless prejudices, and compelling it to accept a more scientific form in general; and also in particular to allow the human, the earthly, the historical, in the theanthropic nature of Christ and the Church, to come more fully to its rights.

Whilst, however, the earlier historico-critical Rationalism has promoted a right understanding of the natural and historical in Christianity, this understanding in its case remains still but *half* true, since it has no organ for *Ideas*, the inward life of which history after all is but the body.

The later speculative Rationalism, or pantheistic Mythologism, or the *Hegelingians*, as they have been deridingly styled, (Dr. Strauss and his colleagues), which from the Ebionitic stand-point of the old system has swung over to the opposite extreme of docetic Gnostic idealism, fails to apprehend the idea of Christianity in its full truth and vitality, and substitutes for it a phantom or mere shadow, since it has no organ for historical *Reality*, the outward life, without which after all the idea must perish.

As in the first centuries the theology of the Catholic Church gradually developed itself, through scientific struggles with the two ground heresies, Ebionism or Christianizing Judaism, and Gnosticism, or Christianizing Heathenism, so now also we are to look for a higher orthodoxy, overmastering inwardly both forms of Protestant Rationalism, which shall bring the real and the ideal into the most intimate union, and fully recognize the eternal spirit of Christianity as well as its historical body.

The germs of all this are at hand in the later movements and achievements of the believing German theology, and need only a farther development to issue at last in a full dogmatical reformation.

Separation or division, where it is characterized by religious life, springs always from some real evil in the Church, and hence Sectism is to be regarded as a necessary disciplinarian and reformer of the Church in its practical life.

Almost every sect represents in strong relief some particular aspect of piety, and contributes to the more full evolution of individual religious activity.

Since, however, the truths of the Gospel form an inseparable unity, and the single member can become complete only along with the whole body of which it is a part, it follows that no sect can ever do justice fully even to the single interest to which it is one-sidedly devoted.

Sects, after they have fulfilled their historical vocation, should fall back to the general communion from which they seceded, and

communicate to it whatever truthful acquisitions they may have made in a state of isolation.

It is a cheering sign of the times, that in Protestant lands, differing most, and in the bosom of the Reformed Church in which religious individualism, both in the good and bad sense, has been most fully developed, it is coming to be felt, more and more, that the existing divisions of the Church are wrong, and with this is waking more and more to an earnest longing after a true union of all believers in no communication, however, with the errors of Oxford or Rome.

Finally, also the liberation of the secular spheres of life from the Church since the Reformation, though not the ultimate normal order, forms, notwithstanding as compared with the previous vassalage of the world to a despotic hierarchy, an advance in the naturalization process of Christianity.

The luxuriant growth of these interests, as unfolded in the Protestant States, in the Arts, the Sciences and the Social Culture, lays the Church under obligations to appropriate these advances to herself, and to impress upon them a religious character.

The signs of the times, then, and the teachings of history, point us not backwards, but forwards to a new era of the Church that may be expected to evolve itself gradually from the present process of fermentation, enriched with the positive gain of Protestantism.

As the movement of history in the Church is like that of the sun from East to West, it is possible that America, into whose broad, majestic bosom the most various elements of character and education are poured from the old world, may prove the theatre of this unitive reformation.

Thus far, if we put out of view the rise of a few insignificant sects, and the separation of Church and State, which to be sure has very momentous bearings, American Church History has produced nothing original, no new *fact* in the history of the Church as a whole.

No where else, however, is there at present the same favorable room for farther development, since in no country of the world does the Church enjoy such entire freedom, or the same power to renovate itself from within according to its own pleasure.

The historical progress of the Church is always conditioned by the national elements, which form its physical basis.

The two leading nationalities, which are continually coming into contact in this country, and flowing into one another with reciprocal action, are the English and the German.

The farther advancement of the American Church, consequently, must proceed mainly from a special combination of German depth and *Gemuethlichkeit*, with the force of character and active practical talent for which the English are distinguished.

It would be a rich offering then to the service of this approaching reformation, on the part of the German Churches in America, to transplant hither in proper measure the rich wealth of the better German theology, improving it into such form as our peculiar relations might require.

This, their proper vocation, however, they have thus far almost entirely overlooked, seeking their salvation for the most part in a characterless surrendry of their own nationality.

In view of the particular constitution of a large part of the German emigration, this subjection to the power of a foreign life may be regarded indeed as salutary.

But the time has now come when our churches should again rise out of the old German Adam, enriched and refined with the advantages of the English nationality.

What we most need now is theoretically a thorough intellectual theology, scientifically free as well as decidedly believing, together with a general sense of history; and practically a determination to hold fast to the patrimony of our fathers, and to go forth joyfully at the same time in the way in which God's Spirit by providential signs may lead, with a proper humble subordination of all we do for our own denomination to the general interests of the One Universal Church.

The ultimate, sure scope of the Church, towards which the inmost wish and the most earnest prayer of all her true friends continually tend, is that perfect and glorious unity, the desire of which may be said to constitute the burden of our Lord's last, memorable, intercessory Prayer that His people may be one.

CHAPTER XXII

DR. SCHAFF'S Inaugural was admirably translated into the English language, as we have said, by Dr. Nevin, enlarged by the Introduction already referred to, together with the Sermon on Catholic Unity, delivered at the Triennial Convention at Harrisburg. This discourse was approved by that respectable Convention at the time and ordered to be published in the weekly papers of the two Churches. It excited considerable interest at the time, and may be regarded as Dr. Nevin's first important contribution towards the solution of the Church Question. It was based on Eph. 4: 4-6: There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.

In his introductory remarks, the preacher directs attention to the image of the Church as here delineated by the hand of an inspired Apostle, compared with which nothing in the whole world can be found to be so resplendently beautiful or glorious under any other form. Christ is the end of all separation and strife to them that believe, in whom all former distinctions lose their antagonisms and are concealed in a higher unity, which is as comprehensive as humanity itself. Christianity is the universal solvent, in which all antitheses or opposites are required to flow in a new combination, pervaded throughout with light and harmony. The human world is first reconciled to God, and then with itself, by entering with living consciousness into the ground of its own life in the person of Christ Himself. "He is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; making in Himself of twain one new man." Such is the idea of the Church, which is "the body of Christ, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all." The Apostle does not say, Let there be one body and spirit, but assumes that such is the case already, that there is one body—potentially—out of which members spring, in which it perpetually stands, and from which it must ever derive all its harmony and stability, its activity and strength. From the beginning this great truth has dwelt deeply in the consciousness of the Church, in all ages and lands, uttering itself with one accord in the article of the Creed, I believe in one *Holy Catholic Church*.

The Church is one and universal. Her unity is essential to her existence.

The discourse is divided into two parts; the first treats of the Nature and Constitution of this Holy Catholic Church, and the second of the Duty of Christians as it regards the unity, by which it is declared to be thus Catholic, and Holy, and True.

"The unity of the Church rests on the mystical union subsisting between Christ and believers. This is not simply moral, the harmony of purpose, thought and feeling, but substantial and real, including a oneness of nature. It is as close and intimate as the union which binds the branches to the trunk of the vine, or the members and the head of the same natural body. Christ Himself says, 'I am the bread of life. As the living Father hath sent me and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me.' 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.' 'We are members of His body, of His flesh, and His bones.' Such language as this, as Calvin says, is not hyperbolical but simple, great as the mystery which it describes may be to our apprehension. It is, however, not more difficult to apprehend than the fact of our union to the same extent with the person of the first Adam.

"We partake," says Dr. Nevin, "truly and properly in Adam's very nature. His humanity, body and soul, has passed over into our persons. We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. And so it is in the case of the second Adam as it regards the truly regenerate. They are inserted into His life, through faith, by the power of the Holy Ghost, and become thus incorporated with it, as fully as they were before with that corrupt life they had by their natural birth. The whole humanity of Christ, soul and body, is carried by the process of the Christian salvation into the person of the believer; so that in the end his glorified body, no less than his glorified soul, will appear as the natural and necessary product of the life in which he is thus made to participate. His resurrection is only his regeneration, fully revealed at last and complete. This representation rests throughout upon the fact that his life is grounded in the life of Christ, and so includes potentially all that belongs to it from the beginning.

"The idea of this union on the part of believers with the entire humanity of Christ has in all ages entered deeply into the consciousness of the Church. Hence the earnestness with which the Reformers generally maintained the doctrine of the real presence in the Lord's Supper. They saw and felt more clearly than many

of their followers seem to see and feel now, that the life of the believer involves a communion with the body of Christ or His humanity, as well as with His Spirit. Calvin (as shown by quotations from his works in foot notes of the sermon.—Ed.) is particularly strong with regard to this point; and some, like Dr. Dick and his followers, have found it hard to find any sense whatever in his language on the subject. The Heidelberg Catechism utters no uncertain sound in regard to this mystery (here at least decidedly Calvinistic.—Ed.), where it says that 'to eat the crucified body and to drink the shed blood of Christ means also to become more and more united to his sacred body, by the Holy Ghost, who dwells both in Christ and in us, so that we, although Christ is in heaven and we on earth, are notwithstanding flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bone; and that we live and are governed by one Spirit, as members of the same body are by one soul.'

"Partaking in this way of one and the same life of Christ, Christians are vitally related and joined together as one great spiritual whole; and this whole is the Church. The Church, therefore, is His Body, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all. The union by which it is held together, through all ages, is organic. It is not a mere aggregation of individuals, drawn together by similarity of interests and wants; not an abstraction simply, by which the common, in the midst of such multifarious distinction, is separated and put together under a single term. It is not merely the *all* that covers the actual extent of its membership, but the *whole* rather, in which the membership is comprehended and determined from the beginning. The Church does not rest upon its members, but the members rest upon the Church. Individual Christianity is not older than general Christianity, but the general in this case goes before the particular, ruling and conditioning all its manifestations. So it is with every organic nature. The parts in the end are only the revelation of what was previously included in the whole. All that we behold in the oak lay hidden in the acorn from the start. So too the human race all slept originally in the common root of the race.

"Adam was not simply *a* man, or an individual like others born since; but he was *the* man, who comprehended in himself all that has since appeared in other men. Humanity as a whole resided in his person. He was strictly and truly the world of mankind. Through all ages man is organically one and the same. And parallel with this is the constitution of the Church. The second Adam corresponds in all respects with the first. He is not a man merely, one individual belonging to the race; but He is *the* man,

emphatically the *Son of Man*, comprising in His person the new creation, or humanity renewed and redeemed as a whole. Christ is the root of the Church; and to the end of time it can include no more in its proper life, however widely distributed, than what is properly included in the root itself.

"The Unity of the Church then is a cardinal truth in the Christian system itself. The conception of individual or particular Christianity as something independent of the organic whole, which we denominate the Church, is a moral solecism that necessarily destroys itself. Christ cannot be divided. The members of the natural body are united to the head, only by belonging to the body itself. Separated from this, they cease to have any proper existence. And so it is here. We are not Christians, each one by himself and for himself, but we become such through the Church. Christ lives in His people by the life which fills His body, the Church; and they are thus all necessarily one, before they can be many.

"The life of Christ in the Church, in the first place, is inward and invisible. But to be real it must also become outward. The salvation of the individual believer is not complete till the body is transfigured and made glorious, as well as the soul; and as it respects the whole nature of man from the commencement, it can never go forward at all except by a union of the outward and inward at every point of its progress. Thus, too, the Church must be visible as well as invisible. Soul and body, inward power and outward form, are here required to go together. Outward forms without inward life can have no saving force. But neither can inward life be maintained, on the other hand, without outward forms. The body is not the man, and yet there can be no man where there is no body. Humanity is neither a corpse on the one hand, nor a phantom on the other. The Church must then appear externally in the world, and the case requires that this manifestation should correspond with the inward constitution of the idea itself.

"The Apostle, however, does not mean to affirm that the want of such outward and visible unity necessarily and at once overthrows the existence of the Church. It is seldom that the actual in the sphere of Christianity fully corresponds with the ideal. And as a general thing, this correspondence, so far as it may be secured in any case, is to be reached only in a gradual way. Thus we behold at this time the Christian world, in fact, broken into various denominations, with separate confessions and creeds, in which too often polemic zeal appears far more prominent than Catholic char-

ity. Such distraction and diversion can never be vindicated as harmonizing with the true conception of the Church. They disfigure and obscure its proper glory, and give a false, distorted image of its inward life. Still the Church is not on this account subverted or shut up to the precincts of some single sect, arrogantly claiming to be the whole body. The life with which it is anointed does, indeed, seek an outward revelation in all respects answerable to its own nature; but as a process, struggling constantly to such an end, it may be vigorously active at the same time, under forms that bear no right proportion whatever to its wants. We may not doubt, therefore, but that in the midst of all distinctions which have come to prevail since the times of the Reformation, the life of the Church, with all its proper attributes, is still actively at work in every evangelical communion. Joined together in the common life of Christ, the various divisions of the Christian world are still organically the same Church.

"Thus the actual, in fact, stands far behind the ideal; but still this relation cannot be rested in as ultimate and right. It can hold with truth only as an intermediate stage, through which the life of the Church is constantly struggling towards a revelation, that shall, in all respects, be adequate to its nature. Christians are bound to maintain 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' and they cannot be true to their vocation, except as they constantly endeavor, so far as in them lies, to have this unity made in the largest sense complete, so that Christ's people may, in the full sense of the term, be 'one body,' as well as one Spirit.

"This would seem to be in some sense the necessity of the Church. The Saviour solemnly prays 'that they may all be one; as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me.' Wonderful words! understood only by living communion with Christ Himself. The whole Church then must be regarded as inwardly groaning over her own divisions, and striving to actualize the full import of this prayer; as though Christ were made to feel Himself divided, and could not rest until such unnatural violence should come to an end. And so if any man be in Christ, he cannot fail to pray and work for the same object, the Catholic Unity of the Church as the most important interest in the world.

"In view of what has thus been said, it is in the first place the duty of Christians generally to lay to heart the evil that is comprehended in the actual disunion and division which now prevail in the Catholic or Universal Church. The Church ought to be visibly

one and Catholic as she is one and Catholic in her inward life; and the want of such unity, as it appears in the present state of the Protestant world, with its rampant sectarianism and individualism, 'is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation' until of God's mercy this sore reproach be rolled away.

"Apologies are sometimes made for the existence of sects in the Church as necessary to provoke each other to zeal and good works. Without them, it is alleged, the Church would stagnate and grow corrupt.' This sounds well, but it is false notwithstanding, injurious to Christ, and a reflection upon Christianity itself. Our various sects, as they now actually exist, are an immense evil in the Church. Whatever may be said in palliating their existence, it is certain that they mar the unity of Christ's body in fact, and deprive it of its proper beauty and strength. The evil may in a certain sense be *necessary*, but the necessity is like that which exists for the rise of heresies, itself the presence of a deep-seated evil, in which the Church has no right quietly to acquiesce. Our sects, as they actually stand at the present time, are a reproach to the Christian cause. By no possibility could they be countenanced and approved as good by the Lord Jesus Christ, if He should appear again in the world as the visible Head of His people. This all must feel.

"We do not suppose that the visible unity of the Church demands a single visible head, like the Pope of Rome, who is justly styled Antichrist for this very pretension. We do not suppose that it can hold only under a given organization, stretching its arms from one end of the earth to the other, according to the dream of the High Church Episcopalian. But this much it most certainly does require that the middle walls of partition, as they now divide sect from sect, should be broken down, and the whole Christian Church brought not only to acknowledge and feel, but to show itself evidently one. How far it is from this at the present time, it is not necessary to say. Now what is wanted first of all, is a clear perception on the part of the Church as a whole, that is, on the part of Christians generally, that the want of such visible unity is a wrong, and such a wrong as calls aloud continually for redress. Without this, most assuredly, the captivity of Zion will never come to an end. The heart of the Church must be filled with an earnest and deep sense of her own calamity, as thus torn and rent with such vast division, before she can be engaged successfully to follow after union and peace. It needs to be deeply pondered upon, that the spirit of sect and party, as such, is contrary to Christ; and that the present state of the Church involves the

sin of schism to a most serious extent. *Denominations are not necessarily sects, and every separate ecclesiastical position is not to be denounced at once as schismatic.* But take it altogether there is schism in our divisions. The unity of Christ's Body is not maintained. This we are called upon to consider and lament.

"Let it be admitted that there is no way open at present by which we have any prospect of seeing these walls of partition broken down; still it is none the less the duty of all who love Christ, to take to heart the presence of the evil itself, to be humbled before God on account of it, and to desire earnestly that it may come to an end. Does it not lie in the conception of the Church, that these divisions should pass away and make room for the reign at last of Catholic unity and love? If sects as they now appear have been the necessary fruitage of the Reformation, then must we say that the Reformation, being as we hold it to be from God, has not yet been conducted towards its legitimate results, in this respect at least. What it has divided it must have power again in due time to bring together and unite. Our Protestant Christianity cannot continue to stand in its present form. A Church without unity can neither conquer the world, nor sustain the world. We are bound therefore to expect that this unity will not always be wanting. The hour is coming, though it be not now, when the prayer of Christ that the Church may be one will appear gloriously fulfilled in its actual character and state, throughout the whole world. But before this great change is effected, it must be the object first of much earnest prayer, desire and expectation. It is not by might and by power, not by outward urging and driving in the common style, but only by the Spirit of the Lord, that any such revolution as this can be accomplished. A crusade against sects, or a society to put down sects in a negative way, can answer no good purpose here in the end. If the evil is ever to be effectually surmounted, it must be by the growth of Christian charity in the bosom of the Church itself. No union can be of any account at all, that is not produced by inward sympathy and agreement between the parties it brings together. But this preparation of the heart is itself something to be sought and cultivated, and we may say that the very first step towards it consists in just that consideration and concern which is now represented to be due in the case of Christians on the whole subject.

"A no-sect party in the Church, bent only on pulling down and having no power to reconstruct, must ever be found itself one of the worst forms of separation, aggravating the mischief it proposes

to heal. It is not by renouncing then their allegiance to particular denominations, and affecting to hold themselves independent of all, that men may expect to promote the cause of Christian unity. The union of the Church, in any case, is not to be established by stratagem or mere policy of any kind. To be valid, it must be free, the spontaneous product of Christian knowledge and Christian love. It can never hold externally, not even from certain advantages that it may seem to bring with it, until it is made necessary by the presence of inward want, refusing to be satisfied on any other terms. But all this does not involve the consequence that there is nothing to be done on the part of Christians, to hasten this consummation in time. It is by inward and spiritual action, precisely, that the way of the Lord is to be prepared for any such deliverance, and to such action *all* who love the prosperity of Zion are solemnly bound. When it shall come to this, that by such inward action the Church shall be fully ripe for union, the difficulties that now stand will soon be found crumbling and dissolving into thin air. 'Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.' That which is impossible with men is easily accomplished by God.

"Then, in the third place, it is the duty of the Church to observe and improve all opportunities, by which it is made possible in any measure, from time to time, to advance, in a visible way, the interest of Catholic unity. We are not at liberty in the case to run before the Lord presumptuously, taking the whole work into our own hands; but we are bound, at the same time, to follow promptly where He leads. Just so soon, and as far, therefore, as the way may be open in any direction for advancing the outward and visible oneness of the Church, without prejudice to its true inward integrity, it is our solemn duty to turn the occasion to the highest account. It is not to be imagined, of course, that the general reconciliation of the divisions that now prevail in the Christian world, in whatever form it may at last appear, will be effected suddenly and at once. It must come, if it comes at all, as a process gradually ripening into this glorious result. Every instance then in which the open correspondence and communion of particular sections of the Church is made to assume, in a free way, a more intimate character than it had before, deserves to be hailed as being, to some extent, at least, an approximation towards the unity which the whole body is destined finally to reach. No movement of this sort can be regarded as indifferent. Whatever can serve in any

way to bring together the moral dispersions of the house of Israel, must be counted worthy of the most earnest regard.

"It is terrible to be concerned, however remotely, in dividing the Church; but a high and glorious privilege to take part, even to the smallest extent, in the work of restoring the divisions where they already exist. I would not for the world be the founder of a new sect, though assured, that millions would at last range themselves beneath its shadow; but if I might be instrumental with the humblest agency in helping only to pull down a single one of all those walls of partition, that now mock the idea of Catholic unity in the visible Church, I should feel that I had not lived in vain, nor labored without the most ample and enduring reward."

The sermon concluded with a highly favorable reference to the effort that had just been made to bring about a closer union between the Dutch and German Reformed Churches in this country. Encouraging progress had been made in that direction, of which the Triennial Convention at Harrisburg was a sufficient proof. It was merely an advisory body, a friendly arrangement, by which it was hoped that the two denominations might be fully united in the future. Dr. Nevin thought that it was just one of those opportunities that presented itself to promote the cause of church union in general, and with the blessing of God, might be followed with consequences of good, far more vast than any one at the time had the power to imagine. But these expectations were not realized at the time, and sad to say, the Triennial Convention had only a brief existence. Its first meeting was also its last. The day had not yet come even for the unification of these two denominations, which had been very closely connected from the beginning of their history in this country. The Church Question needed further discussion, and it was necessary that a genuine Church consciousness should first be awakened, and this then was to be educated and made to take a wider range.

We have been thus specific in giving the contents of the Inaugural and the Sermon on Catholic Unity, because they were the basis of what began to be called "Mercersburg Theology," and the starting point of numerous very earnest discussions and controversies. There was here substantially a remarkable agreement in the views of the two writers, or founders of this new theological school, the one having been brought up in a strict puritanic school, and the other having just come from the heart of German theology at Berlin, trained by such theologians as Neander and other giants in theological science. It was not, however, brought about simply

to produce harmony, but was the result of previous training on the part of Dr. Nevin. He had also studied the Church Question, and was prepared not only to endorse the Inaugural, but to supplement it with thoughts of his own. Dr. Schaff made his contribution to the solution of the problem mainly from the domain of Church History; Dr. Nevin, on the other hand, more particularly from the stand-point of the mystical union subsisting between Christ and believers, and of a sound evangelical theology. Whilst there may have been points of divergence, amounting possibly to some difference of tendencies, in the two productions, they are substantially the same in the fundamental thoughts and the general drift of their discussions. How did such a thing happen? It certainly was not the result of calculation or expediency. It cannot be explained, as it seems to us, without admitting that the hand of Providence was in the movement from the very beginning. Here two streams of thought flowing from opposite hemispheres of the earth met, and uniting their contents flowed together towards the great ocean of the future in this new world of America. It would be difficult to believe that it was merely a coincidence as the rationalist would say. It had, however, been preceded by many prayers going up from many places, and all this for many years. If a rational explanation is demanded, we would say that it is here in the antecedent which preceded the consequent.

IX—AT MERCERSBURG FROM 1844-1853

Æt. 41-50

CHAPTER XXIII

DR. SCHAFF'S Address was delivered on the 24th of October, 1844, and was listened to by many of the ministers of the Reformed Church after the adjournment of the Synod at Allentown. The German edition, however, was not published until March of the following year, and the English translation not until the month of June, 1845. Some unfavorable criticisms had been made in regard to its orthodoxy when it was first delivered, and we may suppose that additional care was exercised whilst it was being prepared for the press, that its statements should be still more carefully guarded, so that they might not lead to misapprehension or misrepresentation. To forestall anything of the kind Dr. Nevin prepared the lengthy Introduction to the work, which was much more apologetic than polemic. It was, however, watched in its progress through the press, and when it made its appearance it was read, especially in its English dress, throughout the Church with critical eyes, both friendly and unfriendly.

The preliminary attack on the entire work was aimed at Dr. Nevin by Dr. Joseph F. Berg, pastor of the Reformed Church in Philadelphia, and editor of the *Protestant Banner*. He was a popular preacher and writer, and one of the leaders among the ultra-Protestant champions of the times. He had lectured against the errors of the Church of Rome, published some books on the subject, and believed with many others of his day, that it was the synagogue of Satan, without any claims whatever to be called a Christian Church. He was in such a state of mind that he could not endure any remark that in the least favored the "harlot" of Rome, and when anything of the kind occurred, he became almost as much excited as some of Cromwell's soldiers when they saw the sign of the cross borne by the Papal legions in Flanders. He had heard from an ex-monk, whom he had converted and sent to Mercersburg for the purpose of studying theology, that Dr. Nevin had taught in the Seminary that the Church of Rome was a part of the Church

of Christ, and that Christ was really and truly present in the Lord's Supper. The convert, who had been congratulating himself on his escape from the kingdom of darkness, was surprised to learn that he had not been as much in the hands of Satan as he had supposed, and reported what he had heard to his pastor and patron in Philadelphia. This piece of information, together with the reading of the Inaugural treatise, had its effect on the mind of Dr. Berg, and he resolved to meet and crush at once what he regarded as serious error or heresy in the teachings of the Seminary at Mercersburg. To this he was urged on by his sympathizers in his own and other churches, as well as by his position as one of the great anti-Catholic champions of the day. For this purpose he employed the *Protestant Banner*, of which he had the control, the organ of a considerable amount of the anti-Catholic phrensy of the time. From its battlements the first gun was discharged in a theological controversy which extended over a number of years. The first report was sharp, quick, inconsiderate, and injudicious.

The charge was made not in the way of a review or criticism of Dr. Nevin's published views, but rather in the form of an arraignment against him of a breach of trust in his official capacity as theological professor in the Reformed Church, sworn to teach according to the Heidelberg Catechism. The design of the impeachment seemed to be to show that such a professor was unworthy of his position, as one who had abused the confidence reposed in him by the Church. These charges appearing in the *Protestant Banner* contrary to canon law, were probably intended as merely preliminary to a more formal arraignment before the tribunal of the Synod, which was to meet a few months afterwards in October. So Dr. Nevin doubtless understood it; at any rate he had made his reply in three extended articles in the *Messenger*, before the end of August, which were read with interest and concern throughout the Churches.

He styled his articles "Pseudo-Protestantism," in which he sought not merely to defend his own position, but vigorously to attack that other form of Protestantism itself in which his opponent stood and derived much of his popularity. In other words, whilst the coasts at home were defended, the war was carried into Africa. The charge in general was that he was guilty of a "*Romanizing tendency*;" but that is something vague, and is sometimes applied to those holding doctrines or customs in common with the Catholic Church, to those who maintain the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as to those who observe the order of festivals in the church

year. Dr. Nevin therefore had to inquire what exactly was meant by it. After sifting the somewhat declamatory indictment he found two specific charges, to which he felt himself bound to give his attention; one was that he taught that the Roman Catholic Church was a part of the Church of Christ, and the other that he held a real spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper.

In reply he maintained that a distinction was to be made between a *pure* and a *true* church of Christ. A church might be very impure, with error and corruptions in it, and very little piety, and yet be legitimately and properly called a Christian Church. Where the ministry is regular, the word of God preached, and the sacraments administered, the body still possesses the attributes of a true Church, and no one has a right to deprive it of all Christian character. The Roman Church possesses all these,—with errors and many human traditions, which are believed to be in conflict with the spirit of the Gospel; but it is no part of Protestant or Reformed orthodoxy to maintain that it, with its millions of children, has lost all claim to be called a Christian body. This unchurches by far the larger part of Christendom, including the Greek as well as the Roman Churches, something which none of the Reformers attempted to do. With them it was not an object to destroy the Church of the previous ages, but to accomplish its reformation by the removal of old errors or the dead accumulations of the past, and the renewal of its youth, by the infusion of the spirit of the Gospel into the hearts of all Christians.

Such views of the Catholic Church, both charitable and liberal, were regarded at the time by many persons as bordering on serious heresy, and subjected those who dared to utter them to the suspicion of being in secret sympathy with the "man of sin" at Rome, if not of some want of loyalty to republican institutions. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Cincinnati had, after a long and warm discussion, decided, with a considerable degree of unanimity, that Romish baptism was not valid, and therefore no baptism at all. That seemed to settle the question once and for ever, and the Presbyterian papers, even the most conservative ones among them, without any reservation approved of the decision, which left Roman Christians in as bad a condition as the unbaptized heathen. It was fully abreast of the decisions of the Pope himself, when he yearly anathematizes the Protestants and cuts them off from all communion with the Church of Christ, although admitting at the same time that their baptism is valid and affirming that they are only his stray children. A short time afterwards,

however, Professor Charles Hodge, of Princeton, in a learned and vigorous article in the *Princeton Review*, on the other hand, went on to prove the validity of Romish baptism, in direct opposition to the new utterance of the Assembly. The arguments were unsailable, drawn out in the pure diction and convincing logic of which Dr. Hodge was master. His arguments are derived from history, by which he shows successfully that the validity of Romish baptism has all along been taught by the Protestant churches, and to maintain the contrary is a novelty, if not in itself a serious error; and to defend this latter is to assert that Romish priests are not ordained ministers, and that the Church of Rome is in no sense a Christian Church.

"To deny the validity of the ordinances of the Catholic Church," says Dr. Hodge, "we must unchurch almost the whole Christian world; and Presbyterians, instead of being the most Catholic Church, admitting the being of a Church, wherever we see the fruits of the Spirit, would become one of the narrowest and most bigoted of sects. Indeed, we cannot but regard this sudden denunciation of Romish baptism as a momentary outbreak of Popery itself; a disposition to contract the limits of the Church, and to make that essential to its being and sacraments which God has never declared to be necessary."

Dr. Nevin commented at large on the utterance from Princeton, regarded it as most opportune, and as a deserved rebuke of the "madness of the Assembly," under the circumstances. He then proceeds to analyze the spirit from which it proceeded in his usual vigorous style.

"It is not to be disguised that the whole interest of Protestantism itself at the present time is brought into great danger by a false tendency, which has sprung up by perversion out of the system itself, and now threatens to carry all hopelessly in its new direction. This tendency in its relation to Romanism is simply negative, revolutionary and destructive. It sees in the Roman Church no good whatever, but absolute evil only. The whole life of the Reformation for it holds not in any direct historical continuation with the previous state of the Church, but only as an abrupt breach with this, involving a new order of existence altogether. Hence follows a want of all right respect for history; and with it the loss of every proper conception of the Church, as an organic continuous development of the life of Jesus Christ. The general is made to sink below the claims of the individual and particular. With this again is found to prevail a shallow rationalistic turn of mind, to which all

that is deep in the positive life of religion becomes offensive or suspicious, as savoring of mysticism. In this way the tendency may run into neology or infidelity, but this is by no means necessary. Where circumstances require, it can hold as well in connection with the most orthodox forms of belief. The false spirit, however, that actuates this kind of opposition to Romanism must be more or less evident to every serious mind. It is mighty to pull down in its own way, but has no power to build up, or even to preserve what is already built. It is ready to make common cause with almost any interest, no matter how bad it may be theologically, if it only rage against the papal Church. All is wrong for it and only wrong on the side of popery, and all is right for it on its own side. Hence it is loveless, harsh—a new incarnation in fact of the papacy itself. It out-popes the Pope himself, in this respect. And this is called contending manfully for the truth against the man of sin. Such is the character of Pseudo-Protestantism when it comes to anything like a full development of its proper life.

“Protestantism doubtless includes a negative distinction force towards the errors of Rome. But it does not stand in any such force, as such. It becomes negative only by being in the first place positive, the power of a new life, struggling to surmount all that would hinder it in its free growth. So it was with Luther. The fanatics and infidels of his day occupied a wholly different position. They were negative and negative only. But Luther was first positive, and then, only, as the consequence of this, negative. And the true spirit of Protestantism remains the same to this day. So at the present time, beyond all doubt, one of the most effective allies, which Romanism finds among us, is precisely this form of opposition to its power. One might almost suspect some of our noisiest ranters against Rome to be themselves paid emissaries of the Pope. By doing all that in them lies to turn Protestantism into the form of mere negation and contradiction, they caricature its true life, and bring into peril all that constitutes its tone, strength and glory.

“But is not Popery Antichrist, the Man of Sin, and so on,” Dr. Nevins asks. “If this is allowed,” he then says, “very properly it does not follow that the Roman Church is without Christianity. Antichrist is always represented as revealing himself *in the Church*. He began to manifest himself even in the days of the Apostles. He is widely active also in the Protestant Church as well as in the Church of Rome. Let the Papacy be counted as bad as any one may choose to make it, still it is not as such the Roman Catholic

Church. There is a clear distinction to be made between Popery and the Church of which Rome is the acknowledged centre; a distinction admitted by every one who is at all authorized, in point of historical knowledge, to have any opinion in the case. The Catholic Church stood before the Reformation under the yoke of Popery; the same Church now stands, mainly at least, *Reformed* and free, under the Protestant banner. To the Reformation, in the language of another, we owe the high privilege of being *Catholic*, and yet not *Roman*—‘One side of the relation between the two Churches is,’ says Professor Hengstenberg, ‘that was before, in some measure, cast into the shade, is now brought into clearer light by the pressure of modern rationalism. The great controversy with infidelity, belonging to both in common, requires that attention should always be fixed, from either side on points of agreement, as well as on points of difference.’ Not to do this *now*, is a far more serious fault than ever before. To fail in recognizing Christ where He is present, is *always* dangerous, but most especially where the circumstances of the times make this so easy, that one must violently close his eyes not to see this fact.”

Having disposed of the first charge of a Romanizing tendency, preferred by his friend Dr. Berg, Dr. Nevin then proceeds in reply to the second, and sums up his defense by maintaining the following thesis: “That it forms no part of the orthodoxy of the Reformed Church to deny the spiritual real presence of Christ in the Lord’s Supper; but on the contrary, to do so is a serious departure from the true and proper faith of the Church.”

The reply to this part of the accusation was much more a defense of what was considered the Reformed or Calvinistic view of the Lord’s Supper, over against prevalent views of the subject, than anything like a personal defense of the writer himself. Primarily, the question was whether the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist entered into the creed of the Reformed Church; but naturally the subject required that its absolute truth, under a theological view, should also be considered. Respect had to be had to its logical ground and constitution throughout in the system. There the personal character of the controversy was lost sight of in the discussion of one of the profoundest questions in theology, and the opponent, Dr. Berg, was left in the background. Thus the rejoinder became a learned article, which would have strengthened and dignified the pages of a theological quarterly.

“The doctrine in question,” writes Dr. Nevin nearly one-half of a century ago, “is one of vast importance. There can be no surer

evidence of the want of theological earnestness than the style in which some allow themselves to look down upon the whole sacramental controversy as the fruit of ignorance and superstition, the mournful folly of a by-gone age. Whether men see it or not, that controversy enters into the very core of Christianity. It is not owing so much to our piety, or to the great extent of our knowledge, most assuredly, that we have come for the most part to have so little trouble about it, as compared with the Church of the sixteenth century. It is the result rather of a shallow rationalistic tendency, which has come to prevail too generally in our religious thinking. It betrays the most miserable superficiality both of heart and mind, to suppose that either Luther or Calvin was here influenced by an unfree prejudice, carried over blindly from the darkness of popery, and standing in no inward connection with their faith in other respects. Both were spiritually bound by a force which they had no power to break. The inmost life of religion was felt to be staked on the question. And this feeling was sound and true. The sacramental question *does* involve the main life of religion itself.

“For what is religion? Not a creed nor a well-ordered life. Not simply pious sentiments and affections. All these belong to it; but in the form of Christianity as distinguished from every lower form of religion, it is more than all this. It stands in a living union with the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. In this view, it is a new order of life by which the man is apprehended in the very centre of his person, and made the subject of a process that transforms his whole nature into a new type. This process commences with regeneration and terminates in the resurrection at the last day, renovating the entire man, body as well as soul. It is a new and higher form of *humanity* that is thus brought to prevail in the believer, over the fallen and corrupt nature he has inherited from Adam. And as such it flows over to his person only from Christ, who is the second Adam, and in this respect stands in the same relation to our race precisely as the first. The new creation begins wholly in His person. In Him the Word became Flesh, incorporated itself with humanity that it might become the life of men; and this end is now secured only as the humanity thus exalted in Christ—not for Himself but for our race—is carried over by the Holy Ghost into the persons of those who are united to Him by faith. The union of the believer with Christ then is not a legal union simply; nor is it simply a moral union, holding in intimate and free correspondence of thought and affection. It is rather a union that in-

volves oneness of nature, a participation on the side of believers in the life of Christ substantially considered. But this life is at the same time *human* life, and if communicated at all, it must be communicated in this form. The mystical union of believers with Christ then includes a participation, not simply in His spirit, but also in His body; since the idea of humanity, that it is spirit only, and not body at the same time, must be considered a sheer abstraction, a contradiction in fact that overthrows itself. Our union with Christ inserts us into His humanity as a whole; not merely into His spirit as such and not merely into His body as such; but into His person as the living union of both.

"The *modus* of this union we cannot be expected of course to understand or explain. It is mystical and in its nature incomprehensible. But do we understand any better the *modus* of our participation in the proper humanity of Adam? To say that it is by means of our descent from Him in the way of natural birth explains nothing. That is simply the form in which the fact holds; as in the other case it holds in the form of our new birth by the Holy Ghost. But the fact is no more intelligible in the one case than in the other.

"Of the fact, however, we ought not to entertain any doubt, as it lies at the very ground of our salvation. Humanity itself must first be raised into union with God, and we can be saved only as we become incorporated with it by grace in this form. Christ accordingly appeared in the world, not simply that He might be the occasion of life to men, but as the principle and source of life in the fullest sense. He became flesh, not simply as a helper, but that He might gather us up in Himself by inward union with His nature, and so redeem us from all death as well as from all sin. *He is* the resurrection and the life. We can have no life then, except as we are made to partake substantially, not in the doctrine, not in the promise, not in His merits simply, but in His very life itself under its human form, so as to be found in the end to be 'bone of His bone and flesh of His flesh.'

"This view of the union between Christ and believers has entered deeply into the consciousness of the Church in all ages, in proportion precisely to the measure of its religious earnestness; and it will continue to be so to the end of time. There can be no deep Christianity without it. Where it is denied it will be found invariably, on close inquiry, that a false rationalistic element has crept in and begun to corrupt the truth at the expense of its living power. Such a spirit will know of nothing but a simply moral con-

nection, the same in kind with the relation of a pious Jew to Moses, his venerated lawgiver. All beyond this is set down at once for unintelligible *mysticism*. But then is not the Incarnation of the everlasting Word mysticism in the same sense and to the same extent? Both facts, the Incarnation of Christ and the insertion of believers into the new form of humanity thus constituted in His person, stand in the same relation to reason. Properly speaking, we say that both facts are at bottom but one and the same fact. The idea of the Incarnation of the Word that was to be restricted in its force to the separate person of a single man, to be known afterwards as an isolated miracle in the general stream of human history, is utterly unbiblical, and must necessarily evaporate into a Gnostic phantom in the end. The Incarnation was for the race; and only as we embrace it in this view as a permanent fact in the history of humanity, by which the whole life of the Word made flesh is still continued and perpetuated in the Church to the end of the world, can the doctrine be said to have any lodgement in our hearts. Men deceive themselves, I repeat it, when they pretend to give full credit to this central fundamental fact of Christianity as exhibited in the Head of the Church, and yet raise the cry of mysticism when they hear of an extension of the power of this fact to the body, for which the Head may be said to exist."

The writer then goes on to say, that the subject of the union between Christ and believers, as the core and marrow of all true divinity, connects itself vitally with the sacramental question. The one determines the other by a necessary sequence. The sacraments are related to the inmost idea of the Christian life. Our view of them, therefore, will always correspond with the view we take of the nature of this life. If the latter is low and rationalistic, the former will possess the same general rationalistic character. No one believing that the life of Christ is also the life of the believer can believe that the sacraments are mere signs by which the Church is simply reminded of an *absent* Saviour. If the Incarnation of the Divine Word is a permanent fact, and no mere transient phantasm in the history of humanity, the power of a new human life, developing itself in humanity organically in the Church from age to age, then the sense of a real, present, human Christ in these ordinances must come to prevail at the same time, as its necessary consequence.

"Such a connection as this has pervaded the Christian Church, more or less, in all ages, but never more so than during the period of the Reformation. It was then a vital question upon which all

others seemed to turn, and it led to more earnest discussion than any other among the Reformers. They rejected transubstantiation as an explanation of the great mystery. This presented it in the light of a magical operation, according to which the bread and wine, while they retain their common sensible properties, are actually transmuted, so far as their essence is concerned, into the very body and blood of Christ. But whilst the intelligence as well as the Christian consciousness of the Reformers to a man rejected such a theory as this, which was simply human, they all clung to the sublime mystery with a tenacity which amidst the wide-spread unbelief and rationalism of the age was something remarkable. Luther, who, in this matter, exhibited a heroic faith, no matter whether in conflict with his natural understanding or not, here occupied the *right wing* in this long controversy, holding what has been, perhaps improperly, called the theory of consubstantiation or impanation, attributed to his followers."

The hero-Reformer of Switzerland, Ulric Zwingli, the Apostle of humanism as well as of the new faith, on the other hand, occupied the *left wing* of the great sacramentarian controversy. The tendency as a reactionary force was intense, sufficient to carry along with it ordinary minds, not well ballasted, or rooted and grounded in the faith; but it had its triumphs and votaries in the course of time only among the Arminians of Holland and subsequently among the heartless rationalists of Germany. Zwingli, it is true, was charged with having bowed to the new Baal that was set up to separate Christ from his own appointments; but it was done with great injustice at the time of the Reformation, and in modern times also by some respectable writers, who regard him as the father of rationalistic views of the Eucharist which he would have repudiated in his day. It cannot be said truthfully that he, with all his concern to rescue the new faith from what he believed to be the dangerous mysticism of Luther's doctrine, discarded the real or true mystical union of Christ and believers either from the Christian system itself, or from the Lord's Supper, in some sense its embodiment. "We by no means," he says, "hold that Christ is absent from the Lord's Supper. His flesh and blood are the aliment of life. Unless our souls are fed with this food, they have no life." And he goes on to affirm: "Truly, but in a peculiar way, that is, sacramentally, we receive the body of Christ. For his flesh is in us, and we in Him, and quickens us as members to the Head." Much more might be quoted of like tenor to show that Zwingli did not consider the consecrated bread and wine as mere naked signs or symbols.

Dr. Ebrard in his "Dogma des Heiligen Abendmahls und seine Geschichte" has fully vindicated him from the imputation of such a shallow, rationalistic view of the inmost sanctuary of the Christian faith. The same truly learned work will show that the estimate given of him as a fanatical radical by such historians as Froude, without any correct knowledge of historical facts, is simply crude and imaginary. Still it must be admitted that Zwingli, in his zeal to eliminate old superstitions, did not always do himself justice in his statements of the sacramental mystery. He died a martyr on the field of battle whilst he was still comparatively young. Had he lived to be as old as the other Reformers, his eucharistic views, no doubt, would have grown in intensity, and the Church been still further edified by riper fruit from his commanding intellect.

By the force of circumstances and the progress or development of the Reformation itself, Calvin on the Reformed side and Melancthon on the Lutheran were brought to occupy a central position in the theological army, called out to defend the true eucharistic faith. After the two wings had spent their strength and found themselves fighting each other instead of the common enemy in an antagonism, which should have been only an antithesis, they gave up the struggle for the time being. During a sort of a lull in the conflict the two distinguished theologians, just mentioned, came forth from the centre and for a time commanded the field. Calvin could not be satisfied with Zwingli's view of the Lord's Supper, and the same was true of Melancthon in regard to what was claimed to be the distinctive Lutheran view. They both allowed themselves to advance to a higher stand-point from which the old antagonism might be happily reconciled. Their doctrines on the Lord's Supper were virtually the same, with only a slight coloring derived from the school or system in which each one stood.

After the death of Zwingli, Calvin became the most distinguished representative of the Reformed faith, and his view of the Lord's Supper, as the result of a normal growth, became the doctrine of the Reformed Church. With numerous quotations from his Institutes, Dr. Nevin accordingly shows that his sacramental views, for which he had been charged by his opponent with serious error, heresy, and a Romanizing tendency, were simply those of Calvin himself. With Calvin only through the medium of faith could any one partake of the Saviour's person, whilst partaking of His holy ordinance. Still, however, the participation was viewed as real, and as effected also by a force belonging to the sacrament itself,

which, of course, would be impossible or magical, unless as the sacrament is regarded as made up of two things, the inward no less than the outward. The bond uniting the visible sign with the invisible grace was not considered to be simply a mental act on the part of the worshipper, but a true objective connection of the one with the other; only this sacramental relation, it was held, could not itself exist except for the apprehension of faith. As divine truth is not created by any state of the soul itself, so the real presence of Christ in the Supper was regarded as a fact mysteriously involved in the nature of the Sacrament itself, and not something brought into it by faith or any force of its own, apart from the ordinance viewed in its own particular form.

Calvin has been strangely charged with teaching that the *soul* of the believer feeds on the literal mortal body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, as these existed before his death and resurrection, as if an immaterial Spirit could literally eat material flesh, a greater absurdity than consubstantiation itself. Of course he never taught anything of the kind, and probably no one else did.

"He does indeed speak of the *flesh* of Christ as having a vivifying virtue, and insists of course upon a spiritual manducation in the case as distinguished from such as is simply corporeal. It may be admitted too that his psychology is not altogether satisfactory. But it is perfectly plain that by the life-giving flesh of the Saviour, he always means His glorified humanity; and that he considers this vivifying virtue for the race as being generic in its nature, and the fountain thus of a new form of human nature. The Word, the true and proper life of the world, became flesh in Christ, that is, took humanity into union with itself, that our nature thus raised and quickened might be carried over afterwards into the persons of His people, transforming them into his own image, and making them meet for heaven. This requires of course an actual participation in His life, His flesh and His blood; that is, in His real humanity, which thus becomes the root and ground of all true life for the race. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is, therefore, especially intended to advance this object. It is the communion of the body and blood of Christ. In partaking of the elements with proper faith we are brought by the power of the Holy Ghost into actual communication with His person, and made partakers of His full humanity as the true life for our fallen natures. Thus according to Calvin, we are not only reminded of Christ, not made to partake merely of His spirit by the Sacrament, but notwithstanding the distance that separates Him from us, as He is in heaven and we on

earth, it serves to insert us more and more into His person, and to make us one with Him in the very substance of His life."

The position taken by Dr. Nevin that Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper was the doctrine of the Reformed Church was disputed at the time. This led to the publication of the "Mystical Presence" in 1846, and subsequently to the controversy with Dr. Charles Hodge, Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary in 1848, of which we shall speak more fully hereafter. Both had their root and origin in the articles we are here considering, written during the hot weather of August, 1845.

After a full and exhaustive defense of himself against the two charges of serious error preferred against him as a professor of theology, Dr. Nevin went on to assault the castle from which the weapons were hurled against him, and he did it with no less vigor than when he stood merely on the defensive. His analysis of the spirit of a negative and false Protestantism is thorough, keen, and incisive; his description of its abnormal activity graphic, and his polemics generally so clear and forcible, that most persons of any degree of sensitiveness could tell whether any part of the language applied to their superficial system or not.

"This particular case, just considered," he says, "is an exemplification of the spirit of a system, against which there is special need that the Church should be warned at this time. Without any inward hold on the life principles of the Reformation, it claims to be its most true and legitimate offspring on the ground simply of its blind negational zeal against all that belongs to Rome. Like every other movement of the same sort, whose essence holds in mere contradiction and destruction, it is fanatical, intolerant and unfree. Being of this character, as it includes no light, so it carries with it no power; that is, no power to do good, though it is sufficient for much evil. It wrongs the cause it affects to serve, and contributes most effectually in the end to build up the interest it seeks to pull down. There is no spirit whose general prevalence in the Church needs more to be deprecated. The salvation of Protestantism depends on its being preserved from the mastery of this false power. Its full triumph would seal the fate of the Reformation, and make the whole work a failure.

"At the same time it is becoming continually more clear that this false Protestantism is gaining ground in the Church, and that Romanism is waxing more rabid and fanatical of late in its bearing towards the Evangelical Church than has been the case since the period immediately following the Reformation. It is needless to

multiply specifications of the various forms of the same general evil which may be seen to be actively at work in various directions. Low views of the Church; low views of the sacraments; small account of the living *person* of Christ compared with Christian doctrine; a disposition to undervalue all history as an objective authority in any view; a tendency to resolve all religion into a mere naked spiritualism, without regard to the claims of the body; a blind misconception of the principle of authority; all this and things of the same sort, we meet with plentifully.

“It is truly surprising, when one is brought to contrast the Present with the Past in an intelligent form, to find at how many points and to what a material extent much that now claims to be Protestant truth has come to differ from the Protestantism of the sixteenth century. In the last General Assembly, already referred to, the argument against Romish Baptism was conducted, to a considerable extent, on a view of the nature of the Church, which involved a similar sacrifice of the true Reformed theory in favor of the lowest independency. The necessity of an organic historical connection of the Christianity of our age with the Christianity of all preceding ages, back to the times of the Apostles, seemed by some not to be apprehended at all. This was carried so far even as the supposition, that the connection might be wholly interrupted—run under ground, as it was said—for entire centuries; leaving the Church in this way to take a new start as in the beginning from the Bible, and a self-sprung private piety. The Church is thus openly sunk to the conception of a mere aggregation of individuals; and is represented to be something which may be wholly originated at any time *de novo*, if need be, by the activity of individual Christianity, holding no connection whatever with its previous life. In this country particularly, it is not to be denied that the Congregational element, brought in through New England, has materially modified the current views of theology and the Church in every section of the *Reformed* communion, to say nothing of the *Lutheran*, in the case of which the metamorphosis is more noticeable still. The system of thought may be at home in Puritan New England, but it is not sound Presbyterianism.

“The spirit against which these articles are particularly directed, while it is foreign to the true life of Protestantism in every form, must be felt by all who are acquainted with the case to be most especially so to the true life of the *German Reformed Church*. Even if the whole Presbyterian body and our brethren of the Low Dutch communion should unfortunately be overpowered by the

wrong tendency, which I trust, however, will never be the case, it would only be the more incumbent on our own denomination, although one of the least among the tribes of Israel, to stand fast by the old landmarks and resolutely reject every influence, whether from without or from within, that may tend to overthrow our denominational identity, as the most direct and legitimate succession of the Reformed Church in these United States."

Dr. Nevin wrote these articles with great dignity and earnestness throughout, losing sight in a great measure of his assailant in the discussion of what he regarded as high and important principles. In conclusion, confident in the position that he occupied, he maintained that the charge of heresy or serious error lay not so much at his own door as at that of his opponent, Dr. Berg. The attack, taken in its connections, had the form of a loud, solemn alarm, the object of which was to create the impression in the Church, that he had betrayed his official position as a theological professor by introducing "strange doctrines and *Romanizing* errors," which he regarded as an "ecclesiastical libel." We have here given the drift of the articles in somewhat extended quotations, because, as facts of history, they are of general interest at the present day, and because they will serve to prepare the mind of the reader for an intelligent understanding of much that is to follow in these pages hereafter.

CHAPTER XXIV

ONE week after the last of the articles on Pseudo-Protestantism appeared in the *Weekly Messenger*, the Classis of Philadelphia held its semi-annual meeting, at which a committee, with Dr. Berg as chairman, was appointed to examine the Principle of Protestantism, and to give its judgment of its character. The report consisted of five resolutions, which were supposed to constitute a short confession of the faith of the Classis, on what it regarded as points in dispute. The Committee affirmed that the Scriptures were the only rule of faith and practice, and that the Bible was not to be undervalued under any circumstances in favor of human addition or tradition; that faith in Christ is the life-giving principle of Christianity, and that under no circumstances may the efficacy of the sacraments be represented as superior to that of faith; that the sentiment that the sacraments do not depend for their efficacy upon the spiritual state of the receiver, as contravening the great truth that the sacraments without faith are unavailing, as in the case of Judas; that we derive our religious life from Christ by the truth through the quickening influence of the Spirit; and that whilst the ordinances of the Church are channels through which blessings are conveyed, they cannot confer religious life; and that Christ is not bodily, but only spiritually present with his people to the end of time. The last resolution gathers up the doctrine of the Classis in regard to the Lord's Supper under the following points: that this institution is intended to remind us of Christ's death until He come; that His presence is not corporeal as it was in the days of His flesh; that it is not human, but divine and spiritual; and that in all cases in which the flesh and blood of Christ are said to be received in the Supper, the language is to be understood symbolically and not literally.

After the adoption of these resolutions another was added, affirming that inasmuch as it was believed by many that sentiments contrary to the above essential doctrines of God's word were inculcated in a work entitled the Principle of Protestantism, the attention of the Synod be called to the work in question. These sweeping resolutions were adopted by a two-third vote. The minority contented themselves with simply putting on record their testimony that the Principle of Protestantism did not teach any heretical principles,

or doctrines contrary to the faith of the Reformed Church, leaving it to the Synod to decide whether the Classis was striking at facts or at a man of straw. But then, as if to make assurance doubly sure and to relieve themselves of all further responsibility for what they regarded as dangerous heresy, the majority adopted one more article of faith, offered by the Rev. Jacob Helfenstein.

Resolved, That in accordance with the general sentiments of the Protestant Church, we regard the *Papal System* as the great apostasy under the Christian dispensation, "the man of sin," "the mystery of iniquity," "the mother of abomination of the earth," and, as such, destined to utter and fearful destruction. See 1 Tim. 4 : 1-3, 2 Thess. 1 : 7-12, 2 Thess. 2 : 3-4, 2 Thess. 1 : 8, and Rev. 18th and 19th chapters. This declaration was for the benefit especially of Dr. Schaff, who thought that on this point he was in sympathy with the Protestant Church in Germany at least. It is here given in full as it will serve to throw light on the nature of the pending controversy, and furnish the stand-point of a considerable fraction of well meaning Protestants in this country at the time. It is not likely, however, that it would have been adopted by the Protestantism of both hemispheres generally.

Soon after the adjournment of the Classis of Philadelphia, the Classis of East Pennsylvania held a special meeting in Northampton county, and among its items of business was one that had reference to the charges against the Professors at Mercersburg. The members were nearly all German pastors, serving large charges, advanced in years and experience, upright, full of integrity and love for their Church, conservative and not without solid learning, such as Pomp, Hoffeditz, Becker, Hess, Dubbs, Zuilch and others. In many respects they represented fully the spirit and traditions of their Church, as these had come from their learned predecessors who had come from Germany. They lived mostly in rural districts and were to some extent separated by language and circumstances from the outside world of thought; but "as they had been diligently supplied with papers, in which the Professors' sentiments were misrepresented and then severely condemned, they were prepared to act intelligently—with both sides of the question before them." After due reflection and examination of the published views of the Professors, on motion of Dr. Jacob Christian Becker, a learned teacher of theology, the venerable fathers decided that "those views rightly understood fully agreed with the prevailing sentiments of the Church and that the Professors had been unjustly and unconstitutionally attacked; that the Roman Catholic Church had always

been regarded in some sense as a part of the Christian Church, although exceedingly corrupt; and that the modern English Puritan view of the Lord's Supper is as far from the doctrine of the Reformed Church, and of its apprehension of the Heidelberg Catechism, as that which Luther illustrated with the red-hot iron." The delegates to Synod were accordingly instructed to express the views of the Classis at the approaching meeting of the Synod in regard to all questions that were in dispute.

In the meantime, the Principle of Protestantism was discussed in the papers from both points of view; by Dr. Nevin, in an exhaustive article in defence of Dr. Schaff on Protestantism, and by others in a somewhat alarmist style, as if the Address were a Pandora's box. Dr. Elias Heiner, of Baltimore, feared that "the Church was on the eve of a rupture. It was being agitated by the dissemination of views, and the discussions of questions, which no one, a year ago, even imagined would ever disturb our peace." Most of the Presbyterian papers took sides with Dr. Berg, whilst Episcopal papers noticed the Inaugural favorably, and even Catholic and Unitarian organs regarded it as a work of merit, which, with some nervous people, was sufficient to condemn it at once. It was a period of no little excitement, something like an ecclesiastical cyclone in the Reformed Church which extended considerably beyond its own boundaries. Dr. Kurtz, probably still smarting under the blows he had received in a former controversy, gave aid and comfort to Dr. Berg and his friends, as a matter of course; but he represented only a part of his denomination, and the Lutherans, perhaps as a whole, sustained the Mercersburg Professors, fully conscious that the battle raging on the Reformed side would inure to their benefit, something which turned out to be the case. They were the most interested and disinterested spectators, and some of them admiring Dr. Schaff's learning and ability expressed the wish that they might have Dr. Schaff, or some one like him, to help them fight out their own battles.

The Synod met in the old town of York, in Central Pennsylvania, and the representative men of the Church were in attendance with many others. The advisory members, brought together by a common interest in the meeting, exceeded in number the regular delegates. Corresponding delegates from sister Churches, Lutheran, Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian, were also present and took their seats on the floor of Synod. The action of the Classis of Philadelphia in due season came up through the report of the Committee on Classical minutes, and was classified among irregularities. It

was properly maintained that charges, or charges virtually implied, affecting the standing or orthodoxy of theological professors, ought first to be brought before the Board of Visitors of the Seminary for adjudication, and in case their judgment should not be regarded as satisfactory, then an appeal to Synod for its decision could be legally made. This was regarded as a necessary safeguard to protect the reputation of the Professors. If a Classis could make charges against them, spread them before the world in the public prints, and argue the case before the Synod was called on to consider the case, then all ecclesiastical order would be at an end; and this view of the case was sustained by the Synod. The Professors, however, were unwilling to take advantage of a mere technicality, and requested the Synod to allow the prosecution to proceed, which was granted. They had been arraigned before the bar of public opinion, and they wished to defend themselves before the only tribunal to which they were amenable, against what they regarded as unjust and false attacks against their theological standing in the Church.

The action of Classis was accordingly taken out of the column of irregularities and placed among the requests of the Classes, and as such it came before the Synod for its consideration. Thereupon it was referred to a committee, of which Dr. Bernard C. Wolff was chairman, consisting of eleven members; one from each of the ten Classes, and one from the Reformed Synod of Ohio. It was understood that after the report was presented for adoption or rejection, the way would be opened for discussion, and a wide range allowed for considering the character of the book which had been attacked. The report was prepared by the chairman, for which he was well qualified. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, of learning sanctified by a pious life, possessed of good judgment, known throughout the Church as conscientious in regard to soundness of doctrine, and considered by many as a standard of orthodoxy; and so it came to be felt that as long as he did not tremble for the ark, others had no occasion to fear for its safety. His report was able and exhaustive. It skilfully analyzed the action of the Philadelphia Classis, brought out clearly the charges of errors which it had brought against the book under consideration, and showed by copious quotations that they were not sustained by the text, that they were mere inferences, nonsequiturs, or gross exaggerations, and that the "action of the majority of Classis was marked by an entire absence of consideration and forethought in bringing them forward in their unauthorized way."

The Inaugural had defined tradition under three divisions; *ritual* tradition, which comprises the ancient customs of the Church pertaining to order and worship; *historical*, which refers to the testimony of Christian antiquity in favor of the genuineness of the sacred books; the *dogmatic moral*, comprehending doctrines ascribed to Christ or the Apostles which the book rejects; and the *formal dogmatic* tradition, including the Apostles' Creed, the œcumenical creeds of Nice and Athanasius, the onward development of Church doctrine and Church life from age to age, to which must be added the Protestant symbols, which express the faith of Protestantism or its apprehension of the contents of the Scriptures. "The Roman tradition on the other hand," says Dr. Schaff, "is the Pandora box from the lid of which has escaped all the corruptions, abuses and superstitions which have afflicted the Church." But whilst valid tradition is of great importance and value to the Church, and under its formal dogmatical form relatively indispensable, he, as the professed defender of Protestantism, nevertheless asserts with emphasis that the *Word of God* is the highest norm and *rule* by which to measure all human truth, all ecclesiastical tradition, and all synodical decrees. In the light of statements such as these, the report alleged "that the resolution of the Classis, implying that the book denied that the Scriptures were the only rule of faith; that it did not regard the Scripture as fundamental to the existence of Christianity; and that it undervalued the Scripture in favor of human tradition, was not justified by the facts in the case."

The allegation that it denied that faith is the life-giving principle of Christianity, is contradicted by the fact that the author makes justification by faith the material principle of the Reformation. If the Classis had said that Christ himself is such a life-giving principle it would have expressed a better theology. Dr. Schaff, in one place, speaking of the extreme subjectivity of the age, had said that "the sacraments have been forgotten or practically undervalued in favor of faith," which to the Classis seemed to affirm that the efficacy of the sacraments was superior to faith, which was a manifest non sequitur. Incidentally, in another place, he had spoken of "the importance of the sacraments as objective institutions, that hang not in the precarious state of the subject," and this was supposed to contravene the great truth, that the sacraments without faith are unavailing. But the committee could see no sentiment to the contrary after a careful examination of the book itself. "As objective institutions, appointed by Christ Himself, have they no force or efficacy in themselves? Is there no *inward* grace

or power of which they are the outward signs, according to the doctrine of the Reformed Churches generally? Are the sacraments mere forms and ceremonies, and if so, whence proceeds their virtue, which the recipient experiences subjectively by the exercise of faith?"

The fourth resolution of Classis affirmed that it was a fundamental doctrine that Christians derive their religious life from Christ by the Truth, through the quickening influence of the Spirit, and that the ordinances of the Church, although channels through which blessings are conveyed, cannot confer grace. But the committee, after diligent search, could not find anything in the Inaugural that taught the contrary of *these* statements. It even emphasized the necessity of faith in Christ, "in order that the contents of Scripture might live in the heart by the power of the Holy Ghost accompanying the Word, and that the works of the believer are good only as they are wrought in Him and through Him by the Spirit of God."

The last resolution, as we have seen, makes the Lord's Supper simply a memorial of Christ's sufferings and death, affirms that the presence of Christ in His Sacrament is no longer human, but only divine and spiritual, and asserts that in all cases in which the Flesh and Blood of Christ are received in the Supper, the language is to be understood symbolically and not literally. But it so turned out that the book nowhere discussed the Sacrament of the Supper. Incidentally in one place it speaks of the "importance of the Sacraments as including a living actual presence of Christ for the purpose they are intended to secure, as real as that by which He stood among His disciples in the days of His flesh." The Philadelphia brethren consequently made for themselves a man of straw in order, as it seems, that they might get the credit of demolishing it with their ecclesiastical thunder. They, however, were well aware that the Professors held much higher views of the Holy Eucharist than they, and rightly concluded that they were somewhere hidden in the book, or involved in their teachings in regard to the Church. Here there was a wide difference, and the last complaint of the classical brethren, although technically without any foundation in fact, was allowed to stand in its place in their report. It gave the Synod and the Professors an opportunity to discuss not only the Church Question in general, but also the Sacramental Question in particular. It added much interest to the debate and proved to be highly edifying to all who listened to it.

The Committee concluded their report by saying that it was their

unanimous judgment that there was nothing in the book to justify the charges preferred against the Professors, or lead to the suspicion or fear that they were disposed to depart from the true Protestant stand-point; that fairly understood it was well calculated to promote the true interests of religion, and entitled the authors to the respect and affectionate regards of the Protestant community; that they deserved and should receive the warmest sympathy and cordial support of the friends of the Church in their earnest and untiring efforts to build up her Institutions and to advance her honor and welfare; and that it was a matter of regret that the Philadelphia Classis did not pursue the course indicated by the Constitution and sanctioned by the customs of the Church, in bringing to the notice of the Synod their complaints against the Theological Professors.

The report brought the whole subject before the Synod and a time was appointed for its consideration. The discussions, which lasted several days, were conducted with the utmost decorum and seriousness and were listened to by crowded houses. Dr. Berg, who was a master of sarcasm himself, cheerfully acceded to Dr. Nevin's request that everything of a personal or offensive character should be omitted in their speeches. Seldom, if ever, perhaps, was a warm theological debate carried forward with greater dignity or fewer appeals to vulgar prejudice. The ultra-Protestant feeling of the community was largely represented, and more or less in sympathy with the Classis and its representatives, but there was a large German element on hand which wished to hear who had the better side of the argument and were therefore thoughtful, discriminating listeners. Dr. Berg was a rhetorician, an elocutionist and a pleasant speaker, one who would arrest attention in any audience. Dr. Nevin was a logician, a learned theologian, and a speaker whose deep base tones of voice, with an occasional stoppage in his speech, as if his words were inadequate to the array of thoughts that demanded expression, was well calculated to secure the attention of those who valued the sense of things more than the sound of words. He was at this time not yet forty-three years of age, with a classic head, a forehead marked with the deep lines of thought, flashing eyes, and a vigorous growth of dark hair. As he stood before the Synod, and in his own commanding way discussed the deepest questions in theology, he would have presented a model that a painter or sculptor might have coveted. It is said that in the midst of an earnest discussion, with only a slight tinge of color in his face, an intense listener involuntarily remarked to his neighbor, "See, be-

hold the marble man." His address on this occasion was purely extemporaneous, and no notes were taken of its contents by individuals or reporters at the time. The substance of his remarks, however, will be found in this volume in what he said or wrote at other times concerning Tradition, the Sacraments, the Mystical Union, the Church Question, and other relative topics.

As a matter of course Dr. Schaff, who was more immediately responsible for the book that was on trial, took a prominent part in the discussions. He was considerably younger than Dr. Nevin, and received invaluable assistance from his American colleague, in his new surroundings in this country, on the floor of an American Synod. He was teeming with learning, quick in calling his knowledge into requisition, full of enthusiasm for German theology, and always ready to defend his Inaugural at whatever point the attack was made. At that time he was not yet able to express himself freely in the English language, and if he was at a loss for a word, his brethren around him were quick to supply him with the right one. He made a favorable impression upon the ministers generally, and confirmed them in their opinion that the Synod had been guided by a higher wisdom than their own in transferring him from the University of Berlin to the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg.

The discussion continued for two whole days, including the evening sessions, in which the ministerial delegates and elders alike took part and expressed themselves freely. When the vote on the adoption of the Committee's report came to be taken, it was found that forty members voted in the affirmative; and three, including Dr. Berg and two elders, in the negative, with one non-liquet. Dr. Berg was then allowed to enter a long protest on the minutes of the Synod, concluding with the memorable words of Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms: "Hier stehe ich. Ich kann nicht anders. Gott helfe mir," which in the circumstances were, of course, regarded by some at least as carrying in them more of bathos than of pathos. A reply to the Protest was prepared by a Committee of the Synod, of which the Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, one of the younger members, was chairman, which was also ordered to be put on record. Thus ended a contest in which Logic gained a signal victory over Rhetoric; and the historical life of the Reformed Church over the unchurchly, ultra-protestant elements which here sought to come in and guide the vessel of an old historic church.

The action of the Synod at York was an epoch full of significance. Composed as this body was of representative ministers and elders,

with a large number of advisory members in sympathy with it, it expressed clearly the mind of the Church at large in regard to the issue here made. It affirmed distinctly that the Professors at Mercersburg would be sustained and protected in their course, against any further trial or Synodical action for the theological views which they thus far had advanced. The whole subject, here earnestly and fully discussed on the floor of Synod, was thus removed from the ecclesiastical tribunal and passed over into the arena of theological discussion. The controversy, as we shall see, continued for a number of years afterwards, but under all its various phases, it embraced substantially the principles and views discussed on the floor of the Synod of York. What came to be called the "Mercersburg Theology" grew out of the ideas and doctrines embodied in the Principle of Protestantism, its Introduction and the Sermon on Catholic Unity, in more or less logical order, and carried with it, as far as it was consistent with these first principles, the protection of Synod. At times when the debate ran high and exaggerated fears were honestly entertained or unwisely encouraged as regards where it would end, outsiders, brethren in other churches, wondered why the matter was not settled at once; and at times uncalled for reflections were made upon the Church itself. But the Synod had done its part, and its liberality in allowing its professors to discuss the profound theological questions of the times with the amplest freedom, must appear now to disinterested persons as inuring to its credit rather than to any want of fidelity to its trust. The Heidelberg Catechism, the basis of its faith, is broad, liberal, catholic, and allows of more freedom for diversity of opinion on controverted points than most other religious confessions. A controversy, therefore, that might have been suppressed, in some other denominations, disgraceful to its leaders on the one side or the other, was in the nature of the case allowed to take its course in the Reformed Church, and each one of its distinguished and laborious professors was allowed to stand *rectus in Ecclesia*. It may be proper to add that the large array of ministers and elders, who supported the cause of progress and theological development at York, with few exceptions, remained true to their professions, and in other battle fields sustained the professors in their work. The fathers nearly all have fallen asleep, and the sons have now become the fathers in the Church.

CHAPTER XXV

THE Principle of Protestantism, whilst it was on trial before the Synod and afterwards, was extensively noticed by the religious papers and quarterlies, and its merits criticised favorably or unfavorably according to the stand-point or calibre of the reviewer. It was at a period when German theology was not generally understood in this country. Up to this time unfortunately much of it that had crossed the ocean was of questionable orthodoxy, or decidedly rationalistic, and so as a whole it came to be regarded with more or less suspicion. Dr. Schaff's first production, however, whilst it was one of ability and learning, was pervaded throughout with an evangelical spirit and regard for orthodoxy. It therefore commanded the attention of earnest and profound thinkers as well as of such as were superficial. The *Princeton Review* was among the first to give it a respectful notice, which was published in the *Messenger*, immediately after the proceedings of the Synod at York were given to the public. "The importance of the subject of which the book treated," said the reviewer, "the ability it displayed and the attention which it excited, all claimed for it an elaborate review, but circumstances, beyond the control of the writer, shut him up to the necessity of confining himself to a short notice." The writer, Dr. Charles Hodge, complains that the book, on account of its decidedly German character, was to him difficult to understand. He had read the whole of it over twice, and was far from being satisfied that he adequately comprehended it, especially that part of it which proceeded from the pen of Dr. Nevin. Of course the language was pure English, but the thoughts of both writers were certainly German.

The reviewer accordingly confines himself mainly to criticisms on some of the details of the book. He thinks that Dr. Schaff unduly magnifies the evils of the sect-system in this country. He also joins issue with him in reference to the comparative evils of Rationalism and Romanism. "With reference to the state of the Church in this country, Romanism is immeasurably more dangerous than infidelity." In Germany and Europe theologians regarded the latter as the greater of the two evils. Dr. Hodge admitted the principle of historical development as advocated by Dr. Schaff, although he apprehended it most likely from a somewhat different

point of view. "It is very plain," he says, "from this brief analysis of the book before us, that the impression that Dr. Nevin and Prof. Schaff are tending towards Puseyism, if by Puseyism be meant prelacy and Rome, and what is necessarily connected with them, is altogether unfounded. It would be suicidal in them, and entirely opposed to all their principles to step out of the line of historical development. In all this there is a great deal that is due to the peculiar philosophical and theological training of the writer; much that we do not understand and much with which we do not agree. And yet there is much that is healthful and encouraging."

It is somewhat remarkable that the Princeton reviewer made no reference to any position advanced by Dr. Nevin, either in the Introduction to the book or in the Sermon which served as an appendix. To have done so would have required a discussion of the whole subject which the limits of the article precluded. It was evident that Dr. Nevin had outgrown his Princeton training, and the reviewer probably thought best to suspend any criticism of his views until it was seen more clearly where he intended to land. His remarks, however, in regard to German theologians and philosophers in general, without exceptions to any of them in particular, was doubtless intended no less for Dr. Nevin's benefit than for that of his colleague. "We are afraid," he says, "of their confounding all the landmarks of truth, of leading men to see no difference between holiness and truth, sin and defect, fate and providence, a self conscious universe and our Father who is in heaven." This we suppose was regarded as a sufficient reply for the time being. "It is an immense error," Dr. Nevin had said, "that the Anglo-American order of religious life is all right, and the German life all wrong. What is needed is a judicious union of both, in which the true and good on the one side shall find its proper supplement in the true and good on the other side, and one-sided extremes stand mutually corrected and reciprocally restrained. Realism and Idealism, practice and theory, are both, separately taken, unsound and untrue. Our religious life and practice can be sound and strong, only in connection with a living, vigorous theology, which to be thus living and vigorous must be more than traditional. And if there be one country in the whole compass of the Church, where at this moment orthodox theology is not dead, but full of life and power, that country is Germany, the land of Luther and the glorious Reformation. We may hope then that it will be found sufficient for its own work. If accomplished at all, it will be a work for the whole Christian world; and we owe it to ourselves at least, to be willing to take ad-

vantage of it in its progress and to employ it for the improvement of our own position, if it can be so used. Thus much I have thought it proper to state on this point, merely to counteract, if possible, the poor prejudice that some may feel towards the present work, simply because of its German source and German complexion; as if all must needs be either rationalistic or transcendental, that breathes a thought in common with Hegel, or owns a feeling in sympathy with the gifted, noble Schleiermacher."

Other quarterly Reviews at the time noticed the new book, more or less favorably, and for the most part without any attempt to discuss its underlying principles, or to grapple earnestly with the great Church Question for the solution of which it was intended as an humble contribution. But to this remark there was at least one honorable exception. At the same time the article was published in the *Princeton Review*, another article appeared in the *Biblical Repository*, the principal organ of the New School Theology, which for the times and in the circumstances was in all respects a very remarkable one. Its author, Professor Taylor Lewis, was a lawyer by profession, but had devoted most of his attention to teaching, first in classical schools, and was at this time professor of Greek in the University of New York. He subsequently became professor of the Greek language, instructor in the oriental languages, and lecturer on Biblical and Oriental Literature at Union College, his Alma Mater. He was probably the most learned theologian among laymen in his day, as his books and contributions to theological literature would seem to indicate. He was one year older than Dr. Nevin, had graduated at Schenectady one year before he did, was a Christian Platonist, and a devout member of the Dutch Reformed Church. His review of the Principle of Protestantism was conceived in a broad and liberal spirit, and was decidedly the ablest and fairest that appeared at the time.

The writer goes on to say that "the Sermon and Introduction of Dr. Nevin are pervaded throughout with the same spirit and advocate substantially the same views as the Inaugural; in connection, however, with another topic, which may be regarded as the central truth, or, as some would say, the central error, that gives coherence and consistency to all the other opinions advanced. This is the doctrine of the real and vital, instead of a mere moral or figurative, union of believers to Christ. In close connection with this, is Dr. Nevin's peculiar view of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist; in which ordinance, this union, although not created, is supposed to be strengthened and perfected in a special manner. We say, Dr.

Nevin's *peculiar* view, because so regarded by most Protestants at the present day, although, as he contends, it may be found in nearly all the articles drawn up at the Reformation, and now forming the avowed standards of almost all our Orthodox Protestant Churches. Both writers, although viewing it from different positions, agree in regarding the Church Question as the great question of the day, and as by no means finding its proper solution in the present state of the Protestant denominations. In regard to ultra-Protestantism with its rationalizing and sectarian tendencies, both writers use language which may perhaps be thought to resemble what has been employed by Puseyites and even Romanist writers. This, however, as we think, is more in appearance than reality. However extravagant their doctrine in regard to the Church and the Sacraments may seem to some, in one thing it differs essentially and fundamentally from that of Rome or Oxford. We refer to the dogma of a mediating priesthood, which essentially changes the nature of the Church, and instead of exalting, actually degrades the Eucharist. Of this we find no traces in the work before us; and this alone creates an impassable gulf between the writers and those with whom they are, by some, confounded. They claim to be true, zealous and earnest Protestants—warm friends of the Reformation; and in a careful examination, we are disposed to concede to them this character in its fullest extent. They may be mistaken in some, even in many points, and in the chief of their positions, but of this one thing we have no doubt, they are honest Protestants, as sincere as any of those who would charge them with such Puseyite tendencies, and perhaps it may appear, more consistent than some who assume to be the great champions of the cause of the Reformation.

“Is Protestantism perfect? If no man will dare to say this, why should we call in question the sincerity of those professed friends of the Reformation, who contend that, in setting forth its ultra-tendencies, they are rendering the very best possible service to the cause they are charged with assailing? If it be said that in the present critical strife, it is unsafe to speak even in the most gentle terms of any defects or false tendencies belonging to our own side of these most momentous questions, we demur to any such position, as either just in itself or founded on any true notion of policy. If we are on the eve of a tremendous conflict, our first business should be to examine, if there are any weak points in our own position—not to proclaim them to the enemy, but that they may be remedied before the whole cause, with its immense over-balancing benefits, is thereby put in jeopardy.

"This is the position assumed by Prof. Schaff and Dr. Nevin. Nothing can be more purely evangelical than the manner in which Prof. Schaff sets forth that great article of Justification by Faith, in the positive announcement of which, as he contends, consisted the historical development of the Reformation; constituting it a real state of progress in the historical consciousness of the Church; a step from which, according to his peculiar theory, the Church can never recede. We think there is some degree of error and inconsistency in this theory of progress and development, of which our author is so fond. It is, however, sufficient for our present purpose to observe that the doctrine must forever place an impassable barrier between him and both branches of the anti-Protestant party, the one utterly disregarding the Reformation as a mere historical negative in the history of the Church; the other viewing it as a step, perhaps necessary, but which, having fulfilled its mission, must now speedily be retraced. If Prof. Schaff and Dr. Nevin are sincere in this—and it seems to be not merely held but to constitute their favorite and darling dogma—then they must be among the last, if not the very last, in the Protestant ranks, to admit the thought of any return to Rome, or of any alliance with that heartless imitation of Rome, which has its seat at Oxford."

With these introductory remarks, the Professor proceeds to discuss the Church Question, the main object of his article, with remarkable freedom, ability, and composure of mind. He was not a theological professor, was unhampered by his surroundings, and spoke out his mind freely. In the main he agreed with the Mercersburg professors, and did them full justice in pointing out what was certainly not their meaning. "Christianity," he said, "is not merely a system of religious truth, however sublime and elevated. It is not a *school*, but a life; not a mere invisible power, be it regarded as ever so refined, spiritual, or even supernatural; but an outward society standing in the strongest visible contrast to the world, and realizing the full import of that most significant phrase—the Kingdom of Heaven. Christ intended to establish a community designed to be a visible, perpetual, one and universal, a community which, although most simple in its structure, should nevertheless have an efficient organization and a true government, clothed not merely with moral but official authority—in other words, a visible communion of Himself as of a *common life*, and not a union arising from the same or varying views of a *common professed philosophy*." The claims of the Papal and Episcopal hierarchy to be such a communion or Church has been set aside by history and has not yet

been properly realized in the Protestant Churches of Europe or America. The divisions in these continue, although the Professor thinks that Dr. Schaff had magnified the evils of our sectarian division unduly, because although we have different denominations they are more united than Dr. Schaff supposed—and as he himself was no doubt happy to learn after a longer residence in this country.

“It must, however, be admitted,” says the Professor, “that in our own times there are, throughout Protestant Christendom, some grounds for the alarm raised by Professor Schaff. Whilst the false love of the hierarchy, taking the guise of love for the Church, may be waxing stronger in some bodies, the true Church feeling is decaying in others, where it once was cherished. Especially is this the case in our own land, and here there is every appearance of a crisis. The Church dogma and the Church feeling seem both destined to be severely tested. Not only are these new bodies continuing separate from the old, on altogether slight and inadequate grounds, but there are cases arising among us of associations in the strictest sense *voluntary*—self constituted—claiming no continuous derivation from any others, and although calling themselves Churches, acknowledging no higher obligation, and no higher life for their pretended organisms, than avowedly belong to a temperance or moral reform society. These things ought to show us whither we are tending. If there is—and who can read the New Testament and doubt it?—one universal and visible Church, in distinction from a school or schools of philosophy—a Church most dear to the Apostles and first disciples of the Lord, and to the unity of which they attached the utmost importance—then certainly we have gone too far in this country to the unchurchly extreme. If there are such things as schism and criminal sectarianism, we are in great danger of becoming guilty of them. We ought, therefore, to be thankful to those who sound the alarm, instead of charging them with Romish tendencies for so doing. The first thing, and the great thing, is to attempt to revive a true Church feeling, and when this is warmly cherished in every department of our broken Zion, and each section begins to feel that it is incomplete, and deprived of a portion of its true life, as long as it is not in true Church relations with other Christian bodies, then one step towards a blessed consummation has been taken. When the heart has been prepared, God may provide the way. If the soil be thus prepared, how easy it would be for Him so to raise the spiritual temperature by an outpouring of the Spirit of *life* as well as of truth that all sects, not even leaving out of the estimate the arro-

gant spirit of Oxford, or the subjects of Romish tyranny, should melt and flow into one."

Having discussed the Church Question as viewed by Dr. Schaff from the stand-point of history, the reviewer goes on to consider it in its connection with the mystical union of believers with Christ as set forth by Dr. Nevin in his discourse on Catholic unity. With much force and grasp of thought he handles this mysterious subject in harmony with the Sermon, presenting it in a new and interesting light, and in a style remarkably lucid and sweet. Church unity and the union of believers with Christ the head go together, the former always flowing from the latter as a necessary result; unless its free operation is prevented by counteracting influences such as rationalism or unbelief.

"The doctrine of such a union was certainly maintained most strenuously by the Reformers, and although it has in a measure fallen out of our modern theology or its importance been undervalued, it still enters largely into the feelings of all true Christians. It is acknowledged in most of our Protestant standards, and the great name of Calvin would in itself be sufficient to defend any one from heresy who should maintain it.

"The earliest Church Fathers are full of it. It seems to be the pervading spirit of their writings. We meet with it in every aspect of the Primitive Church. Its martyrs proclaim it at the stake. The profane world around them stood amazed at a doctrine so wonderful, so new; such godless scoffers as Lucian and Celsus represent it as one of their absurd and incomprehensible dogmas. 'The Christians,' says one of them in derision, 'believe that Christ lives in them, and that they literally carry their God within their hearts.'

"There is the same abundant scriptural support for this doctrine as there is for that of justification by faith. No more common is it for Paul to speak of our being saved by the blood of Christ than of our being in Christ. He tells us expressly *we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones*. Most wonderful language truly! No such *usus loquendi* had ever before been employed in the Old Testament. The language is entirely new. It was foreign to any previous system of religion. It was utterly unknown both to philosophy and theology. The expression *in Moses* would have sounded as strange to the Jew as *in Socrates* to the Greek. This mode of speech meets us for the first time in some of the declarations of our Lord, and then the Apostles, especially Paul, are full of it.

“From the great prominence given to the life of Christ, especially in the writings of John, may we not conclude that Jesus becomes our effectual teacher, and our real atoning sacrifice, because He previously became our life? The mystical union, which we believe to be taught in such expressions, would not then be the result, but the ground of the imputation of His righteousness.

“In short, the doctrine of the language to which we have so largely referred, we believe to be this: that there is between Christ and the believer, not merely a moral, nor even a spiritual union alone, as this latter term is often used in distinction from real and actual: but a real union in the highest sense of that term. We would say a physical union, had not that word been so greatly abused. It is, in other words, an inter-communion of spirit with spirit, directly and not through the media of truth, or inflowings of something which is neither truth nor spirit. It may be regarded as a union of nature with nature; by which, however incomprehensible the process, Christ’s humanity becomes our humanity, in as true, and real, and intimate manner, as we are psychologically and anthropologically united to Adam, the natural head of our race, from whom our natural humanity flows. To adopt another mode of expression, Christianity in the soul is a new Life in the highest sense of that term, the meaning of which in modern theology is so apt to evaporate in figures. It is something below exercises, emotions, and thoughts, the *very life* of the Redeemer living in all the redeemed, not as an effect or influence of truth or of some external power, but as an absolute independent indwelling *life*, as real as that old life which was imparted to Adam when he lay a passive and lifeless organism in the garden of Eden.

“We wonder not that those who deny all psychological unity, as existing between us and Adam, who deny that we inherit from him a depraved nature, or that the sin of the first man is, in any sense, to be imputed to us or regarded as ours, or who have discarded the doctrine of original sin from theology, we wonder not that such should see nothing but irrational mysticism in the tenet in question. It is, however, a matter of great surprise that those who rigidly maintain the opposite view on all these points, who hold to a real union with the first man, a real traduction from him of our whole natural life and our whole material humanity by ordinary *generation*, it is, we say, a matter of great surprise that such should break the Apostle’s analogy, should make a mere figure, or, at most, a mere moral influence of that *regeneration* by which the believer is transferred to a new life and grafted into the hu-

manity of the second Adam—the Lord from heaven. Both, in respect to the mode of explanation, may utterly transcend our highest understanding; but, as a matter of fact, we cannot see why one should, in any sense, be regarded as mere figurative, or less real than the other. If we have, in theology, one more sure guide than another it is this favorite parallel which the Apostle is so fond of instituting between Christ and Adam. If original sin is something more than the following or the *imitation* of Adam, ‘*as the Pelagians do vainly talk*,’ then regeneration, union to Christ, living in Christ, and other similar expressions, must mean far more than being followers of Christ, or under the influence of truth revealed by His teaching, or being affected by His death, *as a moral display of the Divine justice*—or, in short, any external relation, however high or supernatural it may be.

“We have dwelt on this because we believe with Dr. Nevin, that here is to be found the true ground of that churchly feeling, the resurrection of which is to be the great cure for our broken and distracted Zion. There can be no hope that any system of truth, as mere truth, will effect this. The feeling of real union to Christ’s humanity, and of real brotherhood in respect to each other, bound together the Christians of the primitive Church. In time, however, it became itself a dogma, instead of the life of all other truths, just as the great principle of the Reformers, justification by faith, sunk down in time into *justification by belief in justification by faith*. As a mere dogma it soon became allied to the false and pernicious doctrine of a priesthood, through which alone, it was believed, the life of Christ could be transmitted to the soul, and any true union with Him could be effected. Along with this came the profanation of that sacrament so vitally connected with the doctrine of the mystical union. Instead of being regarded as a sign of a reality, or symbolical of the union of Christ with all believers, or of the real presence of his humanity in their humanity, it was made subservient to ecclesiastical ambition, and its efficacy was held to depend on certain words and forms of consecration uttered by persons in a certain line of succession.

“Still we believe it is a truth, which is clearly set forth in the writings of Calvin, and also in the Catechism and Articles of the Reformed Dutch Church, and what is of more account, that it is, and must be, a living principle in the hearts of all Evangelical Christians. What Churches exhibit more of the life of this truth? Who are more fond of those passages in the Scriptures, which speak of the union of Christ with believers? Compare their books

of devotion and experimental religion. Again, enter a Wesleyan prayer meeting: how fond are the truly pious there of talking of the blessed union with the Redeemer—of Christ formed within them the hope of glory. Listen to the experience of the newly regenerated. With what fondness do the new-born souls, when they first begin to speak the language of Heaven, turn to these expressions so thickly spread over the New Testament. The most illiterate of men have been known thus to talk of being united to God and Christ, in a style that might remind us of Augustine or Thomas à Kempis. But what does all this prove, it may be said, as long as the expressions are regarded as figurative, and it is admitted that the corresponding dogma is not generally maintained? It shows, we reply, that the life may be stronger than the dogma. When, however, the doctrine wholly perishes, there is reason to fear that so far as communities are concerned, the life also may go out, although it will never be lost from those individual souls in which it has once been kindled.

“If the mystical union then be a real truth of Scripture, and if it be that from which theological truths derive their meaning and importance, it certainly should be placed in the front rank of theology. Especially is it of moment in regard to this great and vexed question of the Church. Can the body of Christ be otherwise than both spiritually and visibly one, when Christians universally believe and feel that they partake of one common life, instead of attempting to build their unity on a common system of truths; and will not a common system of truths, to any extent that may seem necessary or desirable, come, as a matter of course, to follow such a conviction of a common life in a common Redeemer?”

But whilst the quarterly reviews were thus discussing the Principle of Protestantism and its contents, the discussion took a wide range in the religious newspapers of the day, and articles on the mystical union, the Eucharist and kindred topics, flew thick and fast through the *Weekly Messenger*. The paper literally groaned under the weight of longer or shorter theological essays, and as there was no room for some objectionable ones, they were sent to the *Christian Intelligencer*, the organ of the sister Reformed Church in New York. The writer of one of these articles attempted to show what the doctrine of the German Reformed Church on the Lord's Supper was, in which he stumbled at the idea that believers partake of the *human* as well as Divine nature of Christ, and regarded it “as something novel or at least unnecessarily mystical.” The article happened to catch the eye of a Congregational minister some-

where in Connecticut, who had clearer and more definite ideas in reference to the subject. He therefore prepared a number of essays on the Eucharist, for the benefit of the stumbling writer and others of little faith. On account of their length, or for other reasons, they were not admitted into the *Intelligencer*, whereupon, by permission of the author, a respectable minister of the Reformed Dutch Church sent them to the *Messenger* for insertion. They appeared in four numbers of the paper, showed superior learning, were about as long as Dr. Nevin's articles, were in striking harmony with his views, evinced similar ability with his, and were read with more than ordinary avidity. As coming from the land of the Puritans they were phenomenal, showing that the sacramental question was studied in Connecticut in those days no less than in Pennsylvania. The writer signed himself W. W. A., which was understood to be the Rev. W. W. Andrews, now residing at Hartford, Conn., and occupying a high position in the "Catholic Apostolic Church" in this country.

The respected writer proceeds to show that "no investigation is fundamental which does not start from the doctrine of the Word made Flesh, the central truth of Christianity, which is the key to the right understanding of the Church, and the power of its sacraments." With such a key he maintained that the Eucharist is the fruit of the Incarnation, and that this view was in harmony with the letter and spirit of the New Testament, the faith of the ancient Church, and that of the Reformers. Summing up his arguments, his contention was that Regeneration is a great spiritual mystery, growing out of the Incarnation, consisting essentially in the implanting of a seed of life derived from the glorious humanity of Christ and involving in itself the germ of the resurrection state, of a redeemed body and a redeemed soul; that the life of Jesus, thus existing in the regenerate, must be sustained and strengthened by a true and vital reunion with Him, who is, in his manhood, the fountain of all grace and strength in them that believe; that the sacrament of the Eucharist was ordained for this new and regenerate life; and that there is, in the right reception of it, a real participation of the body and blood of the Lord, or in other words, of this glorified humanity. Such a view the writer maintains is equi-distant from the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation and the modern theory that represents the sacraments as bare and ineffectual signs. The views here advanced would, as we think, have met with the endorsement of many Dutch Reformed divines at that day, if they had had an opportunity to read them in their own paper. They no doubt served

as a healthy stimulus to Dr. Nevin in writing his more elaborate work on the Mystical Presence.

The year 1845 had been a year of considerable excitement in theological circles, during which, at times, the vessel of the Church appeared to be tempest-tossed, and in danger of being submerged or broken into fragments; but it ended well. The Professors felt that they had been fully sustained, and the membership believed that they had experienced helmsmen to guide the ship. It was at this time that Dr. Nevin allowed one of his poetical effusions to be published in the *Messenger*, which he had written when as yet the more urgent theological questions of the day had not so fully pre-occupied his time and attention. With a slight addition at the conclusion, it was deemed a suitable paper for a Carrier's Address, at the opening of the New Year. As it may be of interest to our readers, we insert it in this place, where it may serve as an introduction to the theological discussions and conflicts that filled out the next year:

TIME—A FRAGMENT

How deeply silent is the flight of Time!
And yet how awful! Methinks the rolling sound
Of all earth's thunders, blending with its course,
Was not so stirring to the wakeful soul,
As when, with noiseless sweep, days, months and years,
Big with the fate of nations and of worlds,
Tell us as they do it rushing way. So still,
Even as the breath of summer, when it steals
Soft o'er the brow of night, and not a leaf
Whispers its presence, save when the aspen
Trembles—so still and deathlike is the force,
By which the circling planets, moved of God,
Hold their eternal orbits round the sun.
These as they traverse with their burning speed
The deep immense of space, form to the mind
An image of the dreadful and the grand,
Embodied in no form of sense besides,
And by their very silence roll contempt
On whirlwinds, earthquakes, cataracts and storms.
And they are all an emblem in their flight
Of the more awful course of Time; ordained
To chronicle from age to age its years,
And showing in the law in which they move
A shadow of its grandeur and its strength.
And *but* a shadow; for the streaming scope
Of Saturn, or the Georgian world extreme,
At thought of which the soul recoils aghast,
Must shrink to nothing here. The flow of Time

Is the broad universe of space itself
In motion. Worlds are only wheeling specks
That play in its ambient sea; and suns
That hold revolving systems in their place
Are with the spheres they rule mere eddies there,
Each sweeping its own range, but all alike
Imbosomed in the same deep, broad expanse,
Whose lucent tide, scarce ruffled by their force,
Bears them still onward with its rolling age.

Time! Time! Ah me, the thrilling thoughts that lie
Bodied in that one word! The mighty Past;
Deep centuries of life for ever gone—
The strength of nations buried in the dust—
The world's young image, wasted like a dream—
The plans of men, whelmed in oblivion's gulf—
The fate of ages, seated beyond control—
Thrones crumbled—cities, laws, tongues, empires lost;
The drama of their history closed in death,
And none to tell its record! Dread abyss!
Who but must tremble, when its dark profound,
Shoreless, and fathomless, and void of form,
Stands out in vision to his laboring eye!
The Future too, more deeply pregnant still
With all the elements of moral awe;
Mysteries untold, and wonderful, and deep
And reaching their effect to farthest climes,
And worlds of men unborn; slumberings of power,
That yet shall move and heave through all its parts
Life's ancient structure, and impress new forms,
As though the very earth and heaven had changed,
On the whole state of nations; coming facts
Not yet omened by signs that teach the wise,
And such as throw no shadow yet in front,
Destined hereafter to absorb all thought
Of human spirits, and become high themes
For wonder and discourse with angels; all,
That shall be known or felt or done in life,
The light and darkness, hopes, fears, sorrows, joys,
Of countless millions that shall sweep their age,
In quick succession, pressing to the tomb,
Like shadows hurried o'er some wide-spread plain,
When all day long careering clouds are seen
On Autumn's fitful sky! Prospect immense,
And full of shuddering grandeur to the mind
In contemplation stretched with vain attempt
To grasp its limits! Oh, the depth of Time,
When *Past* and *Future*, folding worlds of power,
Stupendous, boundless, overwhelming forms,
Lie wrapt together as one single thought,
And make one dreadful word their common home!

The flow of *Time*! 'Tis striving to the soul,
To stand in vision on some towering point,
The index of its way—as where two *years*,
The coming and the gone, are seen to touch
With opposite extremes—and thence to gaze
Far o'er the prospect, as it pours along
With deep majestic volume from above
And fills the tract below! The rolling flood
Of vast Niagara, where its waters leap,
With endless torrent, dark, compressed and loud,
To that dread verge, which marks their dizzy fall,
Holds to the eye, in all its sphere sublime,
No scene like this. Nor yet the ocean waste,
Or where its billows sleep or where they rage,
In broad and awful majesty spread forth,
Soul-swelling contemplation! Nor the storm
That moves in blackness through the troubled sky,
And seems the burden of the wrath of God,
Instinct with living terror, folding deep,
Winds, vapors, lightnings, thunders in its womb,
All are tame spectacles, devoid of force
And narrow in their forms, when here compared,
Though else august and dreadful! So far *Time*
Outswells in greatness all their flowing strength,
And drowns their triumph with its vaster thought.

A Year—a single *Year*—how much it means!
Oh, who shall tell what changes have been wrought
Within the rolling compass of the last!
The world has moved; it stands not where it did,
Though sun and moon and planets seem the same,
And the broad universe of life unchanged.
The volume of its being, vast and full,
Has travelled onward; nearer to the point,
Ordained of God, where yet in time to come,
The history of all its years must end,
Merged in eternal night. The nations too,
That animate the world, and with their stir
Crowd it from age to age, have changed their place,
And moved with like motion. They are not now
In state or opening prospect as they were;
Thought has gone forward, and beneath its power,
Silent and deep, the ancient forms of life
Have all been shaken. Men have lost their awe
Of shadows once held sacred, and are found
More free to question all the modes of soul
In which they lived before. Mind has met mind;
And knowledge, kindling from the warm embrace,
Has multiplied its powers, and far and wide
With new-born freedom bursting old restraints,
Pours its felt presence over realms of thought

Once from its dark empire barbarous and strange.
 The spirit of the age, which many days
 Have formed and nourished to its present shape,
 Has still advanced, and elements of strength
 That through centuries have worked apart,
 Display new order, and with awful haste
 As now beheld rushing in all their parts
 To form one system; whose immense design,
 No longer wrapt in night, shall sweep the globe,
 And channel deep through every age to come
 A pathway for the flowing waves of fate.
 A revolution, not by thundering war,
 But by the force of truth, is on its way—
 More grand, and solemn, and replete with power
 Than all the noise of overflowing death
 Spread over nations by the conqueror's march;
 This has made progress; and its stages stamp
 Deep interest on the buried year, not found
 In storied page of battles big with blood,
 Of sieges and assaults, and cities sacked,
 Or lands made waste by fire. The world reveals
 Strange symptoms of a latent power at work,
 And owns its presence now in every clime.
 The social system heaves; the ground is reached,
 On which its pillars stand, planted of old,
 And they are seen to rock, as though at last
 Their massive forms would tremble from their place.
 Time-consecrated towers, around whose strength
 Whirlwinds and storms have swept and were not felt,
 For ages, tremble now at times and groan
 Through their whole piles, as though an earthquake shook
 Their broad foundations. Nobles start with fear,
 Lest their own palaces should prove their graves;
 And kings grow pale to find their very thrones
 On which they sit, as by some hidden force,
 Tottering and leaning to disastrous fall.

And it were well, if all this moral show
 Portended only good, the rise of truth,
 The growth of knowledge, and the battle won
 For freedom's holy cause throughout the world.
 But signs of terror, too, and dark dismay,
 That threaten men's best hopes, and point to days
 Black with the curse of God, o'erhang the heavens
 And may be read by all. The times are strange,
 Pregnant with promise, yet infolding wrath;
 The rainbow written on the storm-cloud's sleep,
 That owes its glory to the self-same sky,
 Where lightnings play and thunders have their home.
 The world has reached its Crisis. * * * * *

—*Cætera desunt.*

CHAPTER XXVI

THE action of the Synod of York, a somewhat trying ordeal to Dr. Schaff, proved to be of advantage to him afterward. It was a useful introduction to one side of the genius and spirit of America, whilst it taught him that there was another side on which he could labor. Thus he knew where he stood, and was assured that he would be sustained in his mission and work in this new world. The future spread out before him in bright colors, and he felt strengthened and encouraged to labor with all the industry and perseverance of the true German scholar. There may have been some tinge of romance about his ardor to supply the Americans generally with the most valuable results of German theology. At least he must have so impressed Dr. Krummacher some years afterwards at Berlin, whilst he dilated on his prospective labors and usefulness in America. The great preacher, whose judgment was matured by age and experience, turned to his young friend at the dinner table and told him to take care, as "America had a big stomach and could swallow him up too."

After he had thus received a free pass from his brethren to scatter the seeds of German science upon American soil, he went to work with characteristic industry, wrote out his lectures on Church History and Exegesis for the benefit of his small classes as thoroughly—as *vollstaendlich und gruendlich*—as if he were lecturing to the largest audience of studiosi in the Universities at Halle or Berlin. In 1848 he founded *Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund: Ein Organ fuer die gemeinsamen Interessen der Amerikanisch-deutschen Kirchen*. It proved to be a very valuable theological monthly, and, at the same time, a useful organ for the two German Churches. It remained under his editorial care for some seven or eight years, when Dr. W. J. Mann, of Philadelphia, became editor. In 1851 Dr. Schaff published his "History of the Apostolic Church," which was to be the first volume of his Church History, and to serve as an introduction to the entire work. This with the *Kirchenfreund* was published at Mercersburg—in the German language—auf Selbstverlag des Verfassers—and for this purpose it became necessary to import both type and printer. Of this work the *Princeton Review* said, "it placed its author in the highest rank of living or contemporary Church Historians." Dr. Nevin begins his

notice of it in the *Mercersburg Review* by saying that "the appearance of this work deserves to be considered certainly something of an event;" and Dr. Krauth, in the *Evangelical Review*, at Gettysburg, referring to this curt criticism said: "We feel prepared to say more, and to designate it as very much of an event, an event which will reflect lasting credit on the author and exert a beneficial influence on the Church of Jesus Christ." The subsequent career of Dr. Schaff as an author is well known, fully justifying the favorable opinion which the *Princeton Review* gave of him at an early day as a scholar and Church historian. He was not formed for controversy, but he had a colleague by his side, who by his knowledge of the secret resources of the English language, his wit, and at times his withering sarcasm, seldom met a foeman worthy of his steel, when attacks, from many directions, were made upon the headquarters of Anglo-German theology at Mercersburg.

After the denouement of the Synod of York, Dr. Schaff's Inaugural and the Sermon on Catholic Unity were discussed, as already said, more or less, by the religious weeklies, and numerous articles appeared in the *Messenger*, most of which referred to the mystical union of Christ with believers as set forth in Dr. Nevin's discourse on Catholic Unity. To some of these it became necessary for him to reply, especially to those proceeding from the pen of Dr. Berg, who kept up a chivalrous contest with his opponent at Mercersburg, which was much less violent than when he hurled his bolts against the Pope at Rome. Impressed with the importance of the subject in its bearings on the cause of religion and sound theology, Dr. Nevin felt that it demanded a more extended and a more scientific treatment, and accordingly, in the spring of 1846, he published *The Mystical Presence: a Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*. Pp. 256. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. The volume was not a very large one, but it contained a vast amount of thought and learning, more so than many volumes of a much more ambitious size. It was a valuable contribution to American theological literature, in itself a theological treatise, which summed up and expressed the substance of all previous discussions. It was introduced by an excellent article from the pen of Dr. Carl Ullman, Professor of Theology in the University of Heidelberg, Germany, at the time, on "The Distinctive Character of Christianity," well worthy of being carefully studied still by those who take an interest in the present state of the Church. It had appeared in the January number of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, a learned German

periodical, for the year 1845. It proceeds throughout on the general theory of Christianity as the divine human power in the world, as emphasized by the Mercersburg theologians.

Among the various reviews of the *Mystical Presence* we here refer to only two, both emanating from representative scholars of acknowledged ability, one in Germany and the other in this country. The German review is here introduced, although it appeared some time after the American.

Dr. August Ebrard published his recension in the *Studien und Kritiken* in the year 1850, which was soon afterwards republished in the June number of Dr. Schaff's *Kirchenfreund* in this country. The judgement of such a theologian as Ebrard, who was himself the author of the most thorough and learned history of the Dogma of the Lord's Supper in modern times, was of great value, infinitely more so than the cry of heresy shriekers from whole brigades of newspaper critics, who did not understand the nature of the controversy into which they were ready to plunge, and without the necessary qualification to devote to it either earnest attention or the necessary learning. Owing to distance from the scene of conflict or want of insight into the state of church relations in this country, Ebrard strangely regarded the *Vindication* as a defence of the Melancthonian view of the Lord's Supper, more particularly in opposition to the Lutherans of this country; whereas it is mainly directed against what is regarded as the prevalent rationalism underlying modern Puritan theology, which, whilst it adheres to an old traditional orthodoxy and manifests in a high degree great moral earnestness and a commendable degree of practical activity, is to be honorably distinguished from the dead and dry rationalism of Germany. But, like the latter, it divests Christianity, more or less, of its mystical element, makes the abstract understanding the chief judge in theology, and to a large degree ignores the idea of the Church and the Sacraments. The Lutheranism of this country, under a semi-rationalistic tendency, had fallen in some degree from its own original pietistic stand-point into open contradiction with its own history, whilst Dr. Nevin, on the other hand, in fact, defended the substance, although not the form of Luther's doctrine, against many of his nominal adherents. Moreover, a decided reaction had already taken place among American Lutherans, which was owing, partly at least, to Dr. Nevin's writings.

Ebrard ought, perhaps, to have pointed out more definitely the connection of Dr. Nevin's theory of the Lord's Supper with his Christology. For, after all, his entire theological system rests

upon his doctrine of the person of Christ as the absolute union of the human and divine, from which proceeds the new moral creation, of which the Church is the bearer or receptacle; and its means of grace, the channels ordained by God to bring men into communication with Himself through Christ. As Ebrard was a representative man in Germany his critique will serve to show how the new work was regarded by evangelical theologians in Germany. Afterwards we will see how it was received in its own country. With these preliminary remarks we therefore furnish the reader with the German review of Dr. Nevin's book in a free translation, with slight omissions.

"The theological literature of North America as a whole," Dr. Ebrard remarks, "lies at a remote distance from Germany, but the Mystical Presence of Dr. Nevin is a phenomenal exception and deserves the attention of its theologians and scholars. In the first place, it is the first energetic effort to introduce scientific German theology and its results into the English world of America. Dr. Nevin, from his youth upwards, imbued with the Puritanic-Presbyterian faith of his early associations on the one hand, and on the other, furnished with a thorough knowledge of German theological literature in its latest results, was just the man to solve what was by no means an easy problem. His book was an achievement, a feat of personal courage, which has already drawn upon it the most violent opposition. North American Puritanism, with its abstract supernaturalism, has largely risen up against him and denounced him as a Puseyite or Crypto-papist.

"In the next place he has defended that view of the *Unio Mystica*, which involves a continuous, *central* life-communion of Christ with believers, and of the Holy Supper as an act by which this perpetual life-union is strengthened—substantially the Melancthonian view—more particularly against the Lutherans of this country, just as the writer had to contend for this same conception in a scientific contention with the Lutherans of Germany. Strange to say, however, the Lutherans in America did not set up against Dr. Nevin the view of Luther himself, but that of Zwingli, and, accordingly, did not accuse him of Zwinglianism, but of Crypto-Romanism. This remark was confirmed by the *Lutheran Observer* of Baltimore, which had called the Nevinian doctrine by the hardest names which it could find in its vocabulary: 'the figment of an idea, the low, meagre, mystical, confused, carnal, obsolete doctrine, called con-corporation. The glorified body of Christ must be received by believers with the bread and wine! If this is not a corporeal presence,

what kind of sense then does such an expression contain? If this is not Puseyism, if it is not a vast stride towards Romanism, what else can it be? This doctrine grates upon the ear, wounds the feelings, offends the understanding, and dissolves the unity of the best and most spiritual men in the purest Evangelical Churches.'

"In the third place, Dr. Nevin's work," according to Ebrard, "possesses not only an historical, but a practico-dogmatic interest. If it had sought to set forth only the old Calvinistic doctrine as something already complete, and to defend and press it upon the churches in America, it could awaken little interest or attention in Germany. But instead of that, and far from it, it seeks, furthermore, with the aid of categories to reconstruct what was genuine gold in the Calvinistic-Melanchthonian view of the Lord's Supper, from the depth of a new faith purified by German science, and applies a vigorous criticism to what was dross or obscurity of expression in Calvin. From this stand-point he falls in fully with the stand-point I had adopted in my *Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl*." It seemed to the German Professor something in the highest degree remarkable and to him very gratifying, as he says "that an American Professor, in his entire method of treatment, as well as in his apprehension of the *Unio Mystica* and of the Sacrament, even in minute details, starting from the same principle, arrived at the same result as I myself did, and this without previous concert or design. Dr. Nevin had already, previous to the year 1845, developed his theory, published and defended it, and the first volume of my work on the Lord's Supper had not reached him until the year 1846, whilst he was engaged in elaborating his Mystical Presence. He could still utilize the volume, but only to fortify the positions, which he had reached in another and altogether different way. At most he could then have appropriated only certain terms or distinctions to be used in the way of supplement. So much the more pleasant and gratifying to me now is the close inward agreement of his judgment of Calvin's doctrine of the Eucharist with my own, which he could not as yet have known, as the second volume of my own work, published in 1846, did not come into his hands until the year following. In this coincidence we have a proof that we both were here laboring not to promote an incidental subjective view of our own, but to make an advance in the development of the same theologumenon or theme. And so for a third reason, we bespeak the interest of our readers, in behalf of a brief and concise review of Dr. Nevin's work."

Dr. Nevin took his position over against a superficial Puritanism,

whilst Ebrard, on the other hand, had Lutheranism and its confessional relations in his eye. The former, starting from a purely historical representation of a Reformed Church doctrine, undertook to show his opponents that their Puritanical view had no claims to be called Reformed, and much less Lutheran. Accordingly on this ground he goes on to give a positive characterization of Puritanism in its inner nature in Chap. 2; brings out the defects of the old Reformed doctrine; presents his own theory as a positive development; and finally justifies it out of the Holy Scriptures.

"In the first chapter, Dr. Nevin says, 'that Calvin was not the author, but simply the finisher of the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper,' which agrees with what I have said in the second volume of my own work, where proofs in detail will be found that Calvin brought to it only an intuition of its relatively perfect form, which had been long before anticipated by Haner, Bucer, Brenz and many others who had prepared the way for it. As Dr. Nevin correctly says, everything in the Reformed doctrine depends on the view taken of the Mystical Union in general. Through it Calvin-Melanchthonianism is distinguished from Lutheranism, because in the former the Holy Supper is regarded as the act by which the one, continuous life union with Christ is renewed, whilst in the latter, it is a new kind of corporeal union with the body and blood of Christ, in addition to the *Unio Mystica* as a pure intellectual union. This union is more than a moral union—a *unio moralis*—more than a legal union—a *unio legalis*; it is very truly a union with the living Saviour Himself, with the fulness of His glorified person, which is present with us through the Almighty power of the Holy Spirit; and in fine, it is not a union merely with the spirit or divine nature of Christ, but a union with Christ incarnate in our flesh and therefore with His *humanity*, so that we have part in the merits and benefits of Christ because we have part in His *substance*.

"On the other side, the communion in the Reformed doctrine is with man, not with a thing, not with bread or wine, and so consubstantiation as well as transubstantiation is set aside. The body and blood of Christ are not connected with the bread and wine, but with the transaction and the act by which the invisible communication to us of the glorified humanity of Christ is connected with the act of the external imparting and receiving of the bread and wine.

"This connection, however, is objective, says Dr. Nevin. Faith does not give the Sacrament its power; it is the *condition* of its activity for the recipient, not the active principle;" to which Dr. Ebrard adds: "Cultivated or ploughed ground is the condition

under which the seed is received, but not that which causes the seed to come forth." Calvin long before had said: "Nos asserimus omnibus *afferi* in Sacramento Christi corpus et sanguinem, ut soli fideles inestimabili hoc thesauro *fruantur*."

"That such is the Reformed doctrine Dr. Nevin shows by numerous and appropriate passages quoted from Calvin and the Reformed Confessions. Farel says that the '*res* Sacramenti is bound to the *signum*, whether the latter is offered to believers or unbelievers;' and Ursinus holds the same view of the Lord's Supper.

"In the second chapter Dr. Nevin gives a full and fair statement of the modern Puritan doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The popular theory, as maintained by numerous leading Puritan divines who are quoted, recognizes no kind of union with Christ in the Eucharist except a spiritualistic one, which is the product of a new exercise of subjective faith and subjective devotion, called forth by the celebration of the Supper. The image of Christ in the mind, by an effort on the part of the communicant, is in this way revived and renewed. The character of the ordinance as a mystery is thus lost sight of altogether with the objective power of the Sacrament; faith, instead of being a condition, becomes the active cause; the plowing of the soil is no longer to be taken as the precedent condition for the reception of the celestial germ, as it is in no need of the germinal seed. The ploughing itself will suffice for all that. And so it comes to no union with the person but with the spirit of Christ only, not with Christ incarnate, but with the divine nature of Christ.

"Dr. Nevin then affirms that this theory subjects itself to an unfavorable judgment, because the consensus of the entire primitive Church is opposed to it; but he also points out that under this aspect Puritanism must have a natural affinity for rationalism; externally, as the history of the school of Storrs and Reinhard proves; and internally, because it is a thorough subjectivism, involving a disregard for history, for the objective, for the Church, and for all outward forms. Its goal is a spiritualism, which too often takes its beginning in the spirit but ends in the flesh.

"In the third chapter Dr. Nevin seeks to present a scientific statement of the biblical doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He begins the work of formulating it with a critique of the Calvinistic doctrine on the subject. Although on the whole correct, Calvin's view nevertheless seem to him, in the way it is presented, to involve defects which in turn endanger its very substance. In the first place, he does not make a sufficiently clear distinction between the idea

of organic law, which constitutes the proper identity of a human body, and the material volume it is found to embrace as exhibited to the senses. A true and perfect body must indeed appear in the form of organized matter. As *mere* law it can have no proper reality. But still the matter, apart from the law, is in no sense the body. Only as it is found to be transfused with the active presence of the law at every point, and in this way filled with the form of life, can it be said to have any such character; and then it is, of course, as the medium simply by which what is inward and invisible is enabled to gain for itself a true outward existence. The principle of the body as a system of life, the original salient point of its being as a whole, is in no respect material. A real communication between the body of Christ and the bodies of saints, therefore, does not imply necessarily the gross imagination of any transition of His flesh as such into their persons. In such sense as this, we may say, without twisting our Saviour's words, 'the flesh profiteth nothing,' and here precisely comes into view one of the most valid and forcible objections to the dogma of the Roman Church, as well as to the kindred doctrine of Luther, in both of which so much is made to hang on a sort of tactual participation of the matter of Christ's body in the Sacrament, rather than in the law simply of his true human life. This is urged by Calvin himself with great force against the false theories in question. This shows, of course, that he was not insensible to the idea of the distinction now mentioned; a point abundantly manifest besides from his whole way of representing the subject in general. Still it seems to have been a matter of correct feeling with him, rather than of clear scientific apprehension.

"Thus he makes too much account perhaps of the flesh of Christ under a local form (here confined to the right hand of God in heaven), as the seat and fountain of the new life which is to be conveyed to His people; and the attempt which is then made to bring the two parties together, notwithstanding such vast separation in space, must be allowed to be somewhat awkward and violent. In this case he may be said to cut the knot, which his speculation fails to solve. Christ's body is altogether in heaven only. How then is its vivific virtue to be carried into the believer? By the miraculous energy of the Holy Spirit; which, however, cannot be said in the case so much to bring down His life into us, as it serves rather to raise us in the exercise of faith to the presence of the Saviour on high. The result, however, is a real participation always in His full and entire humanity. But the representation is confused and brings to the mind no proper satisfaction.

“Dr. Nevin goes on to say, that the real communion of the body of Christ does not involve a communication of the matter of His flesh and blood, but an inwrought operation of the law of the life of Christ into the sphere of our individual life. The life-centre of Christ must take hold of our life-centres as peripheral points and become central in us, and thus reproduce in us psychic-somatic individual life. Calvin felt this more than he was fully conscious of, and therefore he exerted himself so much to bring us into connection with the really separated body of Christ, and postulated a mystical operation of the Holy Ghost, whilst He still wrought only through the subjective faith of the believers. Here, however, Dr. Nevin falls into contradiction with himself. Elsewhere he acknowledges—recognizes the activity of the Holy Spirit in working repentance and faith in us, metanoetic and mystica-anagenetic, just as far as he admits that the Unio Mystica also takes place under the operation by the Holy Spirit, and thus he goes too far when he blames Calvin because he speaks of the Holy Spirit as a mediator between Christ and believers. But it is certain that the idea of the *organic reproduction* of the law of the life of Christ in believers, already dimly foreshadowed in Gregory of Nyssa, but unfolded in such pre-eminent style by Dr. Nevin, did not come forth to a clear consciousness in Calvin; and it is true that he, instead of speaking of a *virtus vivifica carnis Christi*, should have fallen back rather on the idea of the organic embodiment of Christ’s human life.

“Then, in the second place, Calvin does not emphasize sufficiently the unity of what we denominate person, both in the case of Christ Himself and in the case of His people. He dwells too much on the life-giving power of the *flesh* of Christ (as if this were not closely bound to His soul); on an outflowing of this power, instead of a *reproduction* of the psychic-somatic as well as of the pneumatic individual life of Christ in the individual life of believers; and on the side of man, he again makes the soul alone the bearer of Christ, whilst Christ Himself passes over into the persons of believers. Christ’s person is one, and the person of the believer is one: and to secure a real communication of the whole human life of the first over into the personality of the second, it is only necessary that the communication should spring from the centre of Christ’s life, and pass over into the centre of ours. This can be effected only by the Holy Ghost, but not in such a sense as if He stood between us and Christ, and we were not immediately one with Christ, but just the reverse, so that the Holy Ghost plants in us that law of life of Christ itself.

"A third defect in the form in which Calvin exhibits his theory is found in this, that he does not make a clear distinction between the individual (mikrokosmic) and the generic (makrokosmic) life of Christ. A single oak tree involves a thousand acorns and consequently a thousand trees; an entire forest of oak is simply the evolution of a single tree. The second Adam, no less than the first, thus continues His life in those begotten of Him—true, provided we make proper account of the idea of begetting, and do not understand it as merely figurative."

After these remarks, Dr. Ebrard gives a number of Dr. Nevin's theses or propositions respecting the Mystical Union and the Lord's Supper somewhat abbreviated, and in his own language. But we here present them all in order as given by the author himself in what he styles his "Scientific Statement:"

The human world in its present natural state, as descended from Adam, is sundered from its proper life in God by sin, and utterly disabled in this character for rising by itself to any higher position.

The union in which we stand with our first parent, as thus fallen, extends to his entire person, *body* as well as *soul*.

By the hypostatical union of the two natures in the person of *Jesus Christ*, our humanity as fallen in Adam was called again to a new and imperishable life.

The *value* of Christ's sufferings and death, as well as of His entire life, in relation to men, springs wholly from the view of the Incarnation now presented.

The Christian Salvation then, as thus comprehended in Christ, is a new *life* in the deepest sense of the word.

The new Life, of which Christ is the Source and organic Principle, is in all respects a true *human* life.

Christ's life, as now described, rests not in his separate person, but passes over to His people; thus constituting the *Church*, which is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.

As joined to Christ, then, we are *one* with Him in His life, and not simply in the way of a less intimate and real union.

Our union to Christ is not simply parallel with our relation to Adam, but goes beyond it, as being immeasurably more intimate and deep.

The mystical union includes necessarily a participation in the entire humanity of Christ.

As the mystical union embraces the whole Christ, so we too are embraced by it, not in a partial, but *whole* way.

The mystery now affirmed is accomplished, not in the way of two

different forms of action, but by one and the same single and undivided process.

In all this, of course, then there is no room for the supposition of any *material* tactual approach of Christ's body to the person of His people.

Such a relation of Christ to the Church involves no *ubiquity* or idealistic dissipation of His Body, and requires no *fusion* of His proper personality with the persons of His people.

The Mystical Union, holding in this form, is more intimate and real than any union which is known in the world besides.

The union of Christ with believers is wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost.

Christ's life is apprehended on the part of His people only by *faith*.

The new life of the believer includes degrees, and will be complete only in the *resurrection*.

A Sacrament is a holy ordinance instituted by Christ Himself; wherein, by sensible signs, Christ and His benefits are represented, *sealed* and *applied* to believers.

The Lord's Supper is a Sacrament, wherein, by giving and receiving bread and wine according to Christ's appointment, His death is showed forth, and the worthy receivers are, not after a corporeal and carnal manner, but by faith, made partakers of *His body and blood*, with all His benefits, to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has reference directly and primarily to the *atonement* wrought out by Christ's death on the Cross.

As the medium, however, by which we are thus made partakers of the new covenant in Christ's death, the Holy Supper involves a real communication with the *person* of the Saviour, now gloriously exalted in heaven.

The real communication, which believers have with Christ in the Holy Supper, extends to His *whole* person.

Christ communicates Himself to us, in the real way now mentioned, under the form of the sacramental mystery as such.

The Lord's Supper is the medium of a real communication with Christ, only in the case of believers.—These statements Dr. Nevin used as starting points for further discussions and explanations in the third chapter of his book.

In connection with these propositions Ebrard makes some brief characteristic comments. "According to Dr. Nevin," he says, "the

human race is not an aggregation, not a 'heap of living sand-grains,' but the evolution of one distinct single life. The corruption of human nature through the fall is therefore organic.—Our union with Adam is bodily as well as spiritual, although not a material particle of Adam's body is in any of us. It is sufficient that the law of Adam's life is in us, and reproduced in each one of us.—Through the Incarnation of Christ our human nature is raised into a divine life.—The Incarnation in humanity brought with it the necessity of suffering in Him who was sinless. The imputation of such suffering is not external, mechanical, nor simply judicial, because in Christ the new deutero-Adamic humanity was really present in His sufferings when He made satisfaction for sin.—Redemption is not a new doctrinal system, not merely a new object of thought, but a new life. Christianity is not a reformed Judaism, but a new creation. The new life, however, has entered into the old life.—This new life is a true human life; not the life of the eternal, transmundane, world-ruling Logos, but the life of the Word made Flesh.—Christ's life does not remain in His own separate person, but reproduces itself creatively in those who by a subjective faith are born of or out of Him. In such He plants His own life, and at the same time He plants Himself in His makrokosmic body. In the first place we are taken hold of by Him at one point not of our thinking but of our being, and therefore at the central point, and warmed into a new life; and from that the holy fire of the new life spreads, sanctifies our thoughts, as well as our nature gradually, and destroys, in like degree, the old man. "Here," says Dr. Ebrard, "Dr. Nevin accepts of the comparison of magnetized iron, already used by myself, and in an ingenious way brings this into connection with the passage in John, 12:32.

"As we are one with Christ, the transformation at our vital centre is, therefore, creative and substantial. The *Unio Mystica* is obviously at hand. Christ is really one with us, so soon as the *centre* is born again, and, therefore, the righteousness of Christ forthwith belongs to us, independently of the degree of sanctification which has already commenced.—This union with the second Adam is much higher and more inward than the one with the first Adam. Christ does not stand in a remote and indirect connection with the single individual, but directly with each one, and is not only the begetter, but the permanent head and ruler.—The *Unio Mystica* is a *unio* with the humanity of Christ. We *cannot* stand in a substantial connection with the eternal Logos as such, for then we must be God. A *Unio Mystica* with the Logos as such

would be a *Unio Hypostatica*, a *Homousia*, such as that which unites the Father to the Son. Humanity is the exclusive and the only possible form by which we become partakers of the Logos.—The mystical union is a union of the entire Christ with the entire person of the believer. This union, however, cannot become dualistic, because life is one and not dualistically divided. Body and soul have one life. The soul without the body is dead; and therefore the Scripture never speaks of the immortality of the soul but of the resurrection.—There can, therefore, be no mere bodily union with Christ, as a peculiar kind of union with Him, for such a union would not be mystical but magical. See *Dogma des Heiligen Abendmahls*, I. p. 92. Accordingly there can be no material communication to us of the matter of Christ's body. Neither an ubiquity of the individual glorified body of Christ, nor a mixture of it with our bodies is demanded.—Our union with Christ is not merely that of descent, as from Adam, but one that continually and immediately roots itself in Him. Consequently Christ is present in His Church, notwithstanding the organism of His individual life.—This union is brought about by the Holy Ghost, but not in such a way that He in us is to be regarded as the 'substitute' for the presence of Christ Himself, but that Christ through the Holy Ghost plants within us His own peculiar life. The *Unio Mystica* is spiritualis, not in opposition to corporalis—geistlich, nicht geistig. Compare *Dogma des heiligen Abendmahls*, Vol. I. p. 89.—Faith is not the *principle* of the new life, but simply the *organ* by which it is received. It is not the act of ploughing which produces the seed; the seed alone can become the living fruit of the living ear of corn,

"In the fourth or last chapter of his book, Dr. Nevin seeks to sustain his theses or propositions from the Holy Scriptures. Although we cheerfully admit that, whilst he does not by any means confine himself to *dicta probantia* in the old scholastic style, he develops an entire Biblical theology in a spirited and general way, it still appears to us an objection that he brings forward his 'Biblical Argument' in a special chapter, instead of developing his own propositions from the Scripture, and letting them appear as the result of his investigations of the Scripture. Would not this have made a more convincing impression upon the minds of his Puritanical opponents? We think that chapters three and four might with advantage be allowed to exchange places.—The fourth chapter gives not only the Biblical argument for the Lord's Supper, but in fact the development of the whole dogmatic system upon which Dr. Nevin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper rests and from which it pro-

ceeds ab ovo. The first portions of the fourth chapter moreover include the most luminous parts of the whole book.

"With a depth of thought, which elsewhere we are not exactly accustomed to find in the English language, with a spirit such as we meet with to some extent in Lange's writings, and in addition with a precision and perspicuity of thought, for which Dr. Nevin had to form in the English tongue a language for himself, he developed the following ideas: that man is the crown and fulfilment of nature; that heathenism is a yearning of humanity to become one with God; that Judaism is a revelation of God to man, but not *in* man; and that Christianity is a new creation. Aristotle, in his day, founded an intellectual kingdom, which carried in its maternal bosom all subsequent intellectual developments since his time, and has not yet passed away; but this kind of spiritual activity was the *product* of a development that had preceded it; Christ, on the other hand, was not the product of any previous development, however organically. He may have inserted Himself and His life into it.—We should pass beyond the limits of a notice of Dr. Nevin's book, if we should attempt to give in detail the rich contents of this last chapter; and we must content ourselves with giving only the captions of the single sections: The Incarnation,—the New Creation,—the Second Adam,—Christianity a Life,—the Mystical Union,—the 6th chapter of John,—and the Lord's Supper. From this last chapter, however, as well as from the entire book, it is in the highest degree evident, that Dr. Nevin has acquired for himself the priceless credit of having transplanted the ripe fruits of the German theological spirit into the American, that is, the essentially English-supernaturalistic and Puritan world of thought. It may be that North America in general is destined to become the heir for the purpose of carrying forward the developments of German science, threatened at home on all sides by very stormy weather."—This was the judgment of one of the most learned and most distinguished scholars of Germany concerning Dr. Nevin's volume on the Mystical Presence.

CHAPTER XXVII

SUCH was the reception the Mystical Presence received in Germany, the land—par excellence—of theological science. We now proceed to consider how it was regarded in its own country. The ablest and by far the most respectable review of its contents came from Princeton, from the pen of Dr. Charles Hodge in the *Princeton Repertory* or *Review* for the year 1848. He was one of the best, if not the best representative of Puritan theology on this side of the ocean, a learned theologian, a clear and perspicuous writer, a forcible logician, and with considerable experience as a controversialist. He and Dr. Nevin were said by high authority in Germany, in connection with Edwards and Channing, to be the greatest theologians that North America had produced. It may be said, therefore, that the contest was between two theological giants. We here give briefly the successive attacks and counter-attacks as the respective champions appeared in the field.

The Princeton Professor had the advantage of position, certainly. He stood before the public as the central theological leader in some degree of the entire Old School Presbyterian Church in this country, and his article was characterized throughout by a corresponding consciousness of authority and power. The weight of his name and pen was with multitudes sufficient to outweigh any amount of favorable judgment on the other side. Such a man as Krummacher, in this case, or of any other Evangelical German divine, could hardly be seen or felt, where all could be easily settled by the voice of the *Princeton Repertory*. Such a voice deserved to be heard, and the Mercersburg Professor was bound to make due account of it.

But whether the Princeton representative had made the necessary preparation for the conflict is another question. In the opening sentence of his review, he says that he had had Dr. Nevin's Mystical Presence on his table for two years, after its publication, but had really not been able to read it until within a fortnight, and then "only under the stimulus of a special necessity to carry him through such a book." As a master in Israel he had been called on to investigate the question, What is the real doctrine of the Reformed Church on the Lord's Supper? Naturally he turned to Dr. Nevin's book, and gratefully acknowledged the assistance derived from it. It was understood at the time that there was a pressure brought

to bear on the Editor of the *Repertory* by respectable Presbyterian clergymen to answer the book and prevent it from extending its influence. At the close of his first paragraph he had already arrived at the conclusion, "that Dr. Nevin was tenfold further from the doctrine of the common forefathers than those whom he commiserated and condemned."—It would have perhaps been better if he had put this conclusion at the end of his article, as mathematicians are accustomed to place the initials of a famous Latin sentence after they have proved their propositions. Dr. Nevin, on the other hand, had studied the subject in dispute for many years and was prepared—*semper paratus*—not only to reply to attacks from week to week at home in the weekly paper, but to give due attention to an elaborate article in a quarterly from a distance.

Dr. Hodge in his introduction had remarked that Dr. Nevin's tone had been so disparaging, if not contemptuous, when speaking of all branches of the Reformed Church, except his own, that he must have had reason to be surprised that all this had been endured in silence. To this he replied, that he had not spoken disrespectfully of the Puritan *churches* as such, but simply in regard to their theories, and reminded his accuser that the *Repertory* had been quite as free and sweeping in its judgements on all *German* theology. Others had made similar complaints against him, but it is a remarkable fact that he, throughout, combats what he considered false principles, not individuals, much less sister branches of the Church.

Dr. Hodge from the start simplified the question in dispute very much by pointing out the basic or fundamental point in the Mystical Presence from which he dissented in *toto coelo*. With the Lutheran Church and the Church of England the book taught that the believer was united to the human as well as the divine nature in the Lord's Supper. He affirmed that the union held only as it regards the divine nature, and that this was the true doctrine of the Reformed Church. It thus became an historical question, and he adopted the course pursued by Dr. Nevin in consulting original historical documents to sustain his position. He acknowledges the great difficulty in such an investigation, because the Reformed confessions were confusing, as it seemed to him, in their statements, some of them leaning to the one side, some to the other, and some of them contradicting both sides. He, however, arranged them into three classes: first, those that taught the Zwinglian view, such as the first Basel and the First Helvetic confessions, in connection with the writings of Zwingli himself; then, those that ad-

hered to the view of Calvin, such as the Gallic, the Belgic and the Anglican confessions, including the Thirty-Nine articles of the Church of England; and thirdly, those symbols in which the Zwinglian and Calvinistic agree, among which he places the Heidelberg Catechism and the Consensus Tigurinus, a somewhat famous document drawn up by Calvin in Zurich in 1549, to promote peace and concord among the Swiss churches. The reviewer, in this arrangement, very adroitly makes free use of the authorities given by Dr. Nevin after much labor in his book, and seeks to turn them as his own batteries against the position of his opponent.

He admits that the view of the Lord's Supper, as given in the Mystical Presence was substantially the view of Calvin, Bucer and others, in regard to the humanity of Christ, or His flesh and blood, but denies that it became the settled doctrine of the Reformed Churches. That came out afterwards in the Consensus Tigurinus, with which he himself fully agreed, and to which, as he supposed, the Evangelical Churches generally would not object. The true Calvinistic view had come into the Reformed Churches as a foreign element through Calvin, Bucer and others in their efforts to stand on better terms with the Lutherans, was not indigenous, and, in the course of time, was eliminated as not in harmony with their life. Here again the critic ingeniously turns the principle of development, a strong weapon of the Mercersburg professors, against one of their strongholds. There was a progress, it was alleged, in the settlement of the doctrine of the Eucharist, a healthy one also, but as a result of this growth Calvin's eucharistical theory was thrown off as no longer pertaining to a healthy state of affairs.

But to all this Dr. Nevin vehemently demurred, and he was prepared to meet the attack from this quarter with new and old resources. His zeal was enkindled, and he wrote with more than usual vigor against what he firmly believed as gross violence to history no less than truth itself. "The authorities here presented," he says, "it will be seen, are to a great extent the same, as far as they go, that are to be found quoted in the Mystical Presence. Dr. Hodge has not gone into any original historical investigation of the subject, but has thought it sufficient to trust his general preconceptions of the case, simply applying them to the material here furnished to his hand, in such a way as to suit the object he had in view. The only new authority which may be regarded as of any account is the Consensus Tigurinus, which as it happens to sound most favorably to his cause, he insists on making the rule, or rather the Procrustean bed, by which to screw into proper shape the sense of

all testimonies and symbols besides. This, however, is a most arbitrary requirement, to which no mind, at all at home in the theological literature of the sixteenth century, can be willing for a moment to submit. The Consensus Tigurinus has never been allowed to be at all of any such primary force in the Reformed Church. Dr. Hodge talks of compromise and ambiguous phraseology, as entering into the sacramental statement of the age in other cases; but if there be room anywhere for such supposition, it is to be found emphatically in the case of this Consensus of Zurich.

"It is acknowledged on all hands, that Calvin condescended as far as he possibly could towards the Zwinglian extreme for the purpose of assisting the Swiss Church to come up, as it were, to the higher ground on which he habitually stood. It has indeed been generally conceded, that in some of his expressions he fell into actual contradiction with his own system, as previously taught, and as he held it afterwards to the end of his life. At all events, it is a most violent assumption on the part of Dr. Hodge, that his plain, unequivocal declarations on the subject of his own faith, a hundred times repeated throughout his works, are to be overruled by the authority of this one document of most questionable sense, instead of allowing it to be interpreted rather by the hundred authorities that are explicit and clear.

"But all this is spoken by concession. Even the 'forlorn hope' of the Consensus Tigurinus will be found to fail the cause it is brought up to support, when subjected to true historical trial. Dr. Hodge approaches it in the spirit of his own time and position: as though it had been lately framed in Philadelphia or Boston; ignoring and forgetting, out and out, the sacramental views of the sixteenth century: and finds it tolerably easy, in this way, to put into it what he conceives to be a sound and satisfactory sense.—The articles could be easily signed by our modern churches generally, just as they can readily subscribe to the old Apostles' Creed, taking all *in their own sense*.

"But could they do so in the proper historical sense of the articles themselves. That is the only question of much account in the case. Happily, as regards the Consensus Tigurinus, we are not thrown simply on the general teaching of Calvin to make out the sense in which it is to be taken. We have a full *exposition* of it from his own hand, of which Dr. Hodge here takes no notice. Could he subscribe to the sacramental doctrine of that? I shall show hereafter that he could not, unless prepared at the same time to adopt the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession.—Dr. Hodge

is pleased to say also, in view of the extracts taken from our excellent Heidelberg Catechism, that there is nothing in its account of the Lord's Supper to which exception would even now be taken. He means, however, of course again, provided all be construed in his own sense. In the *sense* of Ursinus, neither Dr. Hodge nor Dr. Kurtz could endorse the Heidelberg Catechism; just as little as either of them could sign in good faith the Augsburg Confession in Melancthon's sense.

"But now it is not true that in the Mystical Presence the authorities are adduced without any attempt at least to set them in their proper historical relations. A careful distinction is made throughout the book between the confessions preceding and those following Calvin, as full notice is taken also of their respective relations both to Lutheranism on the one side and Zwinglianism on the other. In *my* survey, however, the Zwinglianizing element is made to give way gradually altogether to the Calvinistic, which appears at last accordingly as the acknowledged ruling life of all the leading Reformed confessions. This order of things is exhibited, not in the way of wilful assumption, but on clear historical deduction (or as we might say of a true historical development. Ed.) It suits not, however, of course, the theory of Dr. Hodge; and so without troubling himself at all to interrogate the actual course of history on the subject, he simply orders his classification in such a way as to make his Zwinglian authorities at once co-ordinate in full with the Calvinistic, as though both ran parallel in time throughout, and at last settled into a sort of joint result, substantially agreeing with the Zwinglian doctrine, as this stood in the beginning! Never was there a more unhistorical mode of proceeding in the case.—It is pretty evident besides that in his whole estimate of the subject, Dr. Hodge has been ruled by the authority of Guericke (an ultra Lutheran—Ed.), as he is led to speak of the several Reformed confessions in his *Symbolik*."

After remarks and replies of this character, Dr. Nevin makes a long historical Excursus, in which, with much learning, he gives a more extended history of the old sacramentarian controversy than in his *Mystical Presence*, in support of his position as over against the *Princeton Repertory*. The proofs adduced are ample, based on quotations from the writings of Calvin and the best authorities of the Reformation period. The imputation that Calvin was in any sense a time-server, that he adapted his view to suit the Lutherans at one time and the Zwinglians at another, is effectually set aside by his own solemn asseveration that he had not changed

it at all in any material sense. It was set forth in his *Institutes*, published in 1536, before he came into communication with the Lutherans at Strasburg in 1538, and suffered no change except in the way of enlargement and further exposition. In his own judgment the agreement at Zurich, in the *Consensus Tigurinus*, was, by no means, a retreat from the high sacramental views which he held during his whole lifetime, as appears from his *Exposition* attached to the *Consensus* in his works, Tome IX, Pp. 653-659. The most that can be said of this document is that it was Calvinistic-Zwinglian, over against the current Megandrian Zwinglianism, a rationalistic tendency, which did great injustice to the Swiss Reformer.

Here Calvin explicitly says, among other defensive remarks, that "our readers will find in this *Consensus* all that is contained in the so called Angsburg Confession, as published at Regensburg, provided it be not strained, through fear of the cross, to please the papists."—In connection with such statement the best European authority is quoted in favor of the main contention in the excursus.

"This view," says Professor Ebrard, "was not brought in, as modern polemics may represent, in the way of contemporary compliance towards the Lutherans, as though the Reformed Church had to thank the Lutheran for such a morsel of truth as she thus came to possess; but we find it, long before Bucer's negotiations, independently uttered by *Ecolampadius* in the *Confessio Mylhussiana*, and Calvin independently also brought it in from France."—And in regard to the Heidelberg Catechism, Ebrard also says: "We need not offer a panegyric on its merits; it speaks its own praise. Its wonderful union of doctrinal precision and inward earnestness, easy comprehensibility and pregnant depth, leave it without a parallel in its way. It is at once a system of divinity and a book of practical divinity; every child can understand it on the first reading, while yet the catechist has in it the richest material for profound elucidation."

"Calvin rendered an incalculable service to the Church," says his biographer Henry, "in directing the attention of one wide section of it to the force and power of the Lord's Supper, which some in Switzerland were disposed to turn into a mere commemoration. Millions of Christians in the Reformed Church owe it to him that they have enjoyed the Supper in its right sense, so as to partake in it of the true, spiritual, glorified Christ. His deep view, moreover, has almost everywhere become prevalent now in the Evangelical Church." This last remark is made of Germany, of course, and not of our Evangelical Churches. Dr. Nevin adds, that "it is some-

what queer, that the same number of the *Princeton Repertory*, which sinks the Reformed doctrine of the Eucharist so low in its review of the Mystical Presence, has an article highly commendatory of Calvin's Life by Henry. In this same article, the sacramental controversy of the sixteenth century is called a foul excrescence simply on the Reformation; and Luther is said to have disgraced himself by his unexampled 'revilings of Zwingli and Calvin.' Luther came to no collision personally with Calvin. The *Repertory* quietly assumed, moreover, that the old Calvinistic faith here was just its own, which, however, as we see from Henry himself, was not the case."

From what has been said it appears that Princeton and Mercersburg agreed that in the course of time a change took place in the Reformed Church in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as Dr. Nevin had affirmed in his book. The former affirmed that Calvin's view was ruled out as a foreign element in its growth; the latter denied this in toto, and maintained that it became predominant in the Reformation period as "the survival of the fittest." Dr. Hodge accordingly proceeds to show what he conceives to be its legitimate and normal form, or in other words, he gives a confession of his own. We here give it in his own words, followed always by Dr. Nevin's construction of the words in italics, showing in what sense he could agree with Dr. Hodge. Both could subscribe to the words of Dr. Hodge, but as regards the emendations of his language they were very far apart.

Christ is really present to His people in the Lord's Supper, but by His Spirit,—*as the medium of a higher mode of existence.*

Not in the sense of local nearness, but of efficacious operation,—*nullifying miraculously the bar of distance, and bringing the very substance of His body in union with their life.*

They receive Him, not with the mouth, but by faith,—*as the organ by which only the soul is qualified to admit the divine action indicated.*

They receive His flesh, not as flesh, not as material particles, nor its human life,—*but dynamically in the inward power of its life, so that the clause "nor its human life," is incorrect.*

They receive His body as broken, and His blood as shed,—*the value of that sacrifice carried in the vivific virtue of the same body, now gloriously exalted in heaven.*

The union thus signified and effected between Him and them, is not a corporeal union, nor a mixture of substances,—*in the Roman or Lutheran sense,—but spiritual and mystical;—not merely mental,*

but including the real presence of Christ's whole life under an objective character, and reaching on one side also through the soul into the body; arising from the indwelling of the Spirit,—not as the proxy only of an absent Christ, but as the supernatural bond of a true life connection, by which His very flesh is joined to ours, more intimately far than the trunk to the branches, or the head to its members in the natural world.

The efficacy of this Sacrament as a means of grace is not in the signs, *separately taken*, nor in the service,—*outwardly considered*,—nor in the minister, nor in the word, but solely in the attending influence of the Holy Ghost,—*as the necessary complement or inward side of the divine mystery itself, of whose presence the outward signs are the sure guaranty and pledge, and whose mirific action can never fail to take effect objectively where the subject is in a state to admit it by faith.* This we believe—filled out with positive contents—to be a fair statement of the doctrine of the Reformed Church.

The two learned doctors differed considerably in their idea or definition of a Sacrament, and this helped to keep them farther away from common ground, as will appear from Dr. Nevin's anti-criticism.

"In denying that the elements possess any saving efficacy in their own separate nature, Calvin and the Reformed symbols did not mean to deny such efficacy to the sacraments in their full sense; for this we have had full opportunity to see, was supposed to include this very conception as a necessary part of their constitution. Occasionally indeed the mere outward side of the service is denominated the Sacrament, which then of course is represented as having in itself no power for sacramental ends; it is only the accompanying grace of Christ's Spirit which can make it of any account.

"But in any full view of the case, these two things are regarded as going together in the constitution of the sacrament itself. Here it is that Dr. Hodge is wholly at fault. His idea plainly is that the relation of inward and outward is to be counted just as loose and free in the sacraments, as in the case of any other occasion that may be turned into means of grace by the concurring influence of God's Spirit; and this view he also endeavors to impose on the old Reformed Church. But who that has listened to Calvin or Ursinus, or attended in any measure to the clear sense of the old symbols, can fail to see how greatly they are wronged by every imagination of this sort. A sacrament, they tell us perpetually, consists of two sides, one outward, and the other invisible and inward, which must always be taken together to complete the pres-

ence of the mystery. The holy Eucharist consists thus of a terrene part of objects and acts that fall within the sphere of sense, and a celestial part, other objects and parts, parallel with the first, which have place only in the sphere of the spirit. The outward things are in this view signs only and pictures of realities, belonging to a higher order of existence; the inward things are those invisible realities themselves.

"The outward and the inward were both considered as constituent sides, and one not a whit more so than the other, of the same sacramental transaction. The bond, therefore, uniting them, according to the old doctrine, is not physical or mechanical in any way, implies no local contact or inclusion, as the Romanists and Lutherans might seem to teach; and falls not at all within the reach of experience under any other form. To express this peculiar character, it is denominated a *sacramental* union; by which, however, is not meant that it is simply nominal and natural, but only that it is extraordinary and peculiar to this case. It is regarded as in fact most intimate and necessary. Though not joined together in the same way, the inward and outward meet here simultaneously in one fact, as really and truly as soul and body are united in the constitution of our common life. The sacrament is not the elements used in its celebration, nor the outward service only in which this consists, but a divine *transaction*, comprehending in itself, along with such visible and earthly forms, the invisible power of the very verities themselves that are thus symbolically represented; all of which was expressed in the following statement, extracted from a confession presented at the *Colloquy of Worms* in 1557, by Beza and other ministers in the name of the Gallic churches.

"We confess that in the Supper of the Lord not only the benefits of Christ, but the very substance of the Son of Man, that is, the same true flesh which the Word assumed into perpetual union, in which He was born and suffered, rose again and ascended to heaven, and that true blood, which he shed for us, are not only signified, or set forth symbolically, typically in figure, like the memory of something absent, but are truly and really represented, exhibited, and offered to us; in connection with symbols that are by no means naked, but which, so far as God who promises and offers is concerned, always have the same thing itself truly and certainly joined with them, whether proposed to believers or unbelievers."

After Dr. Hodge had succeeded, as he supposed, in proving from historical documents that the doctrine of the Lord's Supper as

taught in the Mystical Presence was not the doctrine of the Reformed Church, he proceeded to attack the theology of the book with much apparent vigor, the attacks from different quarters following each other in quick succession, as if the object were to make short work of the whole affair and finish it at once. The heresies to which Dr. Nevin's language and doctrine lead as "their legitimate consequences," something which the Germans would call a remarkable concatenation of *consequenzmacherei*, are numerous and conflicting. We here give them by name: Eutychianism, Socinianism, Pantheism, Schleiermacherianism, Sabellianism, Romanism, Lutheranism, Mysticism, Rationalism and especially Germanism. On the ecclesiastical chart he says that "his doctrine seems to be somewhere between the Romish and Lutheran view." Dr. Hodge never condescended to the use of low or vulgar language in his attacks. His weapons are all polished, and his arrows, sharpened with sarcasm or perhaps wit, glitter as they fly. Of course he reserves some of the latter for the final attack on what he regarded a castle, but which Dr. Nevin and others on the west side of the Delaware, regarded as a windmill or a man of straw. We here give one of these as a specimen. "Burke once said, he never knew what the London beggars did with their cast-off clothes, until he went to Ireland. We hope we Americans are not to be arrayed in the cast-off clothes of the German mystics, and then marshalled in bands as the 'Church of the Future.'" These were the last words that Princeton had to say of the greatest alumnus and theologian that went forth from its classic halls or had sat under Dr. Hodge's instructions. The great champion then in dignified style made his bow and left the field, never to enter it again, in the following beautiful language:

"We said at the commencement of this article, that we had never read Dr. Nevin's book on the Mystical Presence, until now. We have from time to time read others of his publications, and looked here and there into the work before us; and have been thus led to fear that he was allowing the German modes of thinking to get the mastery over him, but we had no idea that he had so far given himself up to their influence. If he has any faith in friendship and long continued regard, he must believe that we could not find ourselves separated from him by such serious differences without deep regret, and will, therefore, give us credit for sincerity of conviction and purpose."

Dr. Nevin, in his anti-critique, with his usual vigor and fluency of language, considered these supposed legitimate consequences with fairness and respect, although being of such a contradictory

character they might seem to most persons to confute themselves. On the one hand he defines the Eutychian heresy, and shows how he had avoided that dangerous strand; but then on the other hand, he alleges that Dr. Hodge, by separating the humanity of Christ from His divinity in the Lord's Supper, laid himself open to the charge of a Nestorian tendency, at least, as a legitimate consequence.

"Not to admit of such organic unity in Christ's life," says Dr. Nevin, in respectful language due to his great teacher,—“is the error of Nestorius. I should be sorry to have it thought, that I should charge Dr. Hodge with this in the way of offset simply to his charge of Eutychianism preferred against the Mystical Presence; although the facility with which he brings this charge, does constitute undoubtedly, in the circumstances, a presumption of some undue leaning to the other side on his own part. I should be sorry, moreover, to make the mere name of an ancient heresy, in this case, the vehicle of any particular odium. A large part of our modern Protestantism probably, respectable and orthodox in other respects, stands precisely on the same ground, without having at all reflected on the fact. It is with the thing, of course, rather than the name, that we are here principally concerned. In such view, I feel authorized to pronounce the Christology of this article in the *Biblical Repertory* decidedly *Nestorian*.”

This *Princeton Review*, at an early day, considered itself as set to oppose the introduction of German theology and philosophy into this country. Its articles on German Transcendentalism were regarded by many as as a complete estoppel to its progress in our literary circles. In regard to German theology, a distinguished professor in his day said that if he could have his choice, he would have preferred that it should be sunk in the Atlantic rather than that it should cross it. Dr. Hodge, therefore, had a large public to sympathize with him in his reference to the “cast-off-clothes,” and he gained a point apparently on Dr. Nevin on his side of the house when he alleged that “Dr. Nevin's theory was in all its essential features Schleiermacher's theory.” This assertion could be made to mean much or little, but fifty years ago it meant a great deal in our hemisphere, and that of a very serious character. To this Dr. Nevin made only a calm and dignified reply.

“I have,” he says, “read Schleiermacher some; hope to read still more; acknowledge the mighty force of his learning and genius; and trust that I shall not cease to cherish his memory with affectionate respect. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that I have copied him directly in my theory of Christianity and the Church.

So far as his influence has entered into my thinking, it has been mainly in an indirect way, through the medium of the German theology under its best form. My obligation to this theology, I have no wish to conceal or deny. But to be in living connection with it at all, at the present time, is to feel necessarily to some extent the force of Schleiermacher's mind. Not as though all came from him, for that is by no means the case. The German Evangelical theology includes various conflicting tendencies, and appears in broad opposition to the views of Schleiermacher.—He formed indeed, as is well known, no school, and left behind no fixed school of philosophy. His power was shown rather in the way of exciting and stimulating others, by throwing out ideas of a comprehensive and productive character. In this way, though dead, he continues to speak in the theology of Germany, and will do so hereafter also, no doubt, for a long time to come. Such men as *Neander*, *Tholuck*, *Julius Mueller*, *Nitzsch*, *Twisten*, *Ullmann*, *Dorner*, *Rothe*, and others all own his influence and speak reverently of his character. If I am, therefore, to be reckoned among his disciples, it can be at best only in the general way in which these, and many others of like character, with all acknowledged theological independence, may be distinguished with the same title. I do not know that this should be considered any very serious reproach.

“Schleiermacher, however, we are told, held very serious errors. This I have no wish to deny. It is admitted generally by those who have most respect for his memory. But what then? Are his errors such as to exclude from his writing *all* wisdom and truth? Or, is it only of the infallible and immaculate we may expect to learn anything in the sphere of religion? Alas, then, at whose feet should we ever find it safe to sit, though it should be only in the most transient way?—I have no wish or concern to make myself the apologist of Schleiermacher, just as little as I would think of making myself the apologist of Origen—whose great merits and great faults, theologically, exhibit a somewhat parallel case for our contemplation.

“It needs no great discernment to see that my general theological tendency is quite different from that involved in what Dr. Hodge denominates Schleiermacher's ‘system.’ No man was less bound than he by the authority of the outward and objective; he is, in one sense, the very apostle of individualism; among all Protestants it would be hard to find one whose Protestantism may be taken as more absolute and free than his. The great object of the Mystical Presence, on the other hand, is to assert the claims of an

objective, historical, sacramental, churchly religion, over against the subjectivity of mere private judgment and private will. One great ground of complaint against it, with Dr. Hodge himself, is found notoriously just in this, that it is regarded as too little Protestant and too much catholic. But nobody even thought of bringing such a charge against the system of Schleiermacher.—Schleiermacher, a ritualist, disposed to make undue account of forms, as to give the letter at any point a place higher than the spirit! Never, surely, was there a judgment more fully aside from its proper mark. Alas, it is the great fault of his theology that it is so entirely inward, and makes so little account of history and the outward Church. In this respect, the Mystical Presence is quite in another order of thought.

“Altogether, indeed, my sense of the *Church*, which has come to be active and deep, has not been borrowed in any direct and immediate way from German theology. I know of no writer there, whose views in full I would be willing to accept on this subject. So far as churchly influence has been exerted upon me from this quarter, it has been mainly through the force of theological ideas, that have served to bring my mind into right position, for perceiving and appreciating what is due to this whole side of Christianity in its own nature. The later German theology has done much undoubtedly to provide right views of history, deeper appreciation of the Christological questions, more realistic conceptions altogether of the new creation introduced into the world by Jesus Christ. Its tendency, therefore, is to break up the force of our common modern spiritualistic abstractions, and thus to restore at the same time old catholic ideas to their proper force. In this way it is well adapted to make the necessity of an objective, sacramental religion felt, even *beyond* the measure of its own positive teaching. Only in this way can it be said to have anything to do with my particular church tendency.

“The trite and easy sarcasm about ‘cast-off clothes,’ as here applied, is unworthy of Dr. Hodge. It would not cost much trouble, of course, to retort in some equally insulting style. But would it serve at all the cause of charity and truth?

“He regrets my *German* sympathies. Am I not, however, in a German Church, and in conscience bound to be true to its proper historical life? Could I deserve to be regarded anything better than a traitor to my trust, if I made it to overflow and overwhelm this life with foreign modes of thought, derived purely from Scotland or New England? I would say solemnly: *No man has a*

right to take advantage of his position in a German Church for any such purpose as this. It is well, indeed, that it should be Americanized; all nationalities require that; and the process must always involve their approximation to a common standard. But *Americanization* in religion is not at once subjection to the one single type of thinking that prevails in New England or the Presbyterian Church. It *should* be the result of our different nationalities, working into each other in a free way.

"What we need is a more thoroughly scientific apprehension, not only of the letter and shell of Christianity simply, but of its true divine contents; and this, I feel very sure, can never be reached by any process, in which the results of the later German theology are ignored or trampled uninquiringly under foot. It is not necessary, of course, that we should follow them in any blind slavish way; but we must at least treat them with such respect as is due, all the world over, to the earnest wrestling of earnest minds with the most solemn problems of our general human life. What philosopher can now deserve to be heard who is altogether ignorant of Kant and Hegel? What system of Ethics may be counted truly scientific, which owes *nothing* to the labors of Schleiermacher, Daub or Richard Rothe? Still more; can any treatise on sin be now complete, which leaves out of view entirely through ignorance or scorn the profound investigations of Julius Mueller? Can any Christology be worth reading, that makes no account of the immortal work of Dorner? To ask such questions is enough. Surely it is not so perfectly self-evident, as Dr. Hodge appears to suppose, that German modes of thinking must needs be false and bad, the moment they are found to fall away from the reigning traditions of America."

Dr. Nevin, in criticising Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper, had said that it labored under a defective psychology, which he endeavored to correct with the help of what he regarded as a better theory of man's nature. "Dr. Nevin," says Dr. Hodge, "attributes to Calvin a wrong psychology in reference to Christ's person. What is that but to attribute to him wrong views of that person? And what is that but saying his own views differ from those of Calvin on the person of Christ? No one, however, has pretended that Calvin had any peculiar views on that subject. In differing from Calvin on this point, therefore, he differs from the whole Church." To this Dr. Nevin replies by asking a question. "Seriously," he says, "can Dr. Hodge suppose that every variation in the science of Psychology involves necessarily a change or corresponding

alteration in the *substance* of the Christian faith? Is his own psychology at all like that of Tertullian, or of the ancient Church fathers generally? Such changes necessarily affect always, more or less, the *form* of doctrines for the understanding; but the truth itself may be the same under different forms; whence precisely the idea of dogmatic history. In the Mystical Presence, Calvin's theory is said to labor under this view only, as exhibited through the medium of a defective psychology; and the better form of our present science is employed accordingly, not to subvert its material substance, but only to place it in a light more suitable to the wants of the understanding at this time. Dr. Hodge employs a psychology too in the case; not Calvin's by any means; but his object with it is to kill the very substance of the old doctrine, which it has been all along my endeavor to preserve alive."—Drs. Nevin and Hodge not only had different psychologies, but widely different philosophies that controlled, more or less, their thinking. Accordingly they could not always see theological doctrines in the same light, and much less so, in their views of the Lord's Supper; for just here there is a profound biblical psychology underlying this institution, which Dr. Nevin sought to bring out and emphasize, without, however, satisfying the psychology of his critic.—Dr. Hodge was a Lockian, an extreme nominalist, and regarded all general terms as abstractions of the mind without reality or entity in the natural order of the world. See Dr. Hodge's *Systematic Theology*, Vol. II, on the subject of Anthropology, the first five chapters.

Dr. Nevin on the other hand was Platonic, and a moderate realist. As a general thing he regarded the mass of our conceptions and ideas as mere abstractions formed by the human mind, or as he was accustomed to call them, "abstract generalities;" but there were some generalities, such as the State, the Church, the race, humanity, the law of life, life itself, corporeity and others which had to him a concrete existence. This kind of realism pervades all of his writing, and with other profound thinkers he thought it helped very materially to a right understanding of the Scripture, much better than the old nominalism. Of course he did not for a moment imagine that the Word of God must in this way bow to a school of philosophy for its proper interpretation. He firmly believed that he found this realism in the Bible itself, which throughout is its best interpreter.

Such in brief outline was the nature of the controversy conducted by two of the ablest theological professors in America near one-half of a century ago. It is believed that it has not been with-

out good results. It led others to think, and to study the wealth of the old confessions, and if with some it dropped out of memory, with others it was of service in begetting more elevated views of the most solemn and central institution in the Christian Church. Strange to say, such higher views made their appearance a few years ago in the *Presbyterian Review*, the successor of the *Biblical Repertory*. They appeared in the April number of the year 1887, in an article on the Lord's Supper, written by the Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke, D. D., a prominent divine in the Presbyterian Church. Substantially they agree with the Mystical Presence on the points in which the *Repertory* took Dr. Nevin to task. The writer refers to Dr. Charles Hodge as holding that there "were three distinct types among the Reformed—the Zwinglian, the Calvinistic, and an intermediate form, which latter ultimately became symbolical, being adopted in the authoritative standards of the Church," in which now he "ventures to observe that Dr. Hodge differs from most orthodox writers on the subject." Throughout the article Dr. Van Dyke maintains that Calvin's doctrine became the doctrine of the Reformed Churches generally, as strongly stated in the Westminster Confessions as in any other Reformed formularies. He also without any hesitation asserts that the union of believers with Christ and their communion with Him in the Lord's Supper includes his humanity as a matter of course no less than with his divinity.

"The communion," he says, "is the actual participation of the body and blood of Christ, that is, of His divine human nature.—The Romish Church is consistent with Scripture (*quoad hoc*. Ed.) and with the teaching of all the Reformed Confessions, when she insists that Christ's presence in the Sacrament includes His human as well as His divine nature, His body and blood, as well as His deity.—The Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as taught in the Thirty-Nine Articles and in the Westminster Confession, is intimately connected with the two great mysteries of the incarnation, and the personal union of believers with Christ. The holy communion has its profound roots in the one mystery and its precious fruit in the other.—The Sacrament is founded upon and leads to His one invisible person, which is the reservoir and the channel of all divine fulness for our salvation. He is not and cannot be divided. His human nature never had, and never can have, any existence separate from His Deity.—The efficacious manifestation of the Godhead in and through the humanity of Christ is as permanent as the incarnation. The Son of God was, from the beginning, the living Word of the Father, the fountain and origin of life; and

now, since the Word became flesh, it is the Son of Man who has power on earth to forgive sins, and is exalted a prince and a Saviour to give repentance and remission.—When He says, ‘I will come to you,’ He certainly does not mean the same thing as when he says, ‘I will send the Comforter.’ Wherever He is, there is His theanthropic person. His human nature is virtually omnipresent, because it is forever united to the divine.” This article of Dr. Van Dyke evinces learning and ability, and from his numerous references to the best authorities, shows that he had thoroughly studied the subject upon which he wrote. It is, however, remarkable, that he nowhere mentions the Mystical Presence or the controversy to which it gave rise. Perhaps both had been forgotten as if buried in the past. If so, his testimony in favor of sound sacramental doctrine in the Presbyterian Church, in which he says “there is a wide-spread defection from the doctrine of our standards in regard to the Lord’s Supper,” is only so much the stronger.

Dr. Nevin withdrew from the field of combat, if not with as much apparent grace as his friend Dr. Hodge, yet with dignity, and with a clear consciousness that he had maintained the ground which he had taken.

“My work is now done,” he says. “In obedience to the Princeton challenge, I have called myself once more solemnly to account, and endeavored in the fear of God to sustain my own position as taken in the Mystical Presence. The whole sacramental question has been re-examined. The objections and strictures have been carefully tried in the light of history, as well as by the standard of Scripture. For the whole process, special assistance has been at hand besides in the masterly work of Ebrard.

“As for what is peculiar in the theory of the Mystical Presence, the scientific form in which it has been attempted to save the substance of the old doctrine, it is enough to say that it has passed unscathed through the ordeal at least of this review. The objections made to it spring either from gross misapprehension of its actual sense, or from the false relation of the reviewer himself to the old church doctrine. They are conditioned throughout by the Nestorian divorce of Christ’s sacrifice from his life, which characterizes so unhappily the whole theology of Dr. Hodge. Still, if the theory in question were shown to be unsatisfactory in a scientific view, the case would require that it should be given up *as a theory*, and some better one if possible substituted in its place. Let it appear, that it is really at war with a single article of the old Apostles’ Creed, and I stand ready to cast the first stone in the work of

crushing it to death. I lay my hand upon my heart, and before heaven and earth pronounce every article of that creed as *my own*, and only wish, indeed, that I had the opportunity of doing it with a loud voice, in the worshipping congregation of God's people every Lord's day.

"There may be some, I trust not many, however, in the German Reformed Church, who could find all theological discussion of this sort comparatively unprofitable, affecting to be so set on *practical* interests, as to have no taste for speculation or controversy in any shape. It is good certainly to make the life of religion the main thing, and to avoid vain disputations in regard to its nature. But who will pretend to say seriously, that the general question here in view is of this character? Who may not see, that it goes at once to the very heart of Christianity, and links itself with the most momentous practical concerns on every side? *Not* to take an interest in it must argue, in a minister especially, such a spiritual levity, as can hardly be reconciled with the idea of a heart-felt intelligent zeal for godliness. *What think ye of Christ?* is the searching interrogation, which lies at the bottom of this whole inquiry concerning the character of the new creation, comprehended in the Church. Is the redemption of the Gospel, including all the benefits of Christ's life and death, a concrete reality, that holds in the force of his living constitution as a perennial, indissoluble fact, the *new world* which grace has made, and in this alone; or is it an abstraction, which may be applied to men and appropriated by faith, in no connection with the *Life* by which it originally was brought to pass? Our inward answer to all this must be ever conditioned necessarily by our view of the Church; and finds its exact measure always in our theory of the Holy Sacraments. Eviscerate these of their old Catholic sense, and it is in vain to pretend to any true faith in the article of a Holy Catholic Church, as it stood in the beginning; and without this faith again, the Christological mystery is necessarily shorn of its proper significance and glory."

Dr. Hodge reviewed the Mystical Presence in the April number of the *Repertory*, 1848, and Dr. Nevin's articles in reply, twelve in number, appeared weekly soon afterwards, in the *Messenger*, from the 24th of May to the 9th of August following. They were of unusual length, and no room could have been found for them in any of the quarterlies of the day, as they would have fully filled out an entire number. Published thus in a denominational paper, as might be supposed, comparatively few of the readers of the *Repertory* or of the public generally had an opportunity to see them. At home,

however, they were read with avidity by laymen as well as ministers, where they made a deep impression.

The two great professors now rest from their labors here on earth, after they had both gone beyond their fourscore years. What they saw on earth through a glass darkly is now revealed to them clearly in the light of eternity, and together they enjoy the full fruition of that wonderful union between Christ and his people, which here in time is so much of a mystery. Dr. Nevin had reason to complain of the manner in which his work was attacked by his old friend at Princeton, but he never allowed any unkind feeling to arise in his mind towards him. The respect and esteem between the two continued to the end. Some years before his death Dr. Hodge made it convenient to visit Lancaster, and he was heartily received as a guest in Dr. Nevin's family. The meeting and intercourse were cordial in character, and tended very much to cement the friendship formed in their earlier years.

CHAPTER XXVIII

UP to the year 1848 Dr. Nevin was necessitated to address the public almost exclusively through the columns of the *Weekly Messenger*, which, as the organ of a single religious denomination, had only a limited circulation. As this subjected him to some inconvenience, and as moreover it was felt that there was need of a general medium in which his more elaborate articles might appear in a permanent form, the Alumni Association of Marshall College, at its annual meeting in 1848, appointed a committee to establish such an organ under the editorship of Dr. Nevin. It had indeed been spoken of at other meetings, but at this one, Henry A. Mish, Esq., lawyer and editor at Mercersburg, offered to publish a review, provided he received the necessary support from the Alumni and others, and a committee was appointed to take the matter in hand. The proposition excited a generous enthusiasm, and by the end of the year it was believed that it would be safe to embark in such an enterprise. Dr. Nevin, for reasons satisfactory to himself, declined to become the responsible editor, but cheerfully consented to be the leading contributor, which was about the same thing, and in the end something better. The new periodical was called the *Mercersburg Review*, no difficulty being experienced in finding for it an appropriate name. The first number appeared on the 1st of January, 1849, and from that time onward once every two months; the strong desire to see and read it, preventing it from becoming a quarterly at once. It paid the printer, but no one else, because no one concerned in it wished to be paid. It was, however, enthusiastically received and read within the circle of its friends, the Alumni, the clergy of the Church and others. It was edited with ability, and arrested attention not only in this country, but occasionally in England and Scotland. For vigor and freshness of thought it compared favorably with the best publications of the kind in the country. The article in the first number by Dr. Nevin on "The Year 1848" was vigorous, hopeful, and somewhat optimistic; and as it was in some degree a mirror of his mind, it showed better than anything else where he stood at this period, distressed with anxiety about the state of the Church, yet hopeful that God in His all-wise Providence would bring order out of confusion, a new cosmos out of the old chaos.

As he soon afterwards freed himself from the responsibility of the theological chair, where he had to confine himself, more or less, to denominational theology, he felt himself, in a larger degree, free to discuss the more general and vital questions of the times. These all were, in one way or another, christological and closely connected with the Church Question. The latter now, more than ever before, began to engage his waking and perhaps his sleeping hours. Never before, perhaps, did philosopher, scientist or theologian bestow more study or prayerful attention than he to any deep problem that called for solution. Many in England, like Newman and Manning, or like Haecker and Brownson, in this country, settled it for themselves by falling over into the Catholic Church; whilst nearly everybody else here and abroad, following in the lead of Brownlee, Breckenridge, Berg, and others, thought it could be settled only by destroying the Church of Rome in its roots and branches. Dr. Nevin, on the other hand, thought that the question was one that ought to be studied and solved in some more rational way, by allowing neither extreme to settle it for others. He never imagined that he was prepared to solve it fully himself, but he was quite willing to make such contributions towards its solution as lay within the compass of his power. The *Mercersburg Review* offered him such an opportunity, and the Reformed Church afforded him the necessary freedom of action for discussing the great question.

It was not long, however, before his trenchant articles excited alarm, and in the year 1851 those on "Early Christianity" induced a somewhat nervous editor of the *Weekly Messenger* to pronounce a caveat or a subdued alarm. But the "leading contributor" to the *Review* continued to contribute article after article with a remarkable fluency of pen until the year 1852, whether they pleased everybody or not. Having finished his fourth article on Cyprian, he thought he had performed his share of the work and supposing, not perhaps without some feeling of discouragement, that the *Review* had fulfilled its mission, he recommended that it should be discontinued. There were some who were anxious that this should be done to prevent strife, and a learned Doctor of Divinity earnestly urged the writer, the chairman of the Publishing Committee, to stop the *Review* at once, and to burn all the printed sheets in the hands of the printer for the last number of the year. But at the Commencement in the latter part of September, the continuance of the *Review* for another year was referred to the Alumni at their annual meeting. The atmosphere was murky, and it appeared as if it might

be taken for granted that the Committee would be exonerated from further service in conducting the periodical; but when it was ascertained that it paid expenses, one Alumnus after another arose up in the meeting and favored its continued publication, urging that it was needed as a bond of union between the members, and that it might be made useful to themselves and others, independently of the immediate object which had called it forth as an organ for Dr. Nevin. Eloquent speeches were made in its support, and the feeling became very strong that the discontinuance of the *Review* at the time would be a calamity, which ought by all means to be averted. The enthusiastic feeling awakened at this meeting seemed to have an electric influence, and had the effect of rendering this commencement one of a most pleasant character. It opened with the gloom of a rainy morning, but, after this meeting of the Alumni, it ended with a clear sky and a bright sunset. It was not the first instance in which the young and vigorous have given inspiration to their elders under the heat and burden of the day. It showed, at least, which way the wind was blowing. Dr. Schaff was quite surprised, could not talk enough about it, and thought there must be something in it. Dr. Nevin, on the other hand, smiled and said that it might be well after all to try the experiment of continuing the *Review*; it was understood that he would always be a welcome contributor to its columns, and that from time to time the *Review* might still become a necessity when he wished to communicate his thoughts to the public.

From the year 1849–1853 the *Review* continued to be published by the Publishing Committee as a bi-monthly. After that it appeared quarterly under the title of the *Mercersburg Quarterly Review*, up to the year 1857, when Dr. E. V. Gerhart and Dr. Philip Schaff were appointed editors. They remained in this position until the year 1861, when, on account of the distracted state of the country, it was thought best to discontinue the further publication of the *Review* for the time being. During this period of its history it had retained its original motto, a quotation from Anselm: *Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam*. In the year 1867 it was revived and published by S. R. Fisher & Co., under its first title, the *Mercersburg Review*: an organ for Christological, Historical and Positive Theology; edited by Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D. Its motto was exchanged for another, which was taken this time from Irenæus: *Unus Christus Jesus, Dominus noster, veniens per universam dispositionem, et omnia in semet ipsum recapitulans*. Rev. Dr. Thomas G. Appel has been its

editor from 1868 to the present time, having Rev. Dr. E. E. Higbee associated with him as co-editor for several years, and for the last five or six years past the Rev. J. M. Titzel, D. D. Its motto at present is more practical, but just as profound as those which went before: *The Truth shall make you free.*

This Review all along has maintained a high character for variety of learning, ability and vigor, among other periodicals of a similar character. Under all the circumstances of the case, its history is in fact something phenomenal, as evincing the rapid spread of theological culture in a German Church, in which forty or fifty years ago there were very few of its ministers or laymen, who could write out a thesis in theology in the English language with comfort to themselves or others. After Dr. Nevin withdrew from the *Review* he continued to contribute to its columns articles of great value from time to time until the year 1883, when failing eye-sight compelled him to lay aside his prolific pen. We here give a list of all the articles that he wrote for the *Review* during each year for a space of thirty-five years. Most of his contributions were of more than ordinary length; they were about 100 in number and filled over 2,800 pages of the *Review*.—It is needless to say that every article sought earnestly to establish some important truth or to promote some practical end.

1849.—Preliminary Statement.—The Year 1848.—True and False Protestantism, a review of Dr. Schaff's Principle of Protestantism.—The Apostles' Creed, concluded in three articles.—Sartorius on the Work and Person of Christ.—False Protestantism.—Kirwan's Letters to Bishop Hughes.—Zwingli no Radical.—Notices of Prof. Adler's Dictionary of the German and English languages, and of three Discourses on God in Christ, delivered at New Haven, Cambridge and Andover.—The Classis of Mercersburg and the Endowment of the Seminary.—Morell's Philosophy of Religion.—The Lutheran Confession.—The Sect System, in two articles.—Historical Development.—Puritanism and the Creed.—The Liturgical Movement.—In all nineteen articles, occupying 306 pages out of the 612 in the volume.

1850.—The New Creation.—Brownson Quarterly Review, two articles.—Faith, Reverence and Freedom.—Wilberforce on the Incarnation.—Noel on Baptism.—Bible Christianity.—Doctrine of the Reformed Church on the Lord's Supper.—The Moral Order of Sex.—The New Testament, by R. C. Trench, M. A.—Trench's Lectures. Eleven articles. Pp. 269.

1851.—Catholicism.—Liebner's Christology.—Neander's Practi-

cal Exegesis.—Modern Civilization, by Rev. J. Balmes.—*Cur Deus Homo*.—Elements of Christian Science, by William Adams, S. T. D.—Schaff's History of the Apostolic Church.—The Apostle Peter, translated from Schaff's History of the Apostolic Church.—The Anglican Crisis.—The Holy Eucharist.—Early Christianity, two articles.—Zacharius Ursinus. Thirteen articles. Pp. 334.

1852.—Early Christianity, the third article.—Fairbank's Typology.—The Heidelberg Catechism.—A Word of Explanation to the *Church Review*.—Cyprian in four articles.—Dr. Berg's Last Words.—Book Notices.—Anti-Creed Heresy.—Closing Notice. Twelve articles. Pp. 306.

1853.—Address at the Formal Opening of Franklin and Marshall College, June 7, 1853.—Man's True Destiny; Address to the First Graduating Class of Franklin and Marshall College, Aug. 31, 1853. Two articles. Pp. 334.

1854.—Dutch Crusade.—Wilberforce on the Eucharist. Two articles. Pp. 77.

1855.—Introductory Address at the Inauguration of Rev. Dr. B. C. Wolff, as Professor of Theology, delivered at Chambersburg, Pa. Pp. 26.

1856.—The Church Year.—Christian Hymnology. Two articles. Pp. 72.

1857.—Two articles on Dr. Hodge's Commentary on the Ephesians. Pp. 92.

1858.—Thoughts on the Church, in two articles. Pp. 59.

1859.—The Natural and Supernatural.—The Wonderful Nature of Man.—Eulogy on Dr. Rauch, repeated. Three articles. Pp. 83.

1860.—The Old Doctrine of Christian Baptism. Pp. 26. •

1861.—Jesus and the Resurrection. Pp. 23.

1867.—The Theology of the New Liturgy.—Arianism.—Athanasius.—Commencement Address.—Athanasian Creed.—Our Relations to Germany. Six articles. Pp. 111.

1868.—Presbyterian Union Convention.—Dorner's History of Protestant Theology, two articles.—Answer to Professor Dorner. Four articles. Pp. 226.

1869.—Origin and Structure of the Apostles' Creed.—The Unity of the Apostles' Creed. Two articles. Pp. 14.

1870.—Once for All. Pp. 26.

1871.—The Revelation of God in Christ.—Education. Pp. 31.

1872.—Christ and His Spirit. Pp. 40.

1873.—The Old Catholic Movement.—Christianity and Humanity. Two articles. Pp. 74.

1874.—*Apollos: or the Way of God.*—Reply to an Anglican Catholic. Two articles. Pp. 72.

1876.—*The Spiritual World.* Pp. 28.

1877.—*The Testimony of Jesus.*—*The Spirit of Prophecy.*—*Biblical Anthropology.* Three articles. Pp. 49.

1878.—*Sacred Hermeneutics.*—*The Supreme Epiphany; God's voice out of the Cloud.* Two articles. Pp. 83.

1879.—*The Bread of Life: A Communion Sermon.* Pp. 35.

1880.—*The Pope's Encyclical.* Pp. 46.

1882.—*Christ, the Inspiration of His Own Word.* Pp. 41.

1883.—*Inspiration of the Bible.* Pp. 36.—Last article.

From the titles of the articles just named it will be seen that Dr. Nevin at this time wrote out his views on many of the most profound questions of the day. No one, it is believed, can read them without admiring the ability, courage and the spirit with which they were written. In his own peculiar style he developed with much vigor the doctrine of the Person of Christ; of the nature and attributes of the Church, His Mystical Body; of the Sacraments; the theology of the Apostolic Symbol; the difference between patristic and American Christianity; the relation of Freedom to Authority, and of Faith to Knowledge; of Christianity to Civilization; and in short the deepest questions of the age. At the same time with rare polemic ability, and dexterity, not without some biting sarcasm, or a stroke of drollery or humor now and then, he attacked popular errors, more particularly, religious and political radicalism, socialism and the materialistic tendency of the times.—We here give in a condensed form the general drift of some few of the articles which exhibit Dr. Nevin's general system of thought. They arrested attention at the time; they have a bearing also on living questions at the present day; and in fact very much so, because they were in a great measure in advance of their age.

The Lutheran Confession.—The first number of the *Mercersburg Review* appeared on the 1st of January, 1849, and was followed by the *Evangelical or Lutheran Review* at Gettysburg on the 1st of July following. Dr. Nevin gave it a commendatory notice soon afterwards in his own organ at Mercersburg.

"We welcome this review," he writes, "because its banner is unfurled in favor of true Lutheranism, in the bosom of the American German Church. It is understood to go decidedly for the standards and true historical life of the Lutheran Church. This does not imply that it is to make common cause with the stiff exclusive pedantry of the *Alllutheraner*, technically so called, who come before us

in the German Church as a fair parallel to the similar petrification, which is presented to our view in the pedantry of the Scotch Seceders. What lives must move. The *Review* proposes no substitution of dead men's bones for what was once their living spirit. But this spirit itself it will seek to understand and honor, with due regard to the wants of the Church as it now stands. It will not be ashamed of the Augsburg Confession. It will speak reverently, at least, of the Form of Concord, as well as of the great and good men to whom it owes its origin. It will not dream of sundering the stream of Lutheranism from its human historical fountain in the sixteenth century by the miserable fiction of an American Lutheranism in no living and inward connection with the Lutheranism of Europe; the *name* thus made to stand for everything and the substance for nothing. It will not stultify Luther himself, by professing to accept his creed and magnify his name, whilst the very core of all, his Sacramental faith, without which his creed had for himself no meaning or force, is cast aside as a silly impertinence, deserving only of pity or contempt. The *Review* proposes to stand forth, in one word, as the representative of all true *bona fide* Lutheranism, in the old sense, as it was held, for instance, by Melancthon in the age of the Reformation, and as it is now held by many of the best and most learned men in Germany. This it proposes to do here on American ground, in full face of the unsacramental thinking with which it is surrounded on all sides, and in full view of the scorn, open or quiet, that is to be expected at its hands. In all this, as already said, we unfeignedly rejoice. We are glad that Lutheranism has found an organ, after so long a time, to plead its own cause, before the American Church; and we are glad it has found such an organ to plead this cause so ably and so well.

“Are we then Lutheran? Just as little as we have become Roman. As we stand externally in the *Reformed* Church, we find in it, also, the only satisfactory resting place at present for our faith; but we believe that Lutheranism and Reform, the two great phases of the Reformation, may be brought together with mutual inward modification, so that neither shall necessarily exclude the other; that each rather shall serve to make the other more perfect and complete; and we earnestly long for this union; but so long as the antithesis, which thus far in itself has been real and not imaginary only, is not advanced to this inward solution and reconciliation, we are in principle Reformed, and not Lutheran. In particular, we accept Calvin's idea of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, as set forth in

the Heidelberg Catechism; and abhor the rationalistic frivolity by which the mystery is so commonly denied.

"But we look upon Lutheranism, in the present stadium of Christianity, as a necessary part of the constitution of Protestantism. Our idea of Protestantism is, that the two great confessions into which it was sundered at the start, the Lutheran and the Reformed, grew with inward necessity out of the movement itself, carrying in themselves thus a relative reason and right of the same general nature with what must be allowed in favor of the Reformation itself. Protestantism, therefore, includes in itself two tendencies, both of which enter legitimately into its life; while, at the same time, each seems to involve the destruction of the other. This, however, only shows that the truth of it must hold at last, in some way, in such a union of these forces as shall make them to be one.

"The two original confessions came not thus by accident, but by the logical law of the vast fact of Protestantism itself; with a necessity, however, which is not absolute but relative, and therefore interimistic, destined, accordingly, in due time to pass away in their inward amalgamation; a result which will also no doubt involve a full conciliation of the Protestant principle, as a whole, not with Romanism as it now stands, but still with the deep truth of Catholicism, from which in the way of abuse the Roman error originally sprang. All which may our Blessed Lord hasten, in His own time and way.

"The case being thus, it is plain that Lutheranism can never give the full sense of the Protestant Church by carrying out simply its own life in a separate and one-sided way; but it is also just as plain that this is quite as little to be expected from the Reformed confession under a like exclusive view. This seems to be a well nigh self-proving axiom for such as have any true faith in the Reformation as God's work, and any true insight into the constitutional reason of the two confessions as its immediate and necessary product.—The Reformed Church can never fulfill its mission, either in theology or practical piety, without the Lutheran. The only sufficient and rational adjustment of the antithesis, which holds between the two confessions, is such as shall do full justice to the full weight of the antithesis itself, by bringing its two sides into such harmony that each shall be the complement of the other. The problem then in the case is not to denounce and damn, nor yet to ignore and forget, but in love to reconcile, and so surmount the difficulty that is found to be really in the way.

"The old confessional antithesis, which was felt to be so deep and

vital in the age of the Reformation, has with us apparently gone almost entirely into oblivion. The age is supposed to have got beyond it and to stand on higher ground.—Lutheranism has been in this country a perfectly foregone cause. Our Protestantism has planted itself wholly on the Reformed side of the old confessional line; in such a way, however, as to make no account of any such line, with the assumption, rather, that the ground thus taken covers the whole sense of Protestantism, and that it offers no other field properly for theological distinctions. Our Evangelical Christianity, in general, shows in this respect the same character. The true Lutheran element has no place in it whatever, and Luther would not feel himself at all at home in our churches. The Protestantism of New England, which in some sense rules our religious life, is the extreme Left, we may say, of the Reformed wing of this faith, to which the very existence of Lutheranism has come to be a mere byword.

“And yet, what is Protestant theology as a science, if no account is made in it of the vast achievements of the Lutheran Church? Our reigning theology feels itself to be absolutely complete in the Reformed shape only, and for the most part goes on the assumption that all else is now, and ever has been, sheer unbiblical fancy, of which, for solid proper purpose in his profession, the minister may just as well be ignorant.—No wonder that the whole interest should, in this state of things, be so widely treated as a theological nullity. One whole side of Protestant theology has thus been here in America as good as extinct; and it has been taken for granted in every direction, that it was absolutely full and complete in the form simply of the other side. Our theological questions, it is well known, turn almost exclusively on this assumption, based on Reformed premises only, as if nobody could now dream of including anything beyond these in the conception of Protestantism.

“Now this involves, of course, a gross insult upon the American Lutheran Church itself, which is only made worse by the kind courtesies, which may seem, in part at least, to go along with it. But such vast wrong done to one whole hemisphere of Protestantism, whose rights are just as legitimate and clear historically as those of the other, must of necessity infer vast wrong to this also, as having no power to remain true to itself in any such isolated and abstract view. We can hold it for a fixed maxim, that the genuine Reformed tendency can continue to be genuine, only in connection with the Lutheran tendency, with which it divided in the beginning the universal force of the Protestant movement. It can never complete itself by falling away from this entirely, losing

all sense of its presence, or treating it as an impertinent and senseless nothing: this must amount at last to a falling away from Protestantism itself. It can never complete itself, as in the case of Lutheranism also, except by recognizing the weight that actually belongs to its twin-born counterpoise, and so leaning towards it as to come with it finally into the power of a single life, that shall be neither the one nor the other separately taken, but both at once thus raised to their highest sense.

"A Christianity, then, that ignores and rejects in full the Lutheran element can never be sound and whole. On the contrary, all such abstractions fill us with misgivings and distrust. We have no faith in a religion that takes half of the Reformation as a whole. We have no disposition to sit at the feet of a theology, that yawns over the vast confessional interest of the sixteenth century, as a stale and tedious thing; that takes no pleasure, of course, in the true central church questions of our own time, all revolving as they do, more or less, around the same deep problem, and struggling towards its solution; but gives us instead the formulas and shibboleths only of some single denomination, a mere fragment of the Reformed section of Protestantism at best, as the quintessence and *ne plus ultra* of all divinity. No such theology can be safe. With inward necessity it tends towards rationalism, or the region of thin void space. In due course of time it must cease to be Reformed as well as Lutheran, passing clear over the true Protestant horizon altogether, with imminent hazard of losing finally even its form of sound-words, as far as this may go, in a system that revolves all mystery into sheer abstraction, and owns the supernatural only as an object of thought.

"What we have now said may suffice to explain, how it is that we are led to hail, with unaffected satisfaction, the appearance of the *Gettysburg Evangelical Review*, set as it is, and we trust also powerfully and efficiently set, for the defence of what is comprehended for our common Protestantism in the great and mighty confessional interest of Lutheranism. We consider it important in this view by itself; but we regard it vastly more important as a sign and evidence—one large sign among many others as yet less notable—that the American Lutheran Church, not dead heretofore but sleeping, is about now to shake off its theological slumbers, and address itself as a strong man to the work of its own true and proper mission in the general problem of American Christianity. It were a burning shame that in such a country as ours the Church of Luther as such should *not* be heard and felt in the ultimate con-

stitution of the national faith. Besides, it were a deep and irreparable loss to this faith itself, not to be completed in this way. All who take an interest in American Christianity must deprecate the idea of its being permanently divorced,—as it has been, for instance, thus far in New England—from the deep rich wealth of the old Lutheran creed. Our Reformed theology needs, above all things, just now, for its support and vigorous development the felt presence of the great Lutheran antithesis as it stood in the beginning. It can never prosper, in any manly style, without this condition. The very conception of such merely sectarian divinity, as something thus scientifically complete within itself, is preposterous. Let Lutheranism, then, by all means flourish—for the sake of that which is not Lutheran. We bid the *Evangelical Review* God-speed.” See *Mercersburg Review*, Sept. No., 1849.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE *Anglican Crisis*.—"There are many," says the reviewer, "who make it a point to treat the whole subject of the Anglican Crisis with an air of easy superiority and disdain; as though there were no room in truth for any rational controversy in the case, and so of course no ground for apprehension with regard to its ultimate issues, and, therefore, no occasion for any special interest in its progress. It is wonderful, really, how easily and how soon this unchurchly and unsacramental school in general are able to make a full end of this deepest problem of the age, and to gain a height of serene conviction in relation to it, that sets them beyond the reach of all the doubt and difficulties that seem to surround it to minds of another cast and make. To *them* the whole Church question, as it now disturbs the peace of England, is nonsense and folly; they see to the bottom of it at once, and only wonder that men of education and sense in the English Church should find the least trouble in bringing it to its proper solution. Romanism is a tissue of abominations and absurdities from beginning to end; Puseyism is made up of silly puerilities, that cannot bear the light of common sense for a single moment; and it only shows the misery of Episcopacy and the English Establishment, that it should have given birth to so sickly a spawn at this late day, or that it should now find it so hard a thing to expel it from its bosom. The proper cure for all such mummary is to give up the Church mania altogether, to discard the whole idea of sacramental grace, to fall back on the Bible and private judgment as the true and only safe rule of Protestantism, and to make Christianity thus a matter of reason and common sense. This too is clearly the order and course of the age, tending towards this glorious result of independence and freedom; and it may, therefore, well be expected, that all these church crotchets will soon follow the other rubbish of the Middle Ages into the darkness of perpetual oblivion and night.

"But if ever a movement deserved to be honored for its religious earnestness and for the weight of intellectual and moral capital embarked in it, such title to respect may be fairly challenged by the late revival of the Catholic tendency in the Church of England. The movement is of far too high and ominous a character, has enlisted in its service far too great an amount of powerful intellect and learning and study, and has gone forward with far too much

prayer and fasting, and inward spiritual conflict, and has taken hold far too deeply of the foundations of the best religious life of the nation, and has led and is still leading to far too many and too painful sacrifices, to be resolved with any sort of rationality whatever into views and motives so poor as those which are called in to account for it by the self-sufficient class of whom we now speak. To charge such a movement with puerility, to set it down as destitute of all reason, and in full contradiction to the clear sense of religion, or as a mere rhapsody of folly without occasion or meaning in the proper history of the Church, is to make ourselves puerile and silly in the highest degree. Plainly it is the part of true wisdom rather to pause before such an imposing movement with a certain measure of reverence, whether our sympathies fall in with it or not, to study it carefully in all its proportions, and thus to turn it to some purpose of instruction and profit that may be helpful in the end to others as well as to ourselves. There is no excuse for treating such a fact with mere ribaldry and scorn. We are bound in all right, as well as in all good conscience, to take it for granted that it is not without meaning, whether we have the power to understand it or not. It is high time, we think, in view of what has taken place already in the history of this Anglican movement, and of what is now taking place—not to speak of events that are as yet only casting their shadows before them,—that our popular declaimers on the subject, whether of the rostrum or the press, should pull in their zeal a little, and learn to proceed somewhat more moderately in their philippics and squibs. They are, in the usual style, quite too wholesale and sweeping. All excess at last cuts the sinews of its own strength.

“The catholic and sacramental tendency in religion is something too great to be set aside lawfully by a flippant dash of the pen, or by a mere magisterial wave of the hand. Never was there a case, in which it could be less reasonable and becoming to sit at the feet of fools for instruction; and it is truly humiliating to see how readily this is done by a large part of the nominal Protestant world, to whom every strolling mountebank is welcome that comes among them as a lecturer on Romanism; as though the deepest and most sacred themes of religion, and questions that have carried with them the earnestness of death itself for the most earnest and profound minds, age after age, might be satisfactorily settled in five minutes’ time with a flourish of idle declamation, by men whose want of serious thought is, as it were, visibly stamped on their whole face.

“What makes this Anglican crisis particularly solemn for serious

thinkers is the force it has to bring out sensibly the difficulties and contradictions that belong to the present state of the Church on different sides. In this respect, it may be taken as of a truly diacritical nature; for it goes to probe and expose the doubtful character at least of much which was rested in before with a sort of passive acquiescence as good and sufficient, simply because it was put to no practical inquest and trial.

"Who that thinks seriously, for instance, can fail to be struck with the fearfully ominous posture, into which the whole open and professed no-church interest is thrown, including not only those who repudiate the name and notion of a Church out and out, but that large class of Protestants rather, which has come to look upon the Church as only a notion or name, disclaiming all faith in its proper supernatural character as we find this asserted in the Apostles' Creed.—One grand effect now of the crisis, which is going forward in England, is to put a full end to all such doctrines and deceitful twilight, and to drag this question so into the full blaze of day that all men may see and know where they stand with regard to it, and judge of themselves and of one another accordingly.

"The main significance of the crisis lies just here, that it goes so thoroughly to the heart and core of the Church Question, and shuts men up to the necessity of answering it in a direct way, if they answer it at all, with full view of what that answer means. The force of the question in the end is nothing less than this: Whether the original catholic doctrine concerning the Church, as it stood in universal authority through all ages before the Reformation, is to be received and still held as a necessary part of the Christian faith, or deliberately rejected as an error dangerous to men's souls and at war with the Bible.

"To reject it is to break faith and communion not only with such men as Anselm, Bernard and others of like spirit in the Middle Ages, but with the fathers also of the fifth and fourth centuries, the Gregories, Basils, Augustines, and Chrysostoms, who shine as stars of the first magnitude in that older period of the Church, and still more with the entire noble army of martyrs and confessors in primitive times, clear back, as it would seem, to the very age at least next following that of the Apostles; to break faith and communion, we say, with all this vast and glorious 'cloud of witnesses,' not only on a mere circumstantial point, but on a question reaching to the inmost life of Christianity itself, is beyond contradiction a thought of such momentous gravity as might well be expected to fill even the most confident with some measure of concern.

“Here comes into view the proper significance of the controversy with regard to *baptismal grace*. The idea that the holy sacraments are divine acts, that they carry in them a mystical force for their own ends, that they are the media of operations working towards salvation, which have their efficacy and value, not from the mind of the worshipper, but from the power of the transaction or thing done itself, reaches back plainly to the earliest ages of the Church, and has been counted a necessary part of the Christian faith by the great body of those who have professed it through all ages. In this view, we find it identified very directly from the first with the idea of regeneration itself. So through the whole period before the Reformation, and the Protestantism of the sixteenth century, the Church had no thought of breaking here with the faith of previous ages.—The question is in truth thus central in its nature. It involves at bottom the whole force of the alternative, *Church or No-Church*, in the form already presented, as a solemn choice in fact between owning or disowning the creed of all Christendom in former times.—We ought to see and feel that it is a question, not for Episcopalians, as such only, but for all Protestants.

“So much for the no-church, no-sacrament party of the day, whether in the English Establishment or on the outside of it, whether in Great Britain, we may add, or in this country. It is exposed here to a sifting probation, which is well adapted to bring out the true nature of its principles, and to make them for considerate men an object of wholesome apprehension and dread. But the crisis carries with it a sifting efficacy also in other directions. It bears with trying severity on the pretensions of Episcopacy, which in England and this country admits either too little or too much for the stability of its own claims.

“Take the Low Church ground in its communion, and it sinks at once plainly to the order of the sects around it, which have, by their open profession, discarded the proper church theory altogether; it is simply among the various denominations of the Christian world, arguing from Scripture and reason, as it best can, for its own peculiarities, but not venturing to make them, in any way, of the very essence of faith. In this view Episcopacy becomes at best a simple outward institute, a matter purely of authority, and so in truth a matter of mere ceremonial and form; of the same order, precisely with the law and letter of other distinctions, in the strength of which the Baptists, the Scotch Seceders, and such like bodies, are accustomed to make a parade in Jewish style of their great regard for God’s will. The Episcopalian pleases himself in

exactly the same way with the notion of following the primitive and apostolic law of church government and worship by acknowledging three orders in the ministry and the necessity of a public liturgy.—The true High Church theory requires something far beyond this, and is virtually surrendered in fact when it is made to rest on any such false and insufficient foundation.

“That the Church principles of this large class of Episcopalians are confessedly only Evangelical Puritanism under the drapery of Episcopal forms, is becoming fast apparent to all men. Their peculiarity of faith and worship is vastly too small, their Protestant maxim much too large and wide, to justify the ground they take over against the other divisions of God’s sacramental host, confessedly as evangelical as themselves.—It would be far more honest and manly, we think, if the school here noticed, both in England and in this country, would at once forsake Anglicanism as it now stands, and either pass over into the bosom of other denominations, or, if more to their taste, form a new Episcopal sect in open and free fellowship with other sections of orthodox Protestantism.

“But what shall we now say of that other form of Episcopacy, which calls itself *high* only because it is more exclusive in theory as well as practice, and lays greater stress on the legal obligation of its system, while the whole is taken still in the light of a merely mechanical appointment or law. We see not truly how Episcopalianism in such shape deserves to be considered a whit less pedantic, to say the least, than the exclusiveness of the Baptists, or Seceders under a like outward legal form. In both cases the letter is made to go before the life, to underlie it as first in order and importance, instead of being joined with it in concrete union, and so deriving from it continually all its force. The Baptist pretends to be scrupulously exact in obeying the law of baptism, according to his own view; and so he makes a religious merit of following the injunction as he supposes to the letter, unchurching practically all others—on the principle that the essence of religion is implicit submission to God’s authority as made known by the Bible.

“But now we ask, what better is it than this to make Episcopacy, with its outward succession from the time of the Apostles, in and of itself, the article of a standing or falling church—on the principle simply, that Christ and His Apostles are supposed to have prescribed this form, and that we have no right to vary from what must be regarded thus as strictly a Divine rule. It is possible to take very high ground with this view, to be very aristocratic and very exclusive; but the view itself is low, and proceeds on the

want of faith in the proper supernatural character of the Church, rather than on the presence of such faith; on which account, the farther it is pushed, it only becomes the more plainly empty and pedantic. Being of this character, it is found to thrive best, like all pedantries, in periods of mechanical humdrum and sham; whilst it is sure to be exposed in its true vanity, when the religious life is called to pass through a general crisis, as at the present time.

"The more the Church question is agitated in an earnest and serious way, and the more men's minds are fixed on its real meaning, the more evident must it always become that no such mechanical view of it as this can ever solve its difficulties or satisfy its requisitions. Either the Church rights and prerogatives are nothing and form no special property whatever in its case, or else they must have a far deeper and more solid ground on which to rest than the order of bishops, or the use of a liturgy, regarded as a simply outward appointment. No *jure divino* constitution, in any such style as this, can uphold in a real way for faith the mystery of the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church. The premises are either too narrow for the conclusion, or else a great deal too wide.

"Faith in the Church, in the old ecclesiastical sense, is not a stiff persuasion merely that certain arrangements are of divine appointment; it is the apprehension rather of the Church as a living supernatural fact, back of all such arrangements, having its ground and force in the mystery of the Incarnation, according to the order of the ancient Creed, and communicating to the marks and signs, by which it is made visible, every particle of virtue that is in them for any such end. This idea goes vastly beyond the notion of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, or any other supposed divine right ecclesiastical polity of this sort; it looks directly to the original promise, *Lo, I am with you always to the end of the world*; and lays hold first and foremost of the mystical being of the Church, as no mechanism of dead statutes, but as the actual presence of an ever living revelation of grace; a strictly heavenly constitution on earth,—Christ's Body the fulness of Him that filleth all in all,—in virtue of which only, but in virtue of which surely, all organs and functions belonging to it have also a superhuman and heavenly force.

"If Episcopacy and a liturgy be found to grow forth conclusively from the nature of the Church, in such catholic view, it is all right and good; let them come in legitimately for their proper share of respect. But it ought to be plain 'unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors,' we think, that the grand weight and blunder of the question concerning the na-

ture of the Church rest not at all on these distinctions, and that to put them, therefore, ostensibly in any such form, must ever smack of pedantry and betray a poor and false sense of what this question means. All turns on the *idea* of the Church, and this not only may, but must be settled to some extent in our minds, before we can go on to discuss to real purpose the divine obligation of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, or any other polity to be of such necessary force.

"In this view it is, that the question of sacramental grace is more profoundly interesting than the question of Episcopacy. It goes much nearer to the heart of the main question, the grand ultimate subject of controversy and debate; for the Sacraments are the standing sign and seal of whatever power is comprised in the Church; and as we think of this, so invariably will we also think of them; the one conception giving shape and form always directly to the other. But even here the right church sense is something more general and deep than the right sacramental feeling. The notion of grace-bearing sacraments, sundered from the sense of the Church as still carrying in it the force of its first supernatural constitution, would indeed be magical, and must prove quite as pedantic in the end as a supreme regard for the bishops in the same dead way. We must believe in a divine church, in order to believe in divine sacraments, or a divine ministry under any view.

"It cannot be denied again, that the course of this controversy, as thus reaching to the very heart and soul of the Church Question, is powerfully sifting and trying the ecclesiastical pretensions of the English Establishment as a whole. First in view is the right and solemn question of ecclesiastical supremacy, the true and rightful headship of the Church and its legitimate relationship to the State. Who can doubt, but that the ground here taken by Cardinal Wiseman and the Romanists in general, is of a higher character than that occupied by Lord John Russel and the English Establishment. On one side, the civil power is made to be the fountain of ecclesiastical authority; on the other, the authority is taken to be of an order wholly distinct from the State, independent of it and, for its own end, above it.

"In the Establishment itself also, many have felt all along the disgrace and burden of the relation, and have often with feeble voice protested against it or tried to explain it away. But never before probably was there such a glaring exposure of the misery of it, as that which is taking place just at the present time. The whole Tractarian movement has been against the idea of such civil supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, in proportion precisely as it

involved a revival of church principles generally, and a return to old catholic sentiments and ideas. The Gorham controversy might seem to have been providentially ordered, to bring out in broad caricature and irony the true sense of the farce, when it was sure in this way to receive the most earnest attention. Here a theological question, not of secondary but of primary consequence—going just now as we have before seen to the very root of Protestantism—is settled in the last instance by purely civil authority; and the English Church, with the Grace of Canterbury at the head, in the presence of the whole world dutifully succumbs to the insolent and profane dictation. No wonder the Bishop of Exeter, with such earnestness as he had in his soul, should feel such a crisis to be tremendously solemn.

“The exodus of the Free Church of Scotland has been widely glorified, as a grand exhibition of martyrdom for the very principle now in view, the independence of the Church in church matters, the ‘right of King Jesus’ as the Scotch phrase it, in opposition to all worldly political power whatever. The fountain of ecclesiastical law and order, the true and proper primacy in matters of religion, was loudly proclaimed in this case to be, not the British throne or parliament, but the supreme judicatory of the Church itself; and, in defence of this principle, the best men of Scotland, with Chalmers at their head, showed themselves ready to brave, if need were, the greatest penalties and pains. Puseyism too has gained credit deservedly, for only seeing clearly, and saying plainly, that the civil supremacy in matters of religion is an abuse at war with every right conception of the Church, and for proposing, though thus far only in a weak and ineffectual way, a return to the old doctrine of ecclesiastical independence; and for all right minded men, certainly, the Bishop of Exeter just now, by even the partial stand he is trying to make for this doctrine in the midst of the universal defection from it that surrounds him, is a spectacle of more moral dignity than the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the whole horde of bishops besides at his back, truckling in base subserviency to the nod of the civil power.—There can be no question in this issue, which side answers most impressively to the true ideal of the old church life, as it comes up to our minds when we think of such men as Cyprian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ambrose or Augustine.

“But the issue here is not simply as between two hierarchies, the one culminating in the Pope and the other in the Queen, in the form now stated: it goes beyond this to the universal question of

religious liberty, the right of Christians to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and to the principles of church toleration in the broadest sense; and in this view it concerns directly all sects and parties on the outside of the Government Church, no less than the membership of this favored communion itself. Is it not the pride of the age, to be considered liberal, enlightened, tolerant in matters of religion? Is not this in particular the boast of Protestantism?

"The truth, however, is that there is real room in the whole case for uneasiness, not because Romanism may be seen to have power, but because Anglicanism is felt to be weak. The constitutional deficiency of this system, its want of ability to assert and carry out in full the proper functions of a Church, is in the way of being exposed as never before by the progress of the present crisis; and so searching has this become in its operation, that there is now good reason to expect that it will lead in due time to the breaking up of the Establishment altogether.

"It is becoming more and more difficult for the two tendencies at work in its bosom, to move in any sort of union together; and we are not surprised to find the party which still makes earnest with Catholic truths leaning powerfully towards secession, whether it be to form a new body or to fall into the arms of Rome. The secessions which have already taken place in this last form are exceedingly significant. No movement of the sort equally as grave has taken place since the Reformation. The importance of it lies not just in the number of converts, though this is serious, but in their character rather, and the circumstances of the change. The fact, however, as is well known, is but a part of a much wider and still more serious fact.

"The Anglican Crisis in this way involves more than what at once appears on its face. It is undermining confidence in much that has heretofore had a show of truth and strength, writing *Tekel* on it, and turning it for the consciousness of men into mockery and shame. One thing is certain: the way is opening for a new revival of infidelity in England, in close connection with the latest and worst forms of German rationalism, which is likely to go beyond all that has appeared there under this name before, and which can hardly fail to be powerfully felt also on this side of the Atlantic. It is remarkable too, that this alarming development seems to run in some measure parallel with the revival of the Church tendency, as though it formed its natural alternative and reverse. It has entered the Universities of both Oxford and Cambridge. Pusey-

ism in some cases has fallen over, with easy somerset, to sentimental Straussism. The movement includes a brother of Froude, and a brother of John Henry Newman.—The stream of the Church question, so easy to wade through seemingly at first, is fast getting too deep for the legs of this system to touch bottom, and it must either swim beyond itself or sink.

“It affords us no satisfaction to come to this melancholy conclusion. We would feel it a great relief rather, to be able to find in Anglican Episcopacy a truly rational and solid answer to the problem of which we speak, our Ararat of rest for the ark of Protestantism, so long drifted by any and every wind over what has been thus far a waste of waters only, without island or shore. For most firmly are we convinced that no *other* sect, or fragment of the general movement, carries in itself, as such, the power and pledge of any such rest, or is ever likely to prove hereafter more than a weak approximation at best, on the most narrow and most partial scale, to the true ideal and proper perfection of its own cause. The whole reflection is calculated to make one sad.

“There are here not simply two general alternatives, but we may say four. The first is a deliberate giving up of the sacramental system altogether, the only proper end of which—short of parting with the Trinity and Incarnation—is Baptistie Independency, the extreme verge of unchurchly orthodoxy. The second is full despair of Protestantism and reconciliation in form with the Church of Rome, as we have it exemplified with thrilling solemnity in the present English secessions. A third way of escape may be sought in the belief or hope of a new miraculous dispensation on the part of God Himself, through some special agency armed from his purpose with fresh apostolical commission and corresponding powers, such as may supercede at once both Romanism and Protestantism as systems that have become historical and dead. Swedenborgianism plants itself on this ground; and it is also the ground taken by Irvingianism—a far more respectable and significant birth of the modern church life than many, having no insight into its natural history, are disposed to allow; not to speak of the wretched caricature we have of the same tendency in Mormonism, which also, in its own way, claims to be a revival in full of the otherwise lost powers and gifts of the Apostolic age.

“A fourth and last resort, the only one it seems to us which is left for the thoughtful, is offered in the idea of historical development; by which, without prejudice to Catholicism in its own order and sphere, or to Protestantism next as a real advance on this in

modern times, though with the full acknowledgment of the faults and views of both systems, it is assumed that the whole present state of the Church is transitional only and interimistic. Accordingly it would be destined through the very crisis, which is now coming on—not just by a new miracle setting aside the whole past as a dead failure, but in the way of true historical progress, which makes the past always the real womb of the present and the future—to surmount in due season the painful contradictions (dialectic *thorns*) of the Protestant controversy as this now stands, and so to carry it triumphantly forward to its own last sense, the type neither of St. Peter nor of St. Paul but of both brought together by St. John, in a form that shall be found at the same time to etherealize and save, in the same way, the last sense, also, and rich wealth of the old Catholic faith.

“No scheme can command our regard, which nullifies virtually the doctrine of the indestructible life of the Church, as well as the Divine promise on which that promise rests, by assuming a full failure and frustration of all the sense the Church had in the beginning. On this ground we, therefore, have no patience with that bald Puritanism, which fairly buries the Church for a thousand years and more, in order to bring it to a more striking resurrection in the sixteenth century. As little can we be satisfied, on the same ground, with the visions of Emanuel Swedenborg: they proceed throughout on the assumption that the Church, as it started with the Apostles, has run itself out, both as Catholicism and Protestantism, and that the world is to be helped now only by a new revelation appointed to take its place. Irvingism involves, more or less distinctly, as it seems to us, the same dismal thought; and if this be so, it needs no other condemnation. If it came to a necessary choice between such a view and Romanism, the advantage lies decidedly, we think, on the side of this last.

“But, as we have seen, we are not thrown at once on any such desperate election. We may cast ourselves upon the theory of historical development, so as to make Protestantism itself, with all its painfully acknowledged miseries, the main, though by no means exclusive stream, by which the general tide of the original Christian life is rolling itself forward, not without fearful breaks and cataracts, and many tortuous circuits, to the open sea at last of that grand and glorious ideal of true Catholic Unity, which has been in the mind of all saints from the beginning.” See *Mercersburg Review*, July No., 1851.

CHAPTER XXX

BROWNSON'S *Quarterly Review*.—"We are not among those," says Dr. Nevin, "who consider O. A. Brownson, Esq., a mere weathercock in religion, whose numerous changes of faith are sufficient of themselves to convict his last position of falsehood and folly. We can see easily enough, in all his variations, a principle of steady motion in the same general direction. He started at one extreme, only to be carried by regular gradation to another. Unitarianism and Romanism are the opposite poles of Christianity, freedom and authority, the liberty of the individual subject and the binding force of the universal object, each carried out by violent disjunction from the other, into nerveless pantomime and sham. Thus seemingly far apart, they nevertheless are in reality always closely related; just as all extremes, by the force of their own falsehood, have an innate tendency to react, pendulum-wise, into the very opposites from which they seem to fly. Hence, the familiar observation, that Romanism in many cases leads to rationalism and infidelity.

"We are not among those again, who look upon Mr. Brownson's championship of Romanism as either weak or of small account. His mind is naturally of a very acute and strong character; clothed with a measure of dialectical agility and power, such as we rarely meet with on the field at least of our American theology. His reading evidently is extensive and varied; though he is not free from the infirmity, we think, of passing it off frequently, in an indirect way, for something more than its actual worth.

"He allows himself, for instance, to refer at times to the German philosophers and theologians, as if he were perfectly at home in their speculations; whereas we have never met with any evidence of his having any more thorough acquaintance with them after all than that second-hand information, which is to be had through the medium of a foreign literature, particularly that of France. On the contrary, it is sufficiently clear, that he has *not* by any means mastered the best and most profound results of the later German thought; he makes no proper account of the history through which it has passed; affects, indeed, to make light of all history, as applied to the progress of philosophy, and shows himself at fault especially, when the discipline of this thought precisely should

come to his help, or, at all events, be intelligently refused, if found wanting, and not merely waved with magisterial hand to one side."

For most purposes Mr. Brownson used to be sufficiently egotistic in his *Review*. It was his, and why should it not be the organ through which his personality should sound forth whenever there was an occasion for it. It is quite amusing now to read on its pages that Prof. Park, Emerson, Neander, Newman, Schaff, Bushnell, and other lights of like character, in their most profound attempts to get at the intrinsic reason of things, simply go over the ground which was familiar long since to his feet, but which a logic, still deeper than theirs, compelled him afterwards to abandon—*credat Judaeus Apelles*.—See his *Review*, Oct., 1845, p. 511 and p. 540.—Jan., 1847, p. 84.—April, 1847, p. 276.—Oct., 1849, p. 497.

But notwithstanding certain drawbacks, Mr. Brownson's actual familiarity with the several departments of literature, history and theology, went considerably beyond the range of most of his one-sided opponents on the opposite side. Very few writers, perhaps, in this country or Europe equalled him in the vigor or the lucidity with which he wielded his pen. He was a foeman whose steel it was difficult to resist, especially when it was directed against one windmill after another in his chivalrous marches through an imaginary country. For a certain class of persons he was perhaps a knight of the first water, by far eclipsing Moehler in theological questions, and Cardinal Wiseman in his knowledge of ecclesiastical relations. He was a born Puritan, steeped by education in the element of New England life; intimately familiar with Puritan methods of thought and forms of life; and with a surprising agility and dash ready to seize the old batteries of New England polemics, and turning them against his enemies.

He tells us in one place, that his soul recoiled from the mortal sin of being inconsequent, or of adopting premises which he was not prepared to carry out to their necessary and farthest extreme. To such a hazardous undertaking he brings the whole strength of his Puritan nature, as if determined to be a veritable Puritan Romanist, wilfully forcing his own will to fall in with the new theory of faith which he was thus brought to embrace. He professed to abjure philosophy in religion, and take all in the way of simple authority. Thus firmly set in his own mind to follow out his new principles without any regard to consequences, Mr. Brownson apparently had no trouble in complying with even its most extreme demand. Of course he was a full-fledged Ultramontanist, and here in America, a downright Italian, in the plenitude of his obedience

and faith. He not only believed in the infallibility of the Church, but, in advance of the Roman curia and the bishops, he proclaimed the infallibility of the Pope also in his day. "The Papacy," he affirmed, "is the Church, and the Pope is the vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ on earth, and if you war against the Pope, it is either because you would war against God or because you believe God can lie." He was equally submissive, most dutiful to the bishops and the priests, who in his eye formed the truth and authority in the Church, and from whose lips the common layman is required to accept both without doubt or contradiction. His tone towards those, his superiors, when contrasted with his confidence and self-reliance in other directions, was humble to say the least, if not sycophantic and servile. His *Review*, theologically considered, he wished to be simply the echo of the proper masters of his faith, the Bishop of Boston and his learned clergy.

This humble submission of such a distinguished convert must have satisfied most Catholics of the sincerity and thoroughness of his conversion, although some, and perhaps many of them, instinctively felt that he carried matters too far with his merciless logic. But notwithstanding this humble submission, he believed all the while that he knew something also, and this manifested itself very palpably during the war. He became eminently patriotic, fought the battle of the Union in his organ, and regardless of priests or bishop, assumed to be a political autocrat among his Catholic fellow-citizens, in which he was less successful than when on prancing steed he essayed to go forth to slay the Protestant hordes.

As already said Mr. Brownson shrank back from committing the sin of being inconsequent, and justice to his memory requires us here to give the leading consequences of his mechanical logic, which he himself endorsed fully. Dr. Nevin stated them faithfully, and as they for the most part refuted themselves, he had more time to devote to the fundamental principles in dispute.

"His theory puts an end to all private thinking in religion, and must be carried out on all sides, no matter whether it violates our common sense or not. The maxim, *Out of the Church*, applies to the Roman communion exclusively, and shuts out as much as possible every sort of hope in favor even of the best men beyond its pale.—Protestantism in its best shape is only a sham, that always leads to infidelity and Nihilism.—The Reformation was wholly without reason or necessity, and had its rise in worldly motives far more than in any true zeal for the glory of God.—Luther and Calvin were bad men, and moreover tools of men worse than themselves.

—The Church, as it stood before, was always moving in the right direction; whilst this revolution, so far as it prevailed, served only to hinder and embarrass the march of Christian improvement, causing the sun-mark to go back on the dial-plate of the world's civilization, God only knows how far.—Its only representation at this time, accordingly, is found in transcendentalism, pantheistic atheism, and communism.—The Roman Catholic Church, both before and since the Reformation, has been the prop and patron of all that is good in the world, whether in the form of religion, science, politics, or social life.—The advantages often claimed in favor of Protestant nations are more specious than solid.—Puritanism, especially here in America, is little more than a bag of wind.—The Puritan Professor Park, with the tail of a Dutch goose in his cap for a plume, ignorantly accuses Catholicity of being hostile to the mind and of being deficient in great philosophers and eminent preachers.—Saving some branches of physical science, Protestants have really contributed nothing of any real importance to the progress of the human mind.—Everything, except material industry, degenerates in their hands; and yet they have the singular impudence to accuse the Catholic Church of injuring the human mind.—The Catholic cantons in Switzerland are more enlightened than the Protestant. Sic? Spain, Portugal, and Ireland, bear comparison with Holland, Denmark, and Scotland.—The laboring classes are much more degraded in England than they are in Austria, in Italy or in Spain.—The Austrian clergy are not inferior to the Prussian, nor the Bavarian to the Saxon.—To represent the French clergy as inferior to the English betrays an ignorance or a recklessness that we were not prepared for even in our Andover Professor.—We positively deny, that in moral and intellectual science, properly so called, Protestants have made the least progress, or that their philosophy has ascertained a single fact or a single principle not known and recognized by the Schoolmen." But of this jam satis. Thus Mr. Brownson, under the pressure of his mere intellectual or logic screws is forced to see evil, and evil only in Protestantism, and in Romanism only goodness, beauty and grace.

As a matter of course the reviewer of Brownson could not enter into any argument to disprove the truth of such propositions. Time was too precious, and it moreover would have placed him in the same line as the popular Protestant declaimers against Rome, which he thought amounted to nothing more than empty sound. Before, however, he proceeded to consider the fundamental principles involved in the controversy, he merely allowed Protestantism,

which was of age, for a moment to speak for itself in the facts of history.

"The Reformation comes before us in history," he says, "not as a side current simply in the stream of life, but as a force belonging plainly to its central channel. It had its ground and necessity in what went before. Whole ages looked towards it previously as its proper end. It is not more clear that the civilization of the modern world grew up in Europe, than it is that its growth and progress produced the Reformation.—Protestantism, plainly, has not been an interlude simply, during the past three hundred years, in the drama of the world's life. It belongs to the *history* of the period in the fullest sense of the term.—The honor of God, the credit of religion, requires, therefore, that a movement which has so covered the field of history for so long a time, should in some form be acknowledged to carry with it a truly historical force, and to enter into the universal mission and plan of Christianity for the salvation of the world.—We ought to have no patience with men, who turn the first three centuries of Christianity into a sheer waste of sand, to suit their own miserable prejudice. But why, we ask, should we have any more patience with this style of thinking, when we find it applied to the period since the Reformation, than we have for it as applied to the period before? Is it less arbitrary and pedantic, less frivolous and profane, to treat the great fact of Protestantism, clearly belonging for three hundred years past to the central history of the world, as a nullity, a dream, the oversight of a sleeping Christ, than it is to look upon a like term of centuries a thousand years before, in the same dishonorable light?

"Romanists must learn to find some sense at least, and not mere devil's-play in the Reformation, if they expect to be heard respectfully in the scientific world in opposition to its claims. If Mr. Brownson should set himself to denounce and ridicule the Allegheny Mountains or the Mississippi river, as useless or absurd accidents in nature, we do not see why it would be more reproachful to his philosophy and religion, than it is for him to put scorn in like style on the vast creations of history, that come up before us during the past three hundred years in the form of Protestantism; for sure we are, that a continent, shorn of its highest mountains and mightiest streams, would not miss its own universal sense more than the tract of the world's general life must do, if the events of the last three hundred years were swept from the face of it as a mere impertinence or blank nothing."—Thus the assertions of bold declaimers on Romish platforms are reduced to an absurdity as

soon as they are compared with the facts of history. They must, however, have their basis in some system in which they take their rise. Dr. Nevin, therefore, directs attention to the theory underlying Romanism, meets Mr. Brownson on his own ground, and throws him on the defensive. We here reproduce briefly this war in Africa, in which logic cut logic and oppressed truth asserted its sovereignty.

"The theory of Romanism involves a general wrong against our human constitution, in not allowing the ordinary law of freedom to have force in the sphere of religion, where precisely the divine order requires its presence to complete itself. The mind of man cannot fulfil its mission by following blindly a mere external force of any kind, but by the activity of its own intelligence and will, both as general and individual. It must move in the light that springs from itself, and by the power as law it generates continually from within. This moral constitution, as in the world of nature, involves many complex relations, on a vast and magnificent scale, but the conception of freedom pertains to it as a whole, as a necessary universal distinction. Take that away and its very idea falls to the ground. It is no longer a human conception in the proper sense of the term. According to Mr. Brownson the human mind is simply a passive recipient of a foreign action brought to bear on it in an outward way. Whilst man's life under the influence of Christianity unfolds itself by a self-movement, in the way of thought and will, and is thus to attain to perfection, the theory of Romanism supersedes all this by another law altogether. The supernatural comes in as the outward complement of the natural in such a way as to nullify its force in all that pertains to its higher sphere, thus leaving the gap between the two just as wide as it was before.

"This wrong against human nature manifests itself in the violence which the individual mind is made to suffer, according to this theory, in favor of what is taken to be the general. The existence of truth is something objective, universal and independent of all private thought or will; but as thus objective, it must be, at the same time, subjective, must enter into the sphere of our thoughts and wills, in order that it may become a reality to us. The objective without the subjective is a mere abstraction. The general as such, to be a law or measure to the individual, must take a concrete form in the life of the world, which resolves itself at last into the thinking and working of single minds. But Romanism sets aside the authority of this order, which everywhere asserts itself as a

universal force in the constitution of our nature. Christianity is thus taken to be of force for the world under a simply abstract form, an outwardly supernatural revelation, transcending the whole order of our common life, and not needing nor allowing the activity of man himself as an intelligent and free subject, to be the medium in any way of its presence and power. Authority is made to be all and freedom nothing. Authority is, therefore, not mediated at all by man's actual life, and is in no sense living or concrete, but altogether, mechanical, rigid and fixed.

"Freedom, however, is a great deal more than any such outward consent to the authority of the law. It is a life *in* the law, union with it, and the very form in which it comes to its revelation in the moral world. If we place the law as an objective force on the outside altogether of the intelligence and will of those who are to be its subjects, we at once convert it into an abstract nothing. This is the natural extreme into which Romanism runs, against which the Reformation formed a legitimate and absolutely necessary reaction and protest.—It is as true now, as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that the *actualization* of truth in the world is something which can be accomplished only through the intelligence and will on the part of the world itself; that liberty, in its genuine sense, is not simply the outward echo of authority, but the very element of its life, and the coefficient of its power in that which it brings to pass; that man is no passive machine merely in the process of his own salvation; that the free activity of the individual subject in the world of mind can never be paralyzed nor overwhelmed by the sense of the law as a nature foreign and transcendent throughout to its own nature, without involving in the end the overthrow of nature altogether.—The theory rests on a wrong conception of what authority is in the world of mind, and so on a wrong conception of the true nature of the Church, as the divinely constituted organ and bearer of Christ's will among men to the end of time.

"The natural result of such an unnatural separation of liberty and law, of the rights of the subjective and the claims of the objective, in the end inflicts a grievous wrong on the second of these interests no less than on the first. The true idea of authority in the moral world requires that it should actualize itself under a concrete form, through the general life of humanity and in the way of history. But with the high-strung theory of Mr. Brownson, all this is ruled out. It is thrust out of the way most effectually by the conception of an abstract ministry, or *ecclesia docens*, in which the gift of infallibility is confined in a purely outward supernatural way, with-

out any regard to any mediation of the life of the Church as a whole. This *ecclesia docens* is no organic product or out-birth of the new creation among believers generally whom it was appointed to save. Its prophetic, priestly and kingly functions are not after all the activity of Christ's mystical body, actualizing itself as a living body by appropriate organs created for such a purpose. The ministry is to be regarded as a body independent of the Church, and it must possess a life of its own; in a word, it is a separate organization of its own, through which the higher powers of Christianity must needs be carried forward, by a wholly distinct channel, for the use of the world from age to age. These powers too belong to it in a mechanical, magical way, and not according to the ordinary law of truth and power among men.

"There can be no room with this view, as a matter of course, for the conception of anything like a progressive actualization of the life of the Church in the form of authority. As the infallibility which belongs to her is independent of her natural constitution, abstract and not concrete, so it also lies wholly on the outside of her proper human presence in the world. But to be out of history is to be out of humanity itself.—Humanity, in all other cases, accomplishes its destiny by organic co-operation, carried forward in the form of history. Truth is brought to pass for it through the medium of its own activity, the whole working towards its appointed end by the joint ministry of the parts, in such a way, however, as to be something more than these separately taken. So it is in the sphere of science; so in the sphere of art; and so in the sphere of politics and social life. But in the sphere of the Church, as it stands since Christ, according to the Romanist doctrine, we are required to take all differently. • As a supernatural constitution, it must not in any sense conform to the order of nature. It must not be organic, nor historical, nor human, in its higher life; but one long monotony rather of mere outward law and authority, superseding or crushing the natural order of the world, and contradicting it, age after age, to the end of time. The Roman system carries in it thus a constant tendency to resolve the force of Christianity into magic, and to fall into a mere *opus operatum* in its worst sense.

"This brings us," says Dr. Nevin, "to notice, more particularly in the next place, the general relation in which the supernatural is taken by this system to stand to the natural, and its corresponding view of divine revelation. The two worlds are held to be wholly disjointed and separate, the one from the other, so that any connection which is formed between them is regarded as outward only and

not in the way of our common life. The two are sundered by an impassable gulf, as regards inward constitution and being. This abstract conception of the supernatural, that refuses utterly to flow into our life in any way with the natural, underlies the whole theory of Romanism as set forth by Mr. Brownson; and much of our Protestant orthodoxy, it must be confessed, rests upon precisely the same abstract supernaturalism in the view it takes of the Bible as the medium of divine revelation, without seeing that from such premises we are shut up at last, without help or escape, to the Romanist conclusion. The reasonableness of faith turns not at all, according to this school, on any correspondence in which it stands directly with its own contents, but purely and exclusively on its relation to the extreme authority on which they are accepted as true.

"This theory is convicted of error by the clear proof of a real union of the supernatural with the natural, in the persons of the sacred writers. The truth it reveals is conditioned by the mind and education of the men who gave it utterance, and through them by the living human relations in the midst of which they stood. No two prophets think alike or speak alike. Their inspiration then is no abstraction, no divine mechanism, but something that truly descends, with all its divinity, into the order of nature. And what shall we say of Him, in whom all prophecy and inspiration became at last complete? Was it His office simply to stand between the two worlds that met in His person, and report *mysteries* from one to another for the use of faith in a purely outward way? What is then meant by the declaration: The *Word* became *Flesh* and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth? Surely, if the Gospel mean anything, we have *here*, at least, the supernatural order linked in real organic union with the natural, and showing thus the capacity of this last, as well as its need, to receive into itself such higher life as its own proper complement and end. It will not do, in the face of such a fact as the *Incarnation*, to say that the realities with which faith has to do in distinction from reason are wholly without light or evidence for this last in their own nature, and as such to be taken on the mere authority of God, ascertained in some other way; that is, in such a sense that a man might be supposed to be infallibly sure first that he has this authority to go upon, and so be prepared to accept any and every proposition as true, on the strength of it, with equal readiness and ease. What is revelation, if it be not the actual entrance of the supernatural in some way over into the sphere of the natural?

"All revelation, as distinguished from magic, implies the self-exhibition of God in a real way, through the medium of the world in its natural form. To a certain extent, we have such a revelation in the material universe. The outward creation is the symbol, mirror, shrine and sacrament of the divine presence, as a supernatural fact, in the most actual way. The word of prophecy and inspiration is the gradual coming forth of eternal truth into time, in a like real way, through the medium of human thought and speech; a process which completes itself finally in the full domiciliation we may say of the Infinite Word in the life of the world by Jesus Christ.—In Him, most literally and truly, the supernatural order came to a living and perpetual marriage with the order of nature; something which it could not have, if the constitution of the one had not been of like sort with that of the other—if man had not been made in the image of God—so as to admit and require such a union as the last and only perfect expression of the world's life. It lies then in the nature of the case, that Christ can be no abstraction, no solitary portent, in the midst of the world.

"But now, if this be the relation of the supernatural in Christ Himself to the sphere of nature, it is not easy certainly to acquiesce in any theory of the Church, by which this is taken to be the medium of revelation in a wholly different style. An abstract Church is as much at war with the true mystery of Christianity as an abstract Christ. Such a view works back unfavorably on the whole idea of revelation, and in the end especially wrongs the character of Christ. We are very far from believing, that the divinity of a revelation turns on its having no common life with humanity; on the contrary it seems to us to become complete in proportion precisely as the supernatural, by means of it, is brought to enter most fully into the conditions of the natural.

"The theory carries with it finally, as it seems to us, a wrong conception of the true nature and power of faith, involving in the end the very consequence it seeks professedly to shun, namely, the subordination of it to reason, or its resolution into mere logic. It goes on the assumption that the supernatural, with which faith has to do, is so sundered from the natural, as to admit no direct approach or apprehension from that side; that truth in such form is inevident for the mind wholly in its own nature, and without force of reason intrinsically to engage its assent; that the mind is moved to such assent in its case accordingly, not by any motives either in itself or in the object set before it, but by something extrinsic to both, the weight of an immediate authority which is felt to be fully

valid as a ground of authority, without regard to the nature of what is thus taken in trust one way or another. The subjective and objective come to no union of contact whatever. The gulf between is sprung only by *testimony*.

"We object to the way in which faith is here opposed to reason. Its opposition is properly to sense, and to nature as known through sense; to reason only so far as this is taken for the understanding in its relation to such knowledge. Faith is the capacity of perceiving the invisible and supernatural, the substance of things hoped for, the certification of things not seen (Heb. XI. I); which, as such, does not hold on the outside of reason, any more than this can be said of sense, but opens to view rather a higher form of what may be called its own proper life, in which it is required to become complete, and without which it must always remain comparatively helpless, blind, and dark.—Faith does not serve simply to furnish new *data* for thought in an outward way, but includes in itself also, potentially at least, the force of reason and knowledge in regard to its own object. It stands in rational correspondence with its contents, and involves such an apprehension of them as makes the mind to be in some degree actually in their sphere. Faith touches its object as well as sense.—When the authority for faith is thus taken to be extrinsic to the supernatural object, as with the Romish system generally, we are thrown at last on the very rationalism, which it is sought in this way to avoid.

"The Church we hold too to be the medium of the Christian revelation, the organ by which Christ makes himself known in the world, and which is to be revered on this account, through all ages, as His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. But it is all this, not in a mechanical, quasi-magical way, as a witness set forward to propound the truth in outward style only, a supernatural automaton with the Pope at Rome for its mouth-piece.—Faith starts then in Christ. *Because* we believe in Him, we believe also in the Holy Catholic Church; and not in the reverse order.

"Protestants, who insist on sundering the Reformation from the church life of the previous period, do as much as they well can to ruin their own cause. Unless it be the product of all earlier Church history, it can deserve no faith. Let it appear on the other hand, that the causes which led to it, under God, were in full force for centuries before; that they are seated in the life of the modern world as a part of its intrinsic nature and constitution; that this operation is to be traced back to the world-historical epoch, which laid the foundation of modern society amidst the crumbling ruins

of that which went before; and it becomes at once to the same extent difficult to resist the conviction, that it belongs to the true sense of Christianity, and that it came to pass by the finger of God. Such is the actual state of the case.

"The new form of humanity brought in by the Northern Barbarians did not furnish material for re-civilizing Europe in its old form, but offered elements which were not previously at hand for the creation also of another order of civilization; by which in the end Christianity was to become more complete than it could ever have become under the first order. Out of this new order of Christian life, made possible only through the Germanic nature as distinguished from the old Roman, sprang with inward necessity at last the *Protest* of the Reformation. Mr. Brownson, as we have said, sees this, more quick of vision here than many Protestants; and sets himself to forestall, as best he can, the weight it carries against his own cause. '*We frankly confess,*' he says, '*we are Græco-Roman, and to us all tribes and nations are barbarians, just as they recede from the Græco-Roman stand.*—Nowhere else does history show us man receiving, under all the aspects of his nature, so high, so thorough, so symmetrical, and so masculine a cultivation, as under this wonderful civilization.' This is the climax of culture humanly considered. Add Christianity to it, 'and you have a civilization beyond which there is nothing to seek.' Tried by this standard, the Middle Ages cannot stand the test. The Church labored to civilize them, as well as she could, according to the old norm, with which she has a native affinity; but this could be done only so far as the nations were brought to exchange the barbaric nature for the Roman. 'Wherever the barbaric element has remained predominant in the national life as in Russia, Scandinavia, Prussia, Saxony, Northern Germany, or where, through exterior or interior causes, it has regained the predominance, as in England and the once Christianized Oriental nations, the nation has relapsed into heathenism, or fallen off into heresy or schism. In several of the nations which have fallen off from the Church, the old barbaric institutions, traditions, customs, and hereditary hatred of Græco-Roman civilization, always survived in the heart of the people, and nourished a schism between its national life and its Christian faith.' In all this there is much truth. The Roman nations remain Papal, while the Germanic nations, in virtue of a new element peculiar to themselves, could never make over their will in the same way to mere outward rule, and so in the end have become Protestant. It is perfectly clear that *nationality* has exercised a determining influence on this

great issue from the beginning. Protestantism is the child of the modern civilization, the Teutonic life, and not of the Græco-Roman.

"But what is now the true significance of this fact? The 'old Græco-Roman civilization,' says Mr. Brownson, 'must be held normal for all ages; your Teutonic life consequently is at fault, just in the measure of its variation from this rule; and so Protestantism is found to be simply part and parcel of the same general abnormality, the final upshot, we may say, of the war carried on with the Church by the refractory spirit of these Northern Barbarians from the beginning.' A convenient theory truly. But how violent, at the same time, and arbitrary. Only see what it involves. The normal order of the world naturally considered, its best possible form and true ultimate sense, just as it was ready to go fully into the arms of Christianity, is suddenly dashed to the ground and turned into universal wreck by the inundation of an entirely new life, uncivilized, unlettered, absolutely rude and wild. Europe planted with elementary nations, requiring the growth of centuries to bring them to any mature and settled political form; the work of a thousand years laid upon the Church, only to regain in some measure the loss created by this sad catastrophe; a new civilization in time, which refuses, however, to fall fully into the new Christian order, carries in it more or less a semi-barbarous, heathenish character; and issues finally in an open rebellion against the Church, which at the same time bears away with it palpably the central powers and activities of the world's natural life, with a momentum which centuries have no power to check or restrain! It surely needs no small gift of faith seriously and steadily to give credit to all this. Was the wreck of the Græco-Roman culture an *accident*? Did the Northern Barbarians come on the stage of Europe without God's will and plan? Was there no end to be answered for Christianity and the world, by the taking down of the former civilization, the bringing in of new material, the open field created for the building up of another life, and the work of so many centuries employed in the accomplishment of this great object?

"These questions, it seems to us, carry in them their own answers. The true use to be made of the whole case, then, is just the reverse of Mr. Brownson's view. God moves in history. It must, therefore, have a meaning. It must especially minister to Christ and His Church; for is not *He* head over the whole of it, for this very end? If a sparrow fall not without His eye, how could the *Völkerwanderung* take place by chance? The fact that He should so remove the old, and make room for the new, and call in the historical

process of a thousand years to come to His object, is itself enough to show, not only that the new civilization thus sought was to be different from that which was rejected in its favor, but also that it was to be of a superior order, of a more vigorous constitution, better suited to the wants of humanity and more answerable to the interior demands of Christianity. This superiority of the modern civilization, then, turns on the new element which has been brought into it by the Germanic or Barbarian life, in distinction from the old Roman. It amounts to nothing, that Mr. Brownson stigmatizes this as heathen; for the old Roman life was originally heathen too; and it is purely gratuitous to assume that Christianity might not appropriate and assimilate to itself the peculiarities of a barbarous nationality as fully and as completely as those of the Græco-Roman. Its province is not to stand on the outside of nature in the way of foreign help, but to enter into it, to clarify it, and to fill it with divinity after its own form and type. The new civilization thus brought to pass carried in itself from the beginning the principle of *freedom*, which gave birth, as Christ had all along designed, to the fact of Protestantism. Its distinctive power, of course, fell in with this fact. The Romanic nations were left behind; not without some great ulterior purpose, we may presume; while the Germanic nations, obedient to the law of their life, are carrying the sense of history in the Protestant direction. It does not follow at once, we know, that Protestantism is all that the world needs for its salvation, because it now carries all temporal interests in its stream.

“Outward activity and strength are not of themselves the guaranty of grace. The Protestant movement may prove morally unequal to its own problem. Still this cannot change the significance of the fact as now stated. It belongs to the reigning power of the world’s civilization. It has its seat in the spirit of the world’s civilization. It has its seat too in the spirit of the nations that go with it, and their spirit now rules the course of humanity, as something plainly in advance of the spirit that meets us in nations still bound to the authority of Rome. In this view, if we believe in Christ, we are bound to acknowledge in it, if nothing more, yet surely the necessary medium of transition at least for the Church of God into a higher and better state. Not to do so, turns the past into a riddle and shrouds the future in despair. Protestantism, as it now stands, at all events has the floor of history, carries the word of the age; and the last sense of Christianity, the grand scope of Christ’s Mediatorial reign, is to be reached through it, by

its help and intervention in some way, and not by its being turned aside as only an important accident, or mere nullity, in the course of this all conquering dispensation.

"It will be seen that our object has been to convict the general Roman principle of falsehood, by showing it to run into untenable consequences, and to be at war with the true principle of our life. This is not with us, of course, an argument for the mere negation or denial of the same principle, as the true meaning and force of Protestantism. We have before tried to expose the rock on that side; and our object now in setting forth the dangers of the whirlpool, is certainly not to recommend the first as on the whole less false and terrible than the second. Rationalism, the resolution of faith into the mere mind and will of man (with the Bible or without it), under all its forms and shapes, we religiously abhor and hate. With the reigning slang on that side, we have no sympathy whatever. Here then the question comes up, How are these extremes to be at once both avoided? And no question can well be more great and solemn. We pretend not now, however, to answer it. Enough so far, if we have been able to show that it needs and demands an answer; that the truth is not, in this case, in either of the alternatives, separately taken, which for the common understanding seem to cover the whole ground; that Christianity, in one word, must find its true sense between them, in a form of life that shall be the union of both. It is much to be sure of what is false and wrong here, even if at a loss still to master the full meaning of what is right. The best preparation for solving the problem of the age is to be well satisfied that the problem really exists, and so to feel earnestly that it calls for solution."

Previous to the appearance of this critique of *Brownson's Quarterly Review* in the January and May numbers of the *Mercersburg Review*, 1850, Dr. Nevin had been charged with being one-sided and Romanizing. He had held up false Protestantism and exposed it in its negative emptiness, and to some it seemed as if he was in some sort of secret sympathy with Romanism. The review of Brownson fairly defined his position in regard to the Roman system on the other side. Starting out from his own theological and philosophical principles, he sought to convict it of falsehood, in which he no doubt believed he was successful. As his philosophy remained substantially the same throughout life, we may take it for granted that the conclusions arrived at in his criticisms of Brownson, who represented Roman Catholic orthodoxy at the time, remained substantially the same. Mr. Brownson replied to Dr. Nevin's review of

his *Quarterly* in courteous terms, admitting that he had found him quite a different opponent from those he had hitherto been accustomed to encounter. His reply consisted largely of an effort to show the errors into which his system led, particularly *pantheism*, the prolific source of all other religious heresies. Such a deduction might be expected even from Dr. Nevin's Protestantism, because Mr. Brownson had, as he affirmed, "shown over and over again that *all* Protestantism, whatever its form, has an invincible tendency to Pantheism." To this Dr. Nevin made a brief reply, in which he proceeded to prove that Mr. Brownson's theory of the universe was just as mechanical as his theology or view of the Christian Church. The discussion thus drifted into questions of pure metaphysics, in which there seemed to be no common ground, and Dr. Nevin withdrew from the controversy, with Mr. Brownson's high regard for him as a controversialist.—See the January and May numbers of the *Mercersburg Review*, 1850.

CHAPTER XXXI

EARLY *Christianity*.—The last, and by far the most original contributions to the solution of the Church Question which Dr. Nevin made in the *Mercersburg Review*, consisted of two articles on Early Christianity in the year 1851 and four on Cyprian in 1852. In many respects, they were remarkable. Because they seemed to yield very liberally to the claims of the Roman Catholics on various points, they were regarded at the time as sufficiently startling. It was at a period when Protestants had become very sensitive in consequence of the conversion of a number of Puseyites in England and this country to the Roman Catholic faith, and it was predicted by some that Dr. Nevin himself would also fall over and walk in the footsteps of Newman and Manning. But he did nothing of the kind. He simply tried to do what he had been doing before, honestly and earnestly, in his efforts to sound the profound problem concerning the Church Question, which of its own accord pressed upon his mind and gave him much agony of heart—a veritable *angina pectoris*.—He passed through the fiery conflict, without deserting his banner, without sacrificing his principles, and without losing his common sense. Amidst a babel of warring sectarians, according to the light given him, and without claiming for himself infallibility, he endeavored to point out the way, as he had done before, to true Catholic unity, by which the universal Church of Christ might be again restored to peace and concord, hoping that others might study the subject, and if they knew of a better way than his, that they would make it known. In his book on the Mystical Presence, he had shown that a considerable portion of the Protestant Church had drifted away from the landmarks of the Reformation on the vital points connected with the Lord's Supper, and now six years later, he proceeded to show that there was a similar drifting away in the Protestant world from primitive or early Christianity, if not in spirit, at least in the form or embodiment of Christian life.—The articles referred to, if read at the present time, produce a much less startling effect than they did thirty-seven years ago. The times change and we change with them.

The discussion is made to start out with two quotations, one from an American Congregational minister and the other from an Eng-

lish Bishop, which were employed to serve as texts, or rather as occasions, for the discussions that followed. Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven, had just written a letter from Lyons, in France, and published it in the *New York Independent*, in which he had said that "in that city the Roman Catholic religion is more flourishing, with the indications of living zeal, and more deeply seated in the affections of the people than in any city on the continent of Europe.— But the worship, instead of being offered exclusively and directly in Christ's name to the one living and true God, is offered to deified mortals and chiefly to Mary, the Mother of God. Instead of being addressed only to an invisible God, it is offered to images and pictures (and those, for the most part, of no superior description), and to dead men's bones. Not in such places, nor where such worship is offered, are we to look for the true succession from the apostles and primitive martyrs, the true Catholic Church, which is the body of Christ." That, as he thought, was to be found in a small Evangelical mission in Lyons, in which Rev. Adolphe Monod had labored successfully some years before, in regard to which he said, "that he did not know where to look for a more satisfactory representation of the ideal of primitive Christianity than may be found in the city which was made illustrious so long ago by the labors of Irenæus, and by the martyrdom of Pothinus and Blandina."

The other quotation, which helped to generate thought, in Dr. Nevin's mind, was taken from an old book, of "Travels in Europe in 1823," by Rev. Daniel Wilson, better known afterwards as the Bishop of Calcutta. In these travels he came to Milan, Italy, where St. Ambrose once labored, who, in his opinion, was a true Christian, loving the Saviour and depending on his merits for justification, much in the same way as Protestants generally profess to do. The English rector, however, was compelled "to witness with grief and indignation all the superstitions of Popery in their full triumph." After an English service on Sunday he went into the great cathedral to see the catechising, or rather Sunday-schools, instituted by St. Charles Borromeo, already in the sixteenth century. Each school had a small pulpit, with a cloth in front, bearing the motto of the saint, "Humilitas." He pitied these poor children thus taught the corruptions of Popery; still he was willing to believe that some good was done in these schools. "The Catholic catechisms," he says, "contain the foundation of the Christian religion, a general view of Scripture history, explanations of the creation and redemption of

mankind, some good instructions on the moral law, sound statements on the divinity of Christ, and the Holy Trinity; some acknowledgment of the fall of man, and the necessity of the grace of God's Holy Spirit; with inculcations of repentance, contrition, humility, self-denial, watchfulness, and preparation for death and the judgment. Still all is woefully mixed up with superstition, and error, and human traditions, and even the most pious men of that communion do not enough distinguish them."

To Mr. Wilson, Borromeo was a very interesting character, but somewhat of a myth until his return to England, when, after consulting his books, he was vexed that he had been so long ignorant of his history and character. After reading Milner's Church History, he came to the conclusion, "that his habits of devotion, his self-denial, his zeal, his fortitude, his humility, and especially the unbounded and almost unparalleled benevolence, ascribed to him by universal consent, would lead one to hope that notwithstanding the wood, hay and stubble accumulated on it, he was building on the true foundation, Jesus Christ.—The actions of his life may lead one the most to hope that this tender hearted prelate was indeed animated with the fear and love of his Saviour.—My materials are scanty, especially as to the spiritual state of his heart and affections; but charity rejoices to hope all things in such a case."

To all this Dr. Nevin remarks, "that one can hardly help feeling somewhat amused with the evident embarrassment in which the good Vicar of Islington finds himself with his facts. With the instance of Ambrose in the case before us, he can get along without any serious difficulty, taking Milner's Church History for his guide, and holding fast always to the common Anglican theory of a marked distinction between the Christianity of the first four or five centuries, and that of the thousand years following. There are hard things to understand in the piety of Ambrose and Augustine, even as we have it portrayed to us in Milner; for which, however, an apology is found in the supposition, that standing as they did on the borders of the great Apostacy which was to follow, they came accidentally here and there within the folds of its impending shadow, without still belonging to it properly in the substance of their faith. But the idea of any similar exhibition of apostolical religion from the same see of Milan, under the full-blown Papacy and in open communion with its corruptions—and all this too, in the middle of the sixteenth century, and in the person of one who had been employed to draw up the Roman Catechism for the Council of Trent—was altogether another matter, and something not provided for

plainly in any way by our tourist's previous theory. The good account he hears of Borromeo perplexes him.

"Subsequently, however, it came into his mind to look into the soul of the Catholic saint in this way; and now every doubt as to the genuineness of his piety was forced to retire; so that in the second edition of the same book we have finally a free, full, and altogether joyful acknowledgment of the fact, that in the person of Borromeo the Roman communion actually produced, so late in the sixteenth century, out of its own bosom and as it were in the very face of the Reformation itself, a veritable saint of like station and piety with the great St. Ambrose of the fourth century, and worthy even to be set in some sort of comparison with the Protestant saints, Zwingli, Luther and Calvin. Under huge incrustations of Popish superstition, may be clearly traced still, in the extraordinary case, the lineaments of a truly evangelical faith, an actual diamond of grace, formed, no one can tell how, in the very start, of what might seem to be mostly at war with its whole nature. The case is accordingly set down as a sort of grand exception to common history, the next thing to a *lusus naturæ* in the world of grace. Anselm, Bernard, Thomas á Kempis, Fenelon and a few other like celebrities, perhaps, names '*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*,' are referred habitually to the same convenient category or rubric. They are spiritual curiosities, which no one should be expected to understand or explain."

Having given these statements of representatives of opposite wings of Protestantism, Dr. Nevin proceeds to consider the theory underlying them, and joins issue with them both on the church question. In the mind of the vicar he discovers two false conceptions, which he felt compelled to combat. In the first place, his estimate of the extent to which real piety has existed in the Catholic Church, both before and since the Reformation, is in no sort of agreement with the truth. In the second place, his imagination that this piety is in no sense the proper product of the Catholic religion as such, but something violently exceptional to its natural course, is not a whit less visionary and unsound. These opinions were not simply the judgment of a single Episcopalian in England nor of a Puritan divine of high standing in America, but entered largely into the Protestant thinking of the day, so that Dr. Nevin lost sight of them as the notions of individuals and aimed his arguments against the general spirit out of which they sprung.

In regard to the first point, the Doctor was well aware that public opinion in Protestant ranks, in those days, was as a general thing

very sensitive. For a Protestant theologian to say anything favorable of the Catholic Church exposed him to prosecution, or the suspicion that he was not true to his faith; but our fearless investigator of historical truth at Mercersburg was not moved by any consideration of this kind, and he felt compelled by his candor, as well as his native honesty, to declare what he believed to be the truth. The Popes, from time immemorial, had been anathematizing the Protestants, although he regarded them as his baptized children; and they in return had been doing the same thing to the Pope and his Church in their own individual capacities, and on their own responsibility. Dr. Nevin had been brought up in this same hatred towards Rome, but he had studied Neander, and having arrived at his theological manhood, he had changed his mind in regard to such matters. A reaction set in which carried him in the opposite direction, something that surprised many persons and led some people to think and say that he was rushing headlong into Romanism, whilst occupying a responsible position in Protestant ranks. From the Reformation downwards seldom has a Protestant theologian ventured to say such favorable things of the Roman Catholics as the author of these articles on Early Christianity. He believed that it was necessary, at the time, for him to do so in order to place Protestantism itself on its proper basis as well as to throw light upon the Church Question, which noctes et dies pressed itself upon his thoughts. We here give a few specimens of his utterances :

“Of all styles of upholding Protestantism, we may say that is absolutely the worst, which can see no sense or truth whatever in Catholicism, but holds itself bound to make it at every point as bad as possible, and to fight off with tooth and nail every word that may be spoken in its praise. Such wholesale and extreme pugnacity may be very convenient; as it calls for no discrimination; it requires neither learning nor thought, but can be played off under all circumstances by almost any polemic, with about the same effect. Its strength consists mainly in calling nicknames, in repeating outrageous charges without regard to any contradiction from the other side, in thrumming over threadbare common-places, received by tradition from the easy credulity of times past, in huge exaggerations, vast distortions, and bold, insulting insinuations, thrown out at random in any and every direction. But however convenient all this may be, requiring little reading and less thought, and no politeness nor charity whatever, it is high time to see that it is a system of tactics, which needs in truth only a slight change

of circumstances at any time to work just the opposite way from that in which it is meant to work. The vanity and impotency of it must become apparent in proportion precisely as men are brought to look at things with their own eyes; and then the result is, that sensible and well-bred people, not only those who go by the textbook of a sect, but such as move in a wider range of thought and have some better knowledge of the world, political and literary men, seeing how they have been imposed upon by the current slang, are very apt to be taken with a sort of quiet disgust towards the whole interest which they find to be thus badly defended, and thus to look favorably in the same measure on the other side, as being at so many points plainly an injured and persecuted cause.

"It is a sheer prejudice to suppose, in the first place, that cases of sanctity and true godliness have been, or are now, of only rare occurrence in the Roman communion. Any one who is willing at all to look into the actual history of the Church, to listen to its own voice, to study its institutions, to make himself acquainted with its works, will soon find reason enough to rejoice in a widely different and far more favorable view. To make our opposition to Romanism of any weight, the first condition would seem to be clearly, that we should have made ourselves acquainted with it on its own ground, and that we should have taken some pains to learn from the system itself what it means and wills. But of all that army of zealots, who hold themselves perfectly prepared to demolish it at a blow, through the stage or press, how few are there probably who have ever felt it necessary to get their facts from other than the most common Protestant sources. Take our ministers generally. Has one in fifty of them ever examined seriously a Catholic work of divinity, whether didactic, practical or historical? An ordinary anti-popery assault implies no preparation of this sort whatever; but rather a dogged purpose only, not to hear or believe a single word the Catholics say for themselves, while everything contrary to this is forced upon them from other quarters, as the voice and sense of their system. The sooner all such indecencies can be brought to an end the better. They help not Protestantism, but serve only to involve it in reproach."—Such language from a Protestant theologian thirty-eight years ago was ominous and sufficient to subject him to the very grave suspicion with being in some way in collusion with the Church of Rome. But times have changed. Protestants have imbibed more liberal views of history and facts, and if the Bishop of Rome still pronounces his anathemas, it is no longer deemed necessary for us to hurl them back again at the

Vatican from Protestant camps. Romanism is Christianity—of the Græco-Roman type—as Mr. Brownson was compelled to admit—and not something as bad as heathenism, as some persons used to say and write. Dr. Van Dyke, in the article referred to in the *Presbyterian Review* in 1887, made use of language quite as strong as that given above, and no one seemed disposed to call him to account. Obiter dictum, he does not hesitate to say, “that the majority of nominal Christians, including multitudes of the ablest and purest of mankind, believe in transubstantiation.”

“But in the second place,” says Dr. Nevin, “it is just as blind a prejudice again to suppose that the piety of the Roman church, such as it is, springs not from the proper life of the system itself, but is there rather by accident, and as something out of place, so to speak, in spite of the unfriendly connexions with which it is surrounded; so that it needs only to be torn up from the soil in which it thus happens to stand, and transplanted into truly evangelical liberty, where it might be expected to thrive and flourish at a much better rate. The nature and, as it were, normal tendency of Catholicism, in the view of this prejudice, is not to piety at all, but only to superstition and sin; for it is taken to be a systematic conspiracy against the doctrine of grace from the beginning; and hence when we meet with the phenomenon of a truly evangelical spirit here and there in its communion, as in the case of Pascal or Fenelon, we are bound to see in it a wonderful exception to established law, and to admire so much the more the power of the evangelical principle, which is sufficient even in such untoward circumstances to bring to pass so great a miracle. No one, however, can study the subject to any extent for himself without being led to see that the very reverse of all this is the truth. Catholicism is inwardly fitted for the production of its own forms of piety, and owes them to no foreign source or influence whatever. Its saints are not exotics, that pine after other climes and skies, but products of home growth, answerable in all respects to the conditions that surround them. To place them in other relations would be, not to advance, but to cripple their life. Borromeo was constitutionally a Catholic in his piety, and not a Protestant. The same may be said of Fenelon, of Philip de Neri, of Anselm and Bernard, of Ambrose and of the old church fathers generally. The piety of all of them has a complexion, which is materially different from any that we meet with in the modern Protestant world. We mean not to call into question the reality of this last, or its high worth; all we wish to say is, that it is of another character and order, and that we find that the saint-

liness in the Roman Church is strictly and legitimately from itself and not from abroad. To Protestantize it even in imagination, is to turn it into caricature, and to eviscerate it at last of its very life. What could the early church fathers do with themselves in New England?

"And just so it is with the piety of this Church in general. It is fairly and truly native to the soil from which it springs. That Church with all its supposed errors and sins has ever had power in its own way to produce a large amount of very lovely religion. If it has been the mother of abominations, it has been unquestionably the mother also of martyrs and saints.

"To deal with Romanism to any purpose we must get rid of the notion that it carries in it no truth, no grace, no principle of religious activity and life; that it is as bad as infidelity, if not a good deal worse; that it lacks all the attributes of a church, and is purely a synagogue of Satan or a mere human confederacy, for worldly and unhallowed ends.

"The *New York Observer* lately affirmed that 'Romanism and Socialism are essentially anti-Christian, and many wise and good men regard infidelity as the least evil of the two when the choice must be between it and Popery.'—Dr. Hengstenberg, of Berlin, on the other hand, had the courage to say to the Protestants of the rationalistic no-religion school, who were disposed to place religion in mere opposition and mere contradiction to the Catholic Church, 'Get thee behind me, Satan;' and to proclaim to the world, that 'there is no comparison to be thought of between Infidelity and Catholicism, and that when it comes to a war with the first, all our affections and sympathies are bound to go joyfully with the last, as one grand division simply of the great army of faith, to which all true Protestants as well as all true Catholics belong.'

"But what we have in view now, more particularly, is to expose the fallacy that lies in the extracts we have given from Dr. Bacon and Bishop Wilson, with regard to Early Christianity, as compared with that particular modern scheme of religion, which they dignify with the title of Evangelical, and which is for them the only true and perfect sense of the Gospel. Both writers assume, that there existed in the beginning, back of the corruptions and abuses of Romanism, and subsequently to the time of the Apostles, a certain golden age, longer or shorter, of comparatively pure religious faith, which truly represented still the simplicity and spirituality of the proper divine model of the Church, as we have it plainly exhibited in the New Testament; and that this was in all material respects of

one character precisely with what they now approve as the best style of Protestantism. But never was there a more perfect mistake.

"It may be easy enough to show that there are many points of difference between Early Christianity and Romanism, as we find this established in later times. But this fact is by no means sufficient to show that the first was to the same extent in agreement with modern Protestantism, whether in the Episcopalian or in the Congregational form. It is clear on the contrary that no such agreement has ever had place, but that modern Protestantism is still farther away from this older faith than the system by which it is supposed to have been supplanted in the Middle Ages. No defence of Protestantism can well be more inefficient and unsound, than that by which it is set forth as a pure *restitution* simply of what Christianity was at the beginning, either in the fourth century, or the third, or the second. It is always found on examination to have no such character in fact; and every attempt to force upon the world any imagination of the sort, in favor either of Episcopacy, or Presbyterianism, or Independency, must only serve in the end by its palpable falsehood to bring suspicion and doubt on the whole cause which is thus badly upheld. Whatever differences there may be between believers of the first ages and those that followed it, it is still plain enough that the course of things was from the very start *towards* that order which afterwards prevailed (Græco-Roman Christianity.—Ed.); that this later order therefore stands bound by true historical connection with what went before; and that Protestantism, accordingly, as a still more advanced period in the general movement of history, holds a living relation to the first period only through the medium of the second, and is just as little a copy of the one in form as it is in the other.

"This we sincerely believe is the only ground on which may be set up any rational defence of the great revolution of the sixteenth century (apart from Scripture.—Ed.), in conjunction with a true faith in the Divine character of the Church. It is the theory of historical development, which assumes the possibility and necessity of a transition on the part of the Church through *various stages of form*, as in all growth, for the very purpose of bringing out more and more fully the true inward sense of this life, which has always been one and the same from the beginning.—The only escape there is in the formula of the same and yet not the same, legitimate growth, historical development.

"It needs but little knowledge of history certainly, to see that

Christianity as it stood in the fourth century, and in the first part of the fifth, in the time of Jerome and Ambrose and Augustine, in the time of Chrysostom, Basil and the Gregories was something very different from modern Protestantism, and that it bore in truth a very near resemblance in all *material* points to the later religion of the Roman Church. This is most clear of course as regards full Puritanism, in the form it carries in New England; but it is equally true in fact of the Anglican system also, and this whether we take it in the Low Church or the High Church view. Episcopalians are indeed fond of making a great distinction between the first four or five centuries and the ages that follow; telling us that the Early Church thus far was comparatively pure; that the Roman apostacy came in afterwards, marring and blotting the fair face which things had before; and that the English Church distinguished itself at the Reformation by its moderation and sound critical judgement, in discriminating here properly between the purity of the primitive faith and its subsequent adulterations. According to the most churchly view, the Reformation was for Anglicanism no revolution properly speaking at all, but the simple clearing away of some previous abuses, and a self-righting of the English Church, as a whole, once more into its old habit and course. But this is altogether a most tame and desperate hypothesis. The boasted discrimination of the English Protestantism vanishes into thin air the moment we come to inquire into its actual origin and rise. Never was there a great movement, in which accident, caprice and mere human passion more clearly prevailed as factors over the forces of calm judgement and sound reason.—The main feature of it is Episcopacy, with a King at the head of it instead of a Pope. In virtue of this constitution, and some few peculiarities besides, Anglicanism piques itself on being a *jure divino* succession of the old English branch of the Church Catholic, while for want of such accidents other Protestant bodies have no right to put in any similar claim. The charm lies in the notion of the Episcopate, handed down by outward succession, as a sort of primary, divinely appointed mark and seal of the True Church.

“But what would such men as Cyprian, Ambrose, or Augustine, have thought of the glorification of the Episcopate, with all that may go along with it in the English system besides, in any such outward style? They indeed did put a high value on Episcopacy and some other things that Anglicanism contends for; but only as these interests were themselves comprehended in what they held to be a still wider and deeper system of truth.—For in truth there is

no return here to anything more than fragments of the early system, even in the dead view now mentioned. It is as pure a fiction as ever entered a good man's head, to dream as Bishop Wilson does, that this favorite scheme of Evangelical Episcopalianism prevailed in the fourth century, and the case is not materially improved by simply changing the dream into an Oxford or Tractarian shape. The whole idea of a marked chasm anywhere about the fifth century, dividing an older, purer style of Christianity from the system that meets us in the Middle Ages, much as English Episcopacy stands related to the papacy, is no better than a chimera; history is all against it; we might just as rationally pretend to find any such dividing in the eighth or in the tenth."—The Græco-Roman Church, which was at first one, became in the course of time more Greek on the one side and more intensely Roman on the other; and the result was the great schism between the East and the West.

"But if anything in the world can be said to be historically clear, it is the fact that with the close of the fourth century and the coming in of the fifth, the primacy of the Roman See was admitted and acknowledged in all parts of the Christian world. The promise of the Saviour to Peter is always acknowledged by the fathers in the sense that he was to be the centre of unity for the Church, and, in the language of Chrysostom, to have the presidency of it throughout the whole earth. Ambrose and Augustine both recognized this of Peter over and over again, in the clearest and strongest terms. To be joined in communion with the See of Rome was in the view of this period to be in the bosom of the True Church: to be out of this communion was to be in schism. It was not (it was thought—Ed.) to be in union with any other bishop or body of bishops; the sacrament of unity was held to be a force only as having regard to the Church in its universal character; and this involved necessarily the idea of one universal centre, which by general consent was to be found only in Rome, and no where else.—And the whole world apparently regarded the primacy, in the same way, as a matter fully settled and established in the constitution of the Christian Church. We hear of no objection to it, no protest against it, as a new and daring presumption, or as a departure from the earlier order of Christianity.

"The idea of the primacy implies of course the Episcopacy, but it implies also a great deal more. At the ground of it lies also the conception of a truly Divine character, belonging to the Church as a whole, and not to be separated from the attributes of unity and universality; the idea of the Church, thus as one, holy and Cath-

olic; the idea of an actual continuation of Christ's presence and power in the Church, according to the terms of the original apostolic commission; the idea of sacramental grace, the power of absolution, the working of miracles to the end of time; and a real communion of saints extending to the departed dead, as well as to those still living on the earth. It is perfectly certain, accordingly, that in the fourth and fifth centuries all these and other naturally related conceptions, running very directly into the Roman corruptions as they are called of a later period, were in full operation and force; and this in no sporadic exceptional or accidental way merely, but with universal authority and as belonging to the inmost life and substance of the great mystery of Christianity.—In the bosom of this system stood, not outwardly and by accident only, as the true representative of its very soul and life, such men as Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa, Ephraim the Syrian, Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. They held the fundamentals certainly of the Gospel; but they held them in connection with a vast deal that modern Protestantism is in the habit of denouncing as the worst Roman corruption, and what is most stumbling of all, they made it a fundamental point to hold the supposed better parts of their faith just in this bad connection and no other. The piety of Ambrose and Augustine is steeped in what this modern school sets down as rank heathenish superstition. The slightest inspection of historical documents is sufficient to convince any unprejudiced mind of this fact.

"The ground here then taken by Bishop Wilson, and by the whole Low Church or No-Church order, still bent on claiming some sort of genealogical affinity with the order and piety of the fourth and fifth centuries, is palpably false. But how is it with Puseyism or Anglicanism in the high view, pretending to find in this early period its own pattern of Episcopacy, as distinguished from what it conceives to be those latter innovations of the Papacy which it pompously condemns and rejects. Alas, the whole theory is as brittle as glass, and falls to pieces with the first tap of the critic's hammer.

The general Puritan hypothesis of Early Christianity, in the first ages, may be reduced to several propositions:

(1) It goes on the supposition that it started in the beginning under the same *form* substantially both in doctrine and practice, which is now known and honored as Evangelical Protestantism without prelacy. The doctrine was orthodox as distinguished from

all heresies that are at war with the doctrines of the Trinity, human depravity and the atonement. The principle of the Bible and private judgment lay at the bottom of the whole system.

(2) This happy state of things, established under the authority of the Apostles, and in their time universally present in the churches, was unfortunately of only short duration. The Church started right in the beginning, but when it comes fully into view again in the third century, it is found to be strangely wrong, fairly on the tide in truth of the prelatical system with its whole sea of corruptions and abominations. Between these dates then there must be assumed to be an apostasy or fall, somewhat like that which turned our first parents out of paradise into the common world. When or how the doleful change took place, in the absence of all reliable historical evidence, can only be made out by conjecture; and here naturally the theory is subject in different hands to some variations. The Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist constructions are not just the same. All, however, make the paradisiacal period of the Church very short.

(3) The change thus early commenced was in truth in full opposition to the original sense and design of Christianity, and involved in principle from the start the grand apostasy that afterwards became complete in the Church of Rome, and which is graphically foretold in those passages of the New Testament that speak of Antichrist, the Mystical Babylon, and the man of sin.—Thus Christianity went out in a dismal eclipse, with only a few tapers, dimly burning here and there in valleys and corners, to keep up some faint remembrance of that glorious day-spring from on high with which it had visited the nations in the beginning.

(4) The long night of this fearful captivity came to an end finally, through the great mercy of God, by the event of the Reformation; which was brought to pass by the diligent study of the Bible, the original codex of Christianity, under the awakening and guiding influence of the Holy Ghost, and consisted simply in a resuscitation of the life and doctrine of the primitive Church, which had long been buried beneath the corruptions of the great Roman apostasy. The Reformation, in this view, was not properly the historical product and continuation under another form of the life of the Church itself, or what was called the Church, as it stood before. It was a revolutionary rebellion rather against this as something totally false and wrong, by which it was violently set aside to make room for a new order of things altogether.—Here, finally, after so long a sleep, the fair image of original Christianity,

as it once gladdened the assemblies of the faithful in the days of Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, and the blessed martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, has come forth as it were from the catacombs, to put to shame that frightful mask which has for so many centuries deceived the world in its name and stead.

Such, as Dr. Nevin conceived, was the Puritan theory of the past history of the Church, and such the relation in which it imagines that Protestantism stands to Primitive Christianity. The theory and the fancy he believed to be visionary, and when logically carried subversive to the best interests of Protestantism itself. The very *prodigiousness* of such an hypothesis, when properly considered, ought to startle its holders themselves. Instead of being natural and reasonable, it is as much against nature and reason as can well be conceived. Every presumption is against it. Only look at the scheme in its own light. All previous history looked to the coming of Christ, and prepared the way for it, as the grand central fact of religion and so of the world's life. At length it came, the Fact of all facts, full of grace and truth, heralded by angels, surrounded with miracles, binding earth to heaven, and laying the foundations of a new creation of whose splendors and glories there should be no end.—The Gospel was rapidly published throughout the Roman world. The ascended Redeemer, at the right hand of God, made head over all things to the Church, gave proof of His exaltation and power by causing His Kingdom to spread and prevail, in the face of all opposition, whether Jewish or Pagan. The whole course of things seemed to show clearly that the powers of a higher world were at work in the glorious movement, and that it embodied in itself the will and counsel of heaven itself for the full accomplishment of the end towards which it reached. But, according to the hypothesis now before us, the very opposite of this took place.

“The eclipse came not at once in its full strength; but still from the very start, it was the beginning of the total obscurity that followed, and looked to this steadily as its end. So in truth Satan in the end prevailed over Christ. The Church fell, not partially and transiently only, but universally in its collective and corporate character, with an apostasy that was to reach through twelve hundred years.—But will any sober-minded man pretend to say that this, in itself considered, is not a strange and unnatural hypothesis, which it is exceedingly hard to reconcile, either with the divine origin of the Church, or with its Divine mission, or with the Divine presence in it of Him, who is represented as having the government of the world on His shoulders for its defence and salvation?

"Even under the Old Testament, it was a standing article of faith, that the theocracy could not fail. But this perpetuity was itself the type only of that higher and better state, in which the Jewish theocracy was to become complete finally as the New Testament Church. Nothing could well be more foreign from the old Messianic scheme than the imagination that the enlargement of Jacob by the coming of Shiloh, was to give place almost immediately again to a long night of captivity and bondage ten times worse than that of Babylon, from which there was to be no escape for more than a thousand years. And just as little can any such view be reconciled with the plan of Christianity, as it meets us in the New Testament.—There are, it is true, predictions enough of trials, heresies, apostasies and corruptions; but the idea is never for a moment allowed, that these should prevail in any such universal way as the theory before us pretends. On the contrary, the strongest assurances are given that this should not be the case.

"It is very certain, that only the most wilful and stubborn prejudice can fail to see how utterly at war the Bible is with the notion of a quickly apostatizing and totally failing Church, in any view answerable to the strange hypothesis, which we have now under consideration. No such notion accordingly ever entered the mind of the Primitive Church itself. That would have been counted downright infidelity. The promise to Peter and the Apostolic commission were never taken in but one sense; and it became accordingly, as we all know, an element of the primitive faith, an article of the early creed, to believe in the being of the Holy, Catholic Church as an indestructible fact, a divine mystery that could never fail or pass away.

"Christianity in the beginning was anything but a passive and inert system, which offered itself like wax to every impression from abroad. It had a most intense life of its own, a power to assimilate and reject in the sea of elements with which it was surrounded, and the force of self-conservation, over against all dissolving agencies, as never any system of thought or life before possessed. It is just this organic and all-subduing character that forms the grand argument from history for its divine origin and heavenly truth. Neander has it continually in view. What subtle speculations were not tried in the first centuries on the part of Gnostics, Manicheans, Sabellians, and others to corrupt the truth; and yet how promptly and vigorously all these innovations were met and repelled.

"But this is not all. The prodigiousness of the theory goes still farther. What authority was it that fixed the sacred canon, de-

termining in the beginning what books were taken to be inspired, and what other books, not a few, were to be rejected as apocryphal or false? The work of settling the canon began in the second century, but was not fully completed before the fourth; and then it was by the tradition and authority of the Church simply that the work, regarded through all this time as one and the same, was brought thus to its final consummation. Is it not strange, that we should be under obligation to such a growing mystery of iniquity for so excellent and holy a gift, and that coming to us in this way we can still be sure that every line in it is inspired, so as to make it the only rule of our faith?

“Nor does the wonder stop here. These ages of apostasy, as they are here considered, were at the same time, by general acknowledgment, ages of extraordinary faith and power. Miracles abounded. Charity had no limits. Zeal stopped at no sacrifices, however hard or great. The blood of martyrs flowed in torrents. The heroism of confessors braved every danger. Bishops ruled at the peril of their lives. In the catalogue of Roman Popes, no less than thirty before the time of Constantine, that is, the whole list that far with only two or three exceptions, wear the crown of martyrdom. Nor was this zeal outward only, the fanaticism of a name or sect. Along with it burned, as we have seen before, a glowing interest in the truth, an inextinguishable ardor in maintaining the faith once delivered to the saints. Heresies quailed before its presence. Schisms withered under its blasting rebuke. Thus, in the midst of all opposition, it went forward from strength to strength, till in the beginning of the fourth century finally we behold it fairly seated on the throne of the Cæsars. And this outward victory, as Neander will tell us, was only a faint symbol of the far more important revolution it had already accomplished in the empire of human thought, the interior world of spirit. Here was brought to pass, in the same time, a true creation from the bosom of chaos, such as the world had never seen before, over which the morning stars sang together and the sons of God shouted for joy. In foundation or principle, at least, old things, whether of philosophy, or of art, or of morality and social life, had passed away, and, lo, all things had become new.

“And then again when this mystery came fully out, followed as we all know by the deep night of the Middle Ages, there was no end to the moral wonders of which we now speak. True, the world was dark, very dark and very wild; and its corruptions were powerfully felt at times in the bosom of the Church; but no one will

pretend to make this barbarism *her* work, or lay it as a crime to her charge. She was the rock that beat back its proud waves. She was the power of order and law, the fountain of a new civilization, in the midst of a tumultuating chaos. Consider the entire evangelization of the new barbarous Europe under the papal system. Is it not a work fairly parallel, to say the least, with the conquest of the old Roman Empire in the first ages?

"The theory here considered is false. It rests on no historical bottom. The Scriptures are against it. All sound religious feeling is at war with it. Facts of every sort conspire to prove it untrue. It is a sheer hypothesis, a sort of a Protestant myth we may call it, got up to serve a purpose, and hardened by time and tradition now into the form of a sacred prejudice; or rather, it is an arbitrary construction, that seeks to turn into a myth and fable the true history of the Church.—In such a shape it may be possible still to believe in a Holy Catholic Church, which was from the start the football of Satan. But in the same way it is possible also to believe that the moon is made of green cheese.

"The best and most sufficient defence against the Puritan theory," says Dr. Nevin, "is simply to be somewhat imbued with the general soul of the Primitive Church, as it looks forth upon us from the writings of Ignatius, Justin Martyr and Tertullian." Accordingly, in the remainder of his second article, he proceeds to show how the Christianity of the early ages differed from that represented by Dr. Bacon and Bishop Wilson. This difference has reference, more particularly, to outward form or manifestation. How far the two agreed in inward substance or essence he does not presume to say. The difference in the latter case may be less than what might be supposed, as true Christianity is always the same under the most diversified forms. Dr. Nevin had his eye, as we have seen, upon a modern and somewhat exclusive theory, and his object in his articles on Early Christianity was to show that it was not in harmony with facts or the truth in the premises. He accordingly proceeds to show that the conception of the Church, of the Ministry, the Holy Sacraments, the Rule of Faith, the Order of Doctrine and Miracles as held by the early Church fathers, was widely different from that which is maintained at the present day in the modern Puritan world. What these conceptions were, as he firmly believed, he sought to set forth and defend in his other writings, and it is not necessary to repeat them in this connection.

In his third and last article on Early Christianity, Dr. Nevin went on, more particularly than he had done before, to bring into

view the practical bearings and issues of the whole subject. The positions, he says, assumed were not theological. They related to questions of outward fact, to be settled in such form by proper testimony. We may explain them as we please. But it is perfectly idle to dispute them, or to pretend to set them aside. We might just as well quarrel with the constitution of nature, or with the Copernican system. The fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries were not Puritan nor Protestant. They stood in the bosom of the Catholic system, the very same system of thought that completed itself in the Roman or Papal Church, and they were all Romanizers, much more so than any Protestant theologians have ever been from Hugo Grotius down to Dr. Nevin. The strong supposition of Dr. Newman is not a whit too strong for the actual character of the case. If Ambrose or Athanasius should visit the earth with their old habit of mind, neither of them would be able, at least not at first, to feel himself at home in any of our Protestant churches. Anglicans, Low Churchmen, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, United Brethren, Quakers, and so on to the end of the chapter, would be tempted to exclude them from their communion, or take them in at best as mere novices and babes requiring to be taught again the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. Meekly submitting to such instruction, they would no doubt rejoice in the light, liberty and freedom conferred on the Evangelical Church by Christ Himself; but in their turn, as they grew in grace and knowledge, with their old faith in one Holy Catholic Church, they would sternly denounce our divisions as with the voice of Christ, and, if let alone, help us very materially in healing them.—How then are the facts to be explained? Every person must have a theory of some kind to reconcile apparent contradictions or incongruities, and the only question is, Which is the best or most in harmony with history and the Scriptures?

“Mr. Isaac Taylor in his able and learned work on ‘Ancient Christianity’ has made a valuable contribution to the solution of the vexed question of church history here concerned. With much learning he has undoubtedly been successful in proving, that it is an entire mistake to imagine anything like the counterpart of Anglican Protestantism as having existed in the fourth century, and that, in very truth, what are usually considered the worst abuses of Romanism were already fully at work in this period; nay, that in many respects, the form under which they appeared was decidedly worse than that which they carried subsequently in the Middle Ages. This testimony, the result of a very full and laborious per-

sonal examination of the writings of the early fathers themselves, is supported throughout with a weight of authorities and examples that a man must be very rash indeed to think of setting aside. The evidence is absolutely overwhelming, that the Nicene Church was in all essential points of one mind and character with the Papal Church of later times, and that where any difference is to be found, it was for the most part not in favor of the first, but rather against it, and in favor of this last.

“So much for the Nicene Age, according to the judgment of this learned author. But he does not confine his view to this period. His knowledge of the laws of history could not permit him to doubt its organic unity with the life of the period that went before; and his actual study of that earlier age has been of a kind to place this reasonable conclusion beyond all question.—He confirms in full, accordingly, the general statement we have already made in relation to the Christianity of the second and third centuries. The fourth century was a true continuation of the ecclesiastical forms and views of the third; and this again grew, by natural and legitimate birth, out of the bosom of the second. As far back as our historical notices reach, we find no trace this side of the New Testament of any church system at all answering to any Puritan scheme of the present time; no room or space, however small, in which to locate the hypothesis even of any such scheme; but very sufficient proof rather that the prevailing habit of thought looked all quite another way, and that in principle and tendency at least the infant church was carried from the very start towards the order of the third and fourth centuries, and through this, we may say, towards mediæval catholicism in which that older system finally became complete.—In those times there were some true Protestants, as Neander styles them; they were suppressed whenever they protested or seemed to be likely to increase in number. The most eminent of these worthy opposers of the reigning superstitions was Jovinian, an Italian monk, in the fourth century, who taught his people that they could be just as acceptable Christians in the sight of God as those who passed their days in unsociable celibacy or severe mortifications and fastings. He had many followers, but he was condemned by the Church in the year 390 and then banished by the State.

“The general truth is clear. Protestantism and Early Christianity are not the same. Let it be observed, we speak not now of Early Christianity, as it may be supposed to have been in the age of the Apostles, but of its manifestation in the period following

that age, as far back as our historical data reach on this side of the New Testament. We speak not of what it might have been before the destruction of Jerusalem, or for a short time afterwards, in the first century; but of what it is found to have been, as a fact of history, in the second as well as in the third and fourth centuries. Let it also be again observed that we speak now not of *inward essence* but of *outward form*. There may be a wide difference in the latter view, when a real sameness has place after all under the former view. All we say is, that Protestantism outwardly considered does not agree, in its general constitution and form, with what we find Christianity to have been after the time of the New Testament, as far back as the middle of the second as well as in the fourth and third centuries.

"We are sorry to find that Mr. Isaac Taylor, with all his learning and good sense, is not able to clear himself of this false and untenable ground, in his controversy with the Oxford theology. He sets out indeed with what might seem to be a very strong acknowledgment of the dependence of the Modern Church upon that of antiquity. But the only use he sees proper to make of ecclesiastical history after all is such as is made of the testimony of a common witness in a court of law. The voice of the Church is to him only as the voice of the profane world, the authority of the fathers of one and the same order with the authority of Tacitus or Pliny. Antiquity may help us to the knowledge of some facts, but nothing more; to sit in judgment on the facts, to make out their true value, to accept them as grains of gold or reject them as heaps of trash, is the high prerogative of modern reason, acting in the triple office of lawyer, juryman, and judge. The rule or standard of judgment is indeed professedly the Bible, God's infallible word; but the *tribunal* for interpreting and applying it, the highest and last resort, therefore, in all cases of controversy and appeal, is always the mind of the present age as distinguished from that of every age that has gone before. Mr. Taylor's stand-point is completely subjective. But that is not the right position for doing justice to any history; and least of all, for doing justice to the history of God's Church. For if the Church be what it professed to be at the start, and what it is acknowledged by the whole Christian world to be in the Creed, it is a supernatural constitution, and in such view it must have a supernatural history. A divine Church, with a purely human history, is a contradiction in terms. In any such view, however, it is something fairly monstrous to think of turning the whole process into the play of simply human factors,

and then requiring it to bend everywhere to the measure of our modern judgment. But this is precisely what Mr. Isaac Taylor allows himself to do. With the Bible in his hands, he finds it a most easy and reasonable thing to rule out of court the universal voice of the Church, from the second century, if need be, to the sixteenth, whenever it refuses to chime in with his own mind. In this way he falls in fact into the theory and method of Puritanism, under the most perfectly arbitrary form. Protestantism in his hands ceases to be historical altogether, and stands forward in direct antagonism to the life of the early Church. The relation between the two systems is made to be one of violent contradiction and opposition. To make good the modern cause, antiquity is presented to us under attributes that destroy its whole title to our confidence and respect.

"Our brethren of the early Church," Mr. Taylor himself tells us, "challenge our respect as well as our affection; theirs was the fervor of a steady faith in things unseen and eternal; theirs often a meek patience and humility, under the most grievous wrongs; theirs the courage to maintain a good profession before the frowning face of philosophy, of secular tyranny, and of splendid superstition; theirs was abstractness from the world and a painful self-denial; theirs the most arduous and costly labors of love; theirs a munificence in charity, altogether without example; theirs was a reverent and scrupulous care of the sacred writings; and this merit, if they had had no other, is of a superlative degree, and should entitle them to the veneration and grateful regard of the modern Church. How little do many readers of the Bible, now-a-days, think of what it cost the Christians of the second and third centuries, merely to rescue and hide the sacred treasure from the rage of the heathen?"

"This is a beautiful and bright picture," as Dr. Nevin remarks. "But, alas, the historical analysis that follows turns it all into shame. Nothing can be more gloomy and oppressive to a truly Christian mind, than the light in which the fathers of these first centuries, together with the theology and piety of the Ancient Church generally, are made to show themselves beneath the pencil of this brilliant writer. False principles came in from the start, not affecting simply the surface of the new religion, but carrying the poison of death into its very heart. Gnosticism, though resisted and conquered on the outside of the Church, had a full triumph within, and out of it grew the ascetic system, false views of marriage, the glorification of virginity, monasticism, and all kindred views. The celibate corrupted the whole scheme of theology. Christianity

itself is opposed to the Oriental theosophy, proceeding on a different view of the world; and it vanquished this enemy in fact. But only, we are told, to take it again into its own bosom. 'The Catholic Church,' we are informed by Mr. Taylor, 'opposed substantial truths to these baseless and malignant speculations; and triumphed; but alas, it fell in triumphing.' Gnosticism thus infused its own Antichristian soul into the entire system of the Nicene theology. Parallel with this doctrinal corruption ran a corresponding corruption of the whole life of religion—practically considered.—But with such a view of the theology and life of the fourth century, Mr. Taylor finds it natural and easy to charge the system with the universal decay of morals, that marked the last stage of the old Roman civilization. All came by necessary derivation from the 'church principles' of the third and fourth centuries. The cause, which Christ had founded for the salvation of the world, proved in the end like the breath of a Sirocco, sweeping it with an unmeasurable curse.

"This may suffice for our present purpose, which is not to discuss directly the merits of our author's position, but simply to set them in contrast with the other side of his own picture of this same Ancient Christianity, in argument and proof of the perfectly unhistorical character of his general scheme. A man may say what he pleases about the glories of the Early Church, Christ's presence in it, and its victories over error and sin; but if he couple with it the idea of such wholesale falsehood and corruption as is here laid to its charge, all this praise is made absolutely void. The two thoughts refuse to stand together. One necessarily excludes the other. Common history will not endure any such gross contradiction. But still less can it be reconciled with any faith in the history of the Church, as a supernatural order.

"We have spoken before of Thiersch's 'Lectures on Catholicism and Protestantism.' They abound in original and fresh thought, pervaded throughout with a tone of the most earnest piety, though not altogether free at times from the excesses of an erratic fancy. The Church, he thinks, has passed through four great metamorphoses already, in coming to its present condition. First we have it under its Old Catholic form, as it existed between the age of the Apostles and the time of Constantine. Then it appears as the *Imperial* (Græco-Roman) Church in close connection with the State, and undergoing many changes and corruptions. Next it becomes the *Roman Catholic* Church of the Middle Ages. Last of all it stands before us as the *Protestant* Church. This was called forth, with a sort of inward necessity, by the corruption and abuses of the

Roman system; and it has its full justification in the actual religious benefits it has conferred upon the world; benefits that may be said to show themselves even in the improved character of Romanism itself. Still it is but too plain, that Protestantism is not the full successful solution of the problem of Christianity. It has not fulfilled the promise of its own beginning; and it carries in it no pledge now of any true religious millenium in time to come. Evils of tremendous character are lodged within its bosom. A reign of rationalism and unbelief has sprung out of it, for which the present course of things, in the view of Thiersch, offers no prospect of recovery or help.—The history of the Church is with him a grand and complicated process. Exposed to powerful corruptions, and yet moving onward always towards the full consummation of its own original sense; which, however, is not to be reached without the intervention of a *new supernatural apostolate*, in all respects parallel with that which was employed for the first establishment of Christianity in the beginning.—The self-sufficiency of both Protestant and Roman Catholic systems must come to an end, before room can be made for that higher state of the Church, which God may be expected then to bring in by a *miraculous dispensation*, restoring all things to their proper form."

Dr. Nevin was free to acknowledge the force of Thiersch's words, but he believed too firmly in history and its laws to give much heed to the "fancy" of the amiable professor at the old Reformed University at Marburg with his Irvingite tendencies. He accordingly pays more attention to a theory of the Church, maintained by Professor Rothe of Heidelberg University. His speculative construction of Christianity in its relation to nature and humanity were brought out, more fully and with unparalleled architectonic power, in his *Theological Ethics*. The conclusion arrived at by this gigantic thinker was that the Church is destined to be absorbed by the State, and as such is destined to pass away. This is a simple solution of the great problem, upheld with much ability also in his "*Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche*;" but it shocked the Evangelical consciousness of orthodox Germany; and is referred to, with high regard for the author, by Dr. Nevin as an honest effort on the part of a great philosopher and theologian to throw light on the great question of the day.

"Rothe's error, we think, lies in the assumption that the economy of the world, naturally considered, must be regarded as carrying in itself all the necessary elements and conditions of a perfect humanity. A scientific apprehension of what the world is, as an historical

process, or *cosmos*, would seem indeed to require that it should not be defeated in its highest end, the glorification of humanity, by the disorder of sin—that with reference to this it should not turn out a hopeless failure, an irrecoverable wreck, from which man must be extricated by an act of sheer power for the accomplishment of his salvation somewhere else. But we have no right to assume in this way, that the proper sense of the world in its natural order lies wholly in itself as an independent and separate system. The overshadowing embrace of a higher economy—the absolutely supernatural—we must believe rather to have been needed from the first to complete its process in the life of man. In such view, redemption is more than the carrying out of the natural order of the world to any merely natural end; and the Church, as the mediator of its work, is more than a provisionary institute simply for perfecting the scheme of the State, the highest form of man's life on the basis of nature as it now stands. The true destination of this lies beyond the present economy of nature in the sphere of the supernatural, in an order of things that fairly outleaps and transcends the whole system out of which grows the constitution of political kingdoms and States. In the kingdom of heaven, the last and most perfect form of humanity, as 'they neither marry nor are given in marriage,' so also there will be neither Greek nor Jew; but the whole idea of nationality is to be taken up, as it would appear, into a far higher and wider conception, rooted not in nature but in grace. The Church will not lose itself in the State; it will be the State rather that shall be found then to have vanished in the Church.—The whole theory, with all our respect for Rothe, *we* of course repudiate as unsound and false. How could the Church be an object of faith, that is, a supernatural mystery of like order with the other articles of the Creed, if it were after all any such provisional and transitory fact, designed to pass away finally in another conception altogether? We might just as well resolve the resurrection of the body, with Hymeneus and Philetus, into the idea of a new moral life begun in the present life. It will not do to defend Protestantism by surrendering Christianity. We are not willing to give up for it either history or the Creed.

"If Protestantism then is to be defended successfully (theoretically of course.—Ed.), it can be neither on the ground that it is a *repristination* simply of early post-apostolical Christianity, nor on the ground that it is an absolute nullification of this ancient faith, leaping over it with a single bound to the age of the Apostles.

"We are thus shut up to the idea of *historical development*, as

the only possible way of escape from the difficulty with which we are met in bringing the present here into comparison with the past. If the Modern Church must be the same in substance or being with the Ancient Church, a true continuation of its life as this has been in the world by divine promise from the beginning, while it is perfectly plain, at the same time, that a wide difference holds between the two systems as to form, the relation binding them together can only be one of living progress or growth. No other will satisfy these outward conditions. Growth implies unity in the midst of change. That precisely is what we are to understand by historical development.

"Some pretend to identify this doctrine of development with the system of Romanism itself, as though the only occasion for it were found in the variations through which it is supposed to have passed in reaching its present form. Mr. Newman, it is well known, has tried to turn the idea to account, in this way, in his memorable 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.' The author holds Christianity to be an objective fact in the world, that must be throughout identical with itself. Still that it has undergone serious modifications in its outward form and aspect, he considers to be no less certain and clear. To reconcile this semblance of discrepancy then, he has recourse to what he calls the *theory of developments*. The whole theory, however, has been condemned by other Romanists, as being at war with the true genius of the Catholic religion. Mr. Brownson set himself in opposition to it from the start. Catholicism, as he will have it, has known no change. It is only Protestantism, that needs any 'such law of development' to account for its changes; and to Protestantism alone, accordingly, the whole theory legitimately and of right belongs.

"Be this as it may, Protestantism, at all events, is still less able to get along without the help of some such theory than Romanism. This is now felt by all, who deserve to be considered of any authority in the sphere of Church History. The whole progress of this science at the present time, under the new impulse which has been given to it by Neander and others, is making it more and more ridiculous to think of upholding the Reformation under any other view.

"Those who wish to see this subject ably and happily handled are referred to Professor Schaff's *Principle of Protestantism*, the special object of which is to exhibit and defend the idea of historical development in its application to the Protestant movement.—

Dr. Schaff had entered too far into the modern sense of history and of the proper idea of the Church, to be satisfied with any such poor and superficial habit of thought. He saw the absolute necessity of showing Protestantism to be historical, in the full modern force of this most significant term, for the purpose of vindicating its right to exist; and his work accordingly is a most honorable and vigorous attempt to defend it on this ground. We have said before, what we now deliberately repeat, that it is the best apology for the cause of the Reformation which has yet appeared in this country. However it may be as it regards details, the argument in its main course and scheme may be considered identical now with the very life of Protestantism. It is approved and endorsed in such view, we may say, by the whole weight of German theological science, as it appears in its best representatives at the present time.

"Protestantism in this treatise is no repudiation of Ancient Christianity, nor of the proper religious life of the Middle Ages. It owes its being to the old life, which was engaged for centuries before with its painful parturition. Here is the idea of historical development. But the theory goes farther. Protestantism, the favorite child of Catholicism, is not itself the full realization of the true idea of Christianity. As it was not the first form of Christianity, so neither may it be considered the last. It is itself a process of transition only towards a higher and better state of the Church which is still future though probably now near at hand, and the coming in of which may be expected to form an epoch in history quite as great at least as that of the Reformation itself. The result of this new development will be the recovery of Protestantism itself from the evils under which it now suffers, and in this way its full and final vindication by the judgment of history. It will, however, at the same time, be a vindication of Catholicism, also, as having been of true historical necessity in its day for the full working out of the problem, which shall thus at last be conducted to its own glorious solution. Such, we say, is the theory of *historical development*, as we have it applied in this interesting and able Tract to the great question here brought into view; the question, namely, how Protestantism is to be set in harmony with the past history of the Church, and with its true ideal as the Kingdom of God, a supernatural polity of truth and righteousness among men.

"The German idea of development, as we may call it, is not the same with that presented to us by Dr. Newman, in which every-

thing moves in the line of Catholicism only, without the possibility of growing into anything like Protestantism. The former theory, however, does so, in the most emphatic manner. Its idea of growth is that of a process carried forward, by the action of different forces, working separately to some extent, and so it may be even one-sidedly and contradictorily for a time, towards a concrete result, representing in full unity at last the true meaning and power of the whole. Each part of the entire process then is regarded as necessary and right in its own order and time; but still only as *relatively* right, and as having need thus to complete itself by passing ultimately into a higher form. Catholicism in this view is justified as a true and legitimate movement of the Church; but it is taken to have been the explication of one side of Christianity mainly, rather than a full and proper representation of the fact as a whole; a process thus that naturally became excessive, and so wrong in its own direction, preparing the way for a powerful reaction finally in the wrong direction.

This reaction we have in Protestantism; which in such view springs from the old Church, not just by a uniform process, but with a certain measure of violence, while yet it is found to be the product, really and truly, of its deeper life. Here again, however, as before, the first result is only relatively good. The new tendency has become itself one-sided, exorbitant, and full of wrong. Hence the need of still another crisis, the signs of whose advent many seem already to see, which may arrest and correct this abuse, and open the way for a higher and better state of the Church, in which both of these tendencies shall be brought at length happily to unite, revealing to the world the full sense of Christianity in a form now absolute and complete.—Such is the course of history. Throughout it is made up of antagonisms, which become intense in proportion to the truth they embody. When their vitality is exhausted, neither can be said to have gained an absolute victory. Afterwards they live in peace in some higher life.

“For a truly learned representation of this whole view, in its relations to other older schemes of ecclesiastical history, for there has been a remarkable exemplification of the law of development in the progress of this science itself, we beg leave to refer our readers to Professor Schaff’s tract entitled, *What is Church History?* They will find it well worthy of their most careful and diligent perusal.”

Dr. Nevin concluded his three articles on Early Christianity, covering 133 pages of the *Review*, with sundry practical lessons, expressed or implied, in what, with much argumentative power,

he had already written. "Protestantism, as it now stands, was not intended to be a permanently abiding order of things, but to prepare the way for a far more perfect state of the Church, in which its present disorders and misery shall finally be brought to an end. But this new order in which it is to become complete cannot be reached without the co-operation of the Roman Catholic Church. However faulty this may be in its separate character, it still embodies in itself nevertheless certain principles and forms of life, derived from the past history of the Church, which are wanting in Protestantism as it now stands, and which need to be incorporated with it in some way as the proper and necessary complements of its own nature. The interest of Romanism is not to be so left behind as to be no longer of any account; and it must therefore come in hereafter in some way to counterbalance and correct again the disorder and excess of the other system."

It may be supposed that the principal succession of the proper life of the Church lies in the Roman Catholic communion; or it may be taken for granted that Protestantism is to become the grand reigning stream of Christianity, although not by any means the whole of it, into which finally the life of Catholicism is to pour itself as a wholesome qualifying power, yielding to it the palm of superior right and strength; but neither the one nor the other of these alternatives must necessarily be the answer to the question, What think ye of Christ and His Church? Dr. Nevin proposed a third and intermediate view which he regarded as most consonant with Scripture, the Creed, and a rational view of history. "The two forces, Protestantism and Romanism," he says, "may be viewed as contrary sides merely of a dialectic process, in the Hegelian sense, which must be both alike taken up and so brought to an end (*aufgehoben*) in a new form of existence, that shall be at once the truth of both, and yet be something higher and better than either."

He believed that the Church was a supernatural constitution and had a supernatural history in the world. It had of course a human side, in which frailty and folly have exhibited themselves in all ages, often apparently the play of a diabolical agency; but it had a divine or supernatural side also, bearing in its bosom the presence of its own glorified Head. This manifests itself also from age to age, and often in the darkest periods. Its history must, therefore, be viewed as a growth or organic process throughout. The evidence of such a presence is specially manifest at particular epochs, but the theory requires that it must be recognized all along the line of his-

tory. To establish this fact it became necessary for Dr. Nevin to oppose current theories, and in their place to show that there was a progressive development of the divine-human life of the Church from the time of the Apostles down through the ages. This required of him to make concessions to the Roman Catholics, which few Protestant writers were willing to admit. He did this freely in his articles on Early Christianity, and it subjected him largely to suspicion, abuse and misrepresentations from ultra-protestant writers.

As soon, however, as he had finished one set of essays, he resumed the same subject and prepared four lengthy articles on Cyprian, the celebrated African church father who lived in the third century. They constitute an admirable monograph in which the life, the work, and the writings of this distinguished bishop, who was honored with the crown of martyrdom, A. D. 258, are portrayed with much force and rare skill. Among his works that have come down to the present time, Dr. Nevin pays particular attention to his treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, in which, he maintains, may be seen the faith of the ancients in regard to the true nature of the Church. As the articles on Cyprian had the same general object in view as those on Early Christianity, it will not be necessary for us here to speak of them in detail. Both sought to controvert false theories of Church History and to point out the path to the solution of the Church Question on rational and scriptural grounds. We will here give only a few extracts, which will tend to illustrate Cyprian's views of Christianity and the Church, as understood by Dr. Nevin, after a thorough and careful study of all his works.

"Religion with Cyprian," says his reviewer, "was no form merely, no empty theory or notion, but a living power which possessed and ruled the entire man.—The idea of any opposition between the Gospel and the Church lay as far as possible from his mind. He could have no patience with any spirituality, which might have plumed itself on being indifferent to this side of the mystery of godliness, under the dream of moving in a higher and more ethereal region. All such spirituality he would have denounced at once, beyond every sort of doubt, as false spiritualism only, Gnostic hallucination, the action of the simply natural mind in the way of religion, substituted for the operation of grace under its proper supernatural form. To be in the Spirit was not in his view any exaltation merely of the natural mind as such; that would be after all something born only of the *flesh*, which can never, by any stimulation, we are told, produce any thing higher than itself; it implied with him the presence and action of the

Holy Ghost in the world under a real form, which was taken to be above nature, and which was felt to involve thus necessarily the idea of an actual constitution, in the bosom of which only, as distinguished from the world in its common form, it could be possible to have part in the grace it was supposed to comprehend.

"This constitution presented itself to his mind as an object of faith, according to the Creed, in the mystery of the Holy Catholic Church. There, accordingly, and not in the sphere of our natural life on the outside of this Divine constitution, the Spirit was regarded as dwelling and working in a most real objective way, for the sanctification and salvation of sinful men. All true spirituality then, in the view of Cyprian, was conditioned by the believing acknowledgment of this mystery, and an actual submission to the power of it in its own place, and under its proper form. He made vast account certainly of the outward Church, of the regular priesthood, of the holy Sacraments, of ecclesiastical institutions and forms generally; but just because he made all in all of the action of the Spirit, and believed at the same time that such supernatural grace was not to be found in the order of nature, but offered itself for the use of men only in the Church, and so through the forms and ministrations of the Church—that it was a mystery in such view, which men are bound to take by faith, and the whole sense of which is lost the moment they pretend to deal with it as an object of mere natural sense and reason.

"We have seen already, to some extent, how Cyprian's doctrine of the Church gave character and form to his theological system at other points. Along with the idea of a Divine polity, as truly present in the world as the Jewish theocracy by which it was foreshadowed, went in his mind also the conception of a ministry exercising really Divine functions, of a proper priesthood, of sacraments powerful to take away sin and forward the soul in the way of everlasting life. Baptism, confirmation, the mystical presence in the holy eucharist, the awful sacrifice of the altar, penance including confession and absolution, the sacrament of orders, consecrations and holy rites generally, derived for him their significance and force from this article of the Holy Catholic Church. Here only the Bible could have its right authority and proper use. Here only any virtue could have any true Christian merit.

"Cyprian's system of religion, which was at the same time that of his age, we have found to be mainly Catholic and not Protestant. All is conditioned by the old Catholic theory of the Church: all flows, from first to last, in the channel of the Creed. The whole

is in such view in perfect harmony with itself. There is nothing broken or fragmentary in the scheme; and no unprejudiced mind can fail to see, that it is in all material points, in its fundamental principles and leading elements, the same system that is presented to us in the Nicene period, and that it is brought out more fully afterwards in the Catholicism of the Middle Ages. This then is the same result precisely that was reached in our articles on Early Christianity, only under a somewhat different view.

"No sophistry can ever make Protestant Christianity to be the same thing with the Christianity of the Early Church. Episcopalianism here too, with all its pretensions and self-conceit, has just as little real historical bottom to stand upon as the cause of the Reformation under a different form. No part of the interest can ever be successfully vindicated, as being a repristination simply of what Christianity was in the beginning; and it is only a waste of strength, and a betrayal indeed of the whole cause, to pretend to make good its assumptions and claims in any such violent way. Sooner or later history must revenge itself for the wrong it is thus made to bear.—We must therefore resort to the theory of historical development, by which the Catholic form of the Church shall be regarded as the natural and legitimate cause of its history onward to the time of the Reformation, and the state of things be taken as a more advanced stage of that same previous life, struggling forward to a still higher and far more glorious consummation in time to come."

The theory of historical development, frequently referred to in this discussion, may of course be carried out in various ways. The methods of Newman, Rothe, Neander, Schaff and Thiersch, are not in all respects the same, and it may be presumed that Dr. Nevin's view of development may not have been, in all respects, precisely the same as any one of those of the distinguished theologians just named. But who now that has any faith in history can doubt that Christianity has developed itself in past ages as an organic or genetic growth? In this respect it obeys the laws of history in general, but differs from all the other historical processes in the fact that it embodies in it a divine element that never dies, indestructible and self-perpetuating. Systems of natural religion may persist for ages, but their vitality declines and they have no power to arrest the progress of decay. Christianity, on the other hand, has in it a recuperative energy—a well of water springing up into everlasting life, as Christ Himself says—and therefore, when it seems to be wearing out under one form, it rejuvenates itself under

another.—With the four extended articles on Cyprian, Dr. Nevin practically closed the discussion of the Church Question, historically considered. He admitted its difficulty, and invited others, especially such as may not have assented to his conclusions, to give the subject their attention, and contribute their share, as he had done, to the solution of the problem with which he had wrestled. The Catholicism of past centuries was to him no more satisfactory than the divided state of Protestantism, and he looked to the future when God in His own way would heal the divisions of Zion.

CHAPTER XXXII

IN the articles thus far considered, it will be perceived that Dr. Nevin's mind was much occupied with the idea of the Church as truly Catholic. Nowhere could he see it realized in the Christianity of his times, neither in the Anglican nor in the Roman Church, where most account is made of the title. The very name of the Roman Catholic Church proves that it is limited to one order of civilization, and that it can be said to be Catholic only in a limited, and one-sided sense. It therefore seemed to be incumbent on him to define more clearly what was truly Catholic, and to show in what it consists. This he proceeded to do in the January number of the *Mercersburg Review* for the year 1851, in an admirable article on Catholicity, which is here presented to the reader without any abbreviation.

Among the attributes which Christianity has claimed to itself from the beginning, there is none perhaps more interesting and significant than that which is expressed by the title *Catholic*. It is not the product in any way of mere accident or caprice; just as little as the idea of the Church itself may be taken to have any origin of this sort. It has its necessity in the very conception of Christianity and the Church. Hence it is that we find it entering into the earliest Christian confession, the Apostles' Creed, as an essential element of the faith that springs from Christ. As the mystery of the Church itself is no object of mere speculation, and rests not in any outward sense or testimony only, but must be received as an article of faith which proceeds with inward necessity from the higher mystery of the Incarnation, so also the grand distinguishing attributes of the Church, as we have them in the Creed, carry with them the same kind of inward necessary force for the mind in which this Creed truly prevails. They are not brought from abroad, but spring directly from the constitution of the fact itself with which faith is here placed in communication. The idea of the Church as a real object for faith, and not a fantastic notion only for the imagination, involves the character of Catholicity, as well as that of truth and holiness, as something which belongs inseparably to its very nature. To have true faith in the Church at all, we must receive it as One, Holy, Apostolical, and Catholic. To let go any of these attributes in our thought, is neces-

sarily to give up at the same time the being of the Church itself as an article of faith, and to substitute for it a mere chimera of our own brain under its sacred name. Hence the tenacity with which the Church has ever held fast to this title of *Catholic*, as her inalienable distinction over against all mere parties or sects bearing the Christian name. Had the title been only of accidental or artificial origin, no such stress would have been laid on it, and no such force would have been felt always to go along with its application. It has had its reason and authority all along, not so much in what it may have been made to mean exactly for the understanding in the way of formal definition and reflection, as in the living sense rather of Christianity itself, the consciousness of faith here as that which goes before all reflection and furnishes the contents with which it is to be exercised.

The term *Catholic*, it is generally understood, is of the same sense immediately with *universal*; and so we find some who are jealous of the first, as carrying to their ears a popish sound, affecting to use this last rather in the Creed. They feel it easier to say: "I believe in a holy, universal or general Church," than to adopt out and out the old form: "I believe in *the* Holy Catholic, or in *one* Holy Catholic Church." In this case, however, it needs to be borne in mind that there are two kinds of generality or universality, and that only one of them answers to the true force of the term *Catholic*; so that there is some danger of bringing in by such change of terms an actual change of sense also, that shall go in the end to overthrow the proper import of the attribute altogether.

The two kinds of universality to which we refer are presented to us in the words *all* and *whole*. These are often taken to be substantially of one and the same meaning. In truth, however, their sense is very different. The first is an abstraction, derived from the contemplation or thought of a certain number of separate individual existences, which are brought together in the mind and classified collectively by the notion of their common properties. In such view, the general is of course something secondary to the individual existences from which it is abstracted, and it can never be more broad or comprehensive than these are in their numerical and empirical aggregation. It is ever accordingly a limited and finite generality. Thus we speak of *all* the trees in a forest, *all* the stars, *all* men, &c., meaning properly in each case the actual number of trees, stars, or men, individually embraced at the same time in our general view, neither more nor less, a totality which exists only by the mind and is strictly dependent on the objects considered in their

individual character. We reach the conception by a process of induction, starting with single things, and by comparison and abstraction rising to what is general; while yet in the very nature of the case the generality can never transcend the true bounds of the empirical process out of which it grows and on which it rests. But widely different now from all this, is the conception legitimately expressed by the word *whole*. The generality it denotes is not abstract, a mere notion added to things outwardly by the mind, but concrete; it is wrought into the very nature of the things themselves, and they grow forth from it as the necessary and perpetual ground of their own being and life. In this way, it does not depend on individual and single existences as their product or consequence; although indeed it can have no place in the living world without them; but in the order of actual being they must be taken rather to depend on it, and to subsist in it and from it as their proper original. Such a generality is not finite, but infinite, that is, without empirical limits and bounds; it is not the creature of mere experience, and so is not held to its particular measure however large, but in the form of idea is always more than the simple aggregate of things by which it is revealed at any given time in the world of sense. The *all* expresses a mechanical unity, which is made up of the parts that belong to it, by their being brought together in a purely outward way; the *whole* signifies on the contrary an organic unity, where the parts as such have no separate and independent existence, but draw their being from the universal unity itself in which they are comprehended, while they serve at the same time to bring it into view. The whole man for instance is not simply all the elements and powers that enter empirically into his constitution, but this living constitution itself rather as something more general than all such elements and powers, in virtue of which only they come to be thus what they are in fact. In the same way the whole of nature is by no means of one sense simply with the numerical aggregate, the actual all, of the objects and things that go to make up what we call the system of nature at any given time; and humanity or the human race as a whole may never be taken as identical with all men, whether this be understood of all the men of the present generation only or be so extended as to include all generations in the like outward view. Even where the thing in view may appear by its nature to exclude the general distinction here made, it will be found on close consideration that where the terms before us are used at all appropriately they never have just the same sense, but that the whole of a thing implies always of right

something more than is expressed merely by its all. The whole house is not of one signification with all the house, the whole watch with all its parts, or the whole library with all the certain books that are found upon its shelves. Two different ways of looking at the object, whatever it may be, are indicated by the two terms, and also two materially different conceptions, the force of which it is not difficult to feel even where there may be no power to make it clear for thought.

And now if it be asked, which of these two orders of universality is intended by the title *Catholic*, as applied to the Christian Church, the answer is at once sufficiently plain. It is that which is expressed by the word *whole* (a term that comes indeed etymologically from the same root), and not that whose meaning lies more fitly in the word *all*. A man may say: "I believe in a holy, universal Church;" when his meaning comes merely to this at last, that he puts all single Christians together in his own mind, and is willing then to acknowledge them under this collective title. The universality thus reached, however, is only an abstraction, and as such falls short altogether of the living concrete mystery which is set before us as an object, not of reflection simply, but of divine supernatural faith, in the old œcumenical symbols. The true universality of Christ's kingdom is organic and concrete. It has a real historical existence in the world in and through the parts of which it is composed; while yet it is not in any way the sum simply or result of these, as though they could have a separate existence beyond and before such general fact; but rather it must be regarded as going before *them* in the order of actual being, as underlying them at every point, and as comprehending them always in its more ample range. It is the *whole*, in virtue of which only the parts entering into its constitution can have any real subsistence as parts, whether taken collectively or single. Such undoubtedly is the sense of the ancient formula, "I believe in the Holy *Catholic* Church," as it meets us in the faith of the early Christian world.

But the idea of wholeness is variously determined of course by the nature of the object to which it may be applied. We can speak of a whole forest, a whole continent, or a whole planet; of a whole species of animals, or of animated nature as a whole; of a whole man, a whole nation, a whole generation, or a whole human world. What now is the whole, in reference to which the attribute of the Church here under consideration is affirmed, as a necessary article of Christian faith?

The only proper answer to this question is, that the attribute

refers to the idea of universal humanity, or of this world as a whole. When Christianity is declared to be *Catholic*, the declaration must be taken in its full sense to affirm, that the last idea of this world, as brought to its completion in man, is made perfectly possible in the form of Christianity, and in this form alone, and that this power therefore can never cease to work until it shall have actually taken possession of the world as a whole, and shall thus stand openly and clearly revealed as the true consummation of its nature and history in every other view.

The universalness here affirmed must be taken to extend in the end, of course, over the limits of man's nature abstractly considered, to the physical constitution of the surrounding world, according to Rom. viii, 19-23, 2 Peter iii, 13, and many other passages in the Bible; for the physical and moral are so bound together as a single whole in the organization of man's life, that the true and full redemption of this last would seem of itself to require a real *palin-genesia* or renovation also of the earth in its natural form. The proper wholeness even of nature itself, ideally considered, lies ultimately in the power of Christianity, and can be brought to pass or made actual only by its means. But it is more immediately and directly with the world of humanity as such that this power is concerned, and such reference is to be acknowledged too, no doubt, as mainly predominant in the ecclesiastical use of the title which we have now in hand. Christianity is Catholic, and claims to be so received by an act of faith, inasmuch as it forms the true and proper wholeness of mankind, the round and full symmetrical *cosmos* of humanity, within which only its individual manifestations can ever become complete, and on the outside of which there is no room to think of man's life except as a failure.

There are two ways of looking at the human world, under the conception of its totality. The view may regard simply the area of the world's life outwardly considered, humanity in its numerical extent, as made up of a certain number of nations, tribes and individual men; or it may be directed more particularly to the world's life inwardly considered, humanity in its intensive character, the being of man as a living fact or constitution made up of certain elements, laws, forces and relations, which enter necessarily into its conception aside, from the particular millions of living men as such, by which it may be represented at any given time. These two conceptions are plainly different; while it is equally plain at the same time that neither of them may be allowed with any propriety to exclude the other, but that the true and real wholeness of hu-

manity is to be found only in the union of both. Christianity or the Kingdom of God is Catholic, as it carries in itself the power to take possession of the world both extensively and intensively, and can never rest short of this end. It is formed for such two-fold victory over the reign of sin, and has a mission from heaven accordingly to conquer the universe of man's life in this whole and entire way.

Here precisely lies the *missionary* nature and character of the Church. It has a call to possess the world, and it is urged continually by its own constitution to fulfill this call. The spirit of missions, wherever it prevails, bears testimony to the Catholicity of Christianity, and rests on the assumption that it is the only absolutely true and normal form of man's life, and so of right should, and of necessity also at last must, come to be universally acknowledged and obeyed.

As regards the numerical view of the world, or its evangelization *in extenso*, this is generally admitted. All Christians are ready to allow, that the world in this view belongs of right to Christ, and that it is his purpose and plan to take possession of it universally in the end as his own. The commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," at once makes it a duty to seek the extension of the Gospel among all men, and authorizes the confident expectation that this extension will finally be reached. The world needs Christianity, and it can never rest satisfied to be anything less than a full complement for this need. It has regard by its very nature, not to any section of humanity only, not to any particular nation or age or race, but to humanity as such, to the universal idea of man, as this includes all kindred, tribes and tongues under the whole heaven. "The field is the world." Christianity can tolerate no Heathenism, Mohammedanism, or Judaism at its side. It may not forego its right to the poorest or most out-cast and degraded tribe upon the earth, in favor of any other religion. Wherever human life reaches, it claims the right of following it and embracing it in the way of redemption. The heathen are given to the Son for His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession. It is a sound and right feeling thus which enters into the cause of missions in its ordinary form, and leads the Church to pray and put forth action in various ways for the conversion of the nations.

But it is not always so clearly seen, that the intensive mastery of the world's life belongs just as truly as this extensive work to the idea of the kingdom of God, and that it ought to be therefore

just as much also an object of missionary interest and zeal. The two interests indeed can never be entirely separated: since it belongs to the very nature of Christianity to take possession in some way of the interior life of men, and the idea of salvation by its means unavoidably involves something more than a simply outward relation to it under any form. Hence a mere outward profession of it is felt on all hands to be not enough; although even this as far as it goes forms a part also of that universal homage which is its due; but along with this is required to go also some transformation of character, as a necessary passport to the heavenly world towards which it looks. So in nominally Christian lands, and within the bounds of the outward visible Church itself, there is recognized generally the presence of a more inward living evangelization, a narrower missionary work, which consists in the form of what is sometimes called experimental religion, and has for its object the interior form of the life it pretends to take possession of, its actual substance, rather than the mere matter of it outwardly taken. In this country, particularly, no distinction is more familiar, than that between the mere outward acknowledgment of Christianity and the power of religion in the souls of its true subjects; although the line of this distinction is more or less vaguely and variously drawn, to suit the fancy of different sects. But still it is for the most part a very inadequate apprehension after all, that seems to be taken in this way of the inner mission of Christianity. Even under its experimental and spiritual aspect, the work of the Gospel is too generally thought of as something comparatively outward to the proper life of man, and so a power exerted on it mechanically from abroad for its salvation, rather than a real redemption brought to pass in it from the inmost depths of its own nature. According to this view, the great purpose of the Gospel is to save men from hell, and bring them to heaven; this is accomplished by the machinery of the atonement and justification by faith, carrying along with it a sort of magical supernatural change of state and character by the power of the Holy Ghost, in conformity with the use of certain means for the purpose on the part of men; and so now it is taken to be the great work of the Church to carry forward the process of deliverance, almost exclusively under such mechanical aspect, by urging and helping as many souls as possible in their separate individual character to flee from the wrath to come, and to secure for themselves through the grace of conversion a good hope against the day of judgment.

With many of our sects at least, the idea of religion (evangelical or

experimental religion as they are pleased to call it), would seem to run out almost entirely into a sort of purely outward spiritualism in the form now noticed, with almost no regard whatever to the actual contents of our life as a concrete whole. Their zeal looks to the conversion of men in detail, after their own pattern and scheme of experience, as a life-boat looks to the preservation of as many as possible from a drowning wreck; but beyond this it seems to be in a great measure without purpose or aim. Once converted and made safe in this magical way, the mission of the Church in regard to them (unless it should be found necessary to convert them over again), is felt to be virtually at an end; and if only the whole world could be thus saved, there would be an end of the same mission for mankind altogether; we should have the millenium, and to preserve it for a thousand years would only need afterwards to look well to the whole conversion of each new generation subsequently, as it might come of age for such purpose.

But, alas, how far short every such view falls of the true glorious idea of the kingdom of God among men, as it meets us in the Bible and in the necessary sense of the grand mystery of the Incarnation, on which the whole truth of the Bible rests.

Even in case of the individual man, singly and separately considered, the idea of redemption can never be answered by the imagination of a merely extensive salvation, a deliverance in the form of outward power, under any view. All admit, that his translation bodily as he now is in his natural state into heaven, would be for him no entrance really into a heavenly life. It is not in the power of locality or place of itself to set him in glory. Precisely the like contradiction is involved (although it may not be at once so generally plain), in the supposition of a wholly *ab extra* transformation of the redeemed subject into the heavenly form of existence. This at best would be the creation of a new subject altogether, as much as if a stone were raised by a Divine fiat to the dignity of a living angel, and in no real sense whatever the redemption of the same subject into a higher order of life. No redemption in the case of man can be real, that is not from within as well as from without; that is not brought to penetrate the inmost ground of his being, and that has not power to work itself forth from this, outwards and upwards, till it shall take possession finally of the whole periphery of his nature, body as well as soul. This in the very nature of the case is a process, answerable to the universal character of our present life.

To conceive of it as something which is brought to pass sud-

denly and at once, without mediation and growth, is to sunder it from the actual constitution of humanity, to place it on the outside of this, and so to reduce it, in spite of all spiritualistic pretensions the other way, to the character of a simply mechanical salvation, that is at last no better than a dream. And it is of course much the same thing, to make the beginning here stand for the whole; and so to swell the starting point of the new life out of all right proportion, that instead of being, like the beginning of the natural life itself, in a great measure out of sight and knowledge (or at most as a grain of mustard, the least of all seeds), it is made to stand forth to view empirically as the proper whole of salvation in this world, throwing the idea of the process which should follow completely into the shade, or turning it into dull unmeaning monotony and cant.

Every such restriction of the idea of Christianity to a single point of the Christian life, even though it be the point where all individual salvation begins, is chargeable with deep and sore wrong to the idea as a whole, and cannot fail to be followed with disastrous consequences, wherever it may prevail, in some form of practical one-sided divergency, more or less morbidly fanatical, from the true and proper course of the new creation in Christ. The full salvation of the man turns ultimately on his full sanctification; the kingdom of heaven must be in him as a reign of righteousness, in order that it may be revealed around him as a reign of glory. It must take up his nature into itself intensively, as leaven works itself into the whole measure of meal in which it is hid, in order that it may be truly commensurate with the full volume of his being outwardly considered. The new birth is the beginning of a progressive maturation, which has its full end only in the resurrection; and this last, bringing with it the glorification of the entire man, can be rationally anticipated, only as it is felt to have its real possibility in the power of such a whole renovation ripening before to this blessed result.

But to understand fully the inner mission of Christianity now under consideration, we must look beyond the merely individual life as such to the moral organization of society, in which alone it can ever be found real and complete. Pure naked individuality in the case of man is an abstraction, for which there is no place whatever in the concrete human world. The single man is what he is always, only in virtue of the social life in which he is comprehended, and of which he is a part. His separate existence is conditioned universally by a general human substance beyond it, from which it

takes root, and derives both quality and strength. The idea of redemption then, in his case, implies of necessity far more than any deliverance that can have place for his life separately regarded. As it must lay hold of this as such in an inward way, in order to become outwardly actual, so also to do this effectually it must have power to reach and change the general substance of humanity out of which the individual life is found to spring. In other words, no redemption can be real for man singly taken, or for any particular man, which is not at the same time real for humanity in its collective view, for the fallen race as a whole. Hence it is that Christianity, which challenges the homage of the world as such a system of real redemption, can never possibly be satisfied with the object of a simply numerical salvation, to be accomplished in favor of a certain number of individual men, an abstract election of single souls, whether this be taken as large or small, a few only or very many, or even all of the human family. The idea of the true necessary wholeness of humanity is not helped at all by the numerical extent of any such abstraction. It stands in the general nature of man, the human life collectively considered, as this underlies all such distribution, and goes before it in the order of existence, filling it with its proper organic force and sense in the constitution of society.

Here especially comes into view the full form and scope of the work, which must take place intensively in the life of the world before the victory of the Gospel can be regarded as complete. Humanity includes in its general organization certain orders and spheres of moral existence, that can never be sundered from its idea without overthrowing it altogether; they enter with essential necessity into its constitution, and are full as much part and parcel of it all the world over as the bones and sinews that go to make up the body of the outward man. The family for instance and the state, with the various domestic and civil relations that grow out of them, are not to be considered factitious or accidental institutions in any way, continued for the use of man's life from abroad and brought near to it only in an outward manner. They belong inherently to it; it can have no right or normal character without them; and any want of perfection in them must even be to the same extent a want of perfection in the life itself as human, in which they are comprehended.

So again the moral nature of man includes in its very conception the idea of art, the idea of science, the idea of business and trade. It carries in itself certain powers and demands that lead to

these forms of existence, as the necessary evolution of its own inward sense. Humanity stands in the activity of reason and will, under their proper general character. Take away from it any interest or sphere which legitimately belongs to such activity, and in the same measure it must cease to be a true and sound humanity altogether. No interest or sphere of this sort then can be allowed to remain on the outside of a system of redemption, which has for its object man as such in his fallen state. If Christianity be indeed such a system, it must be commensurate in full with the constitution of humanity naturally considered; it must have power to take up into itself not a part of this only but the whole of it, and by no possibility can it ever be satisfied with any less universal result.

All this we say falls to the inner mission of Christianity, its destination to raise humanity, inwardly considered, to a higher power, a new quality and tone, as well as to take possession of it by territorial conquest from sea to sea and from pole to pole. And it needs to be well understood and kept in mind, that the first object here is full as needful as the second, and belongs quite as really to the cause of the world's evangelization. "The field is the world," we may say with quite as much solemnity and emphasis in this view, as when we speak of it under the other. As the kingdom of God is not restricted in its conception to any geographical limits or national distinctions, but has regard to mankind universally; so neither it is to be thought of as penetrating the organization of man's nature only to a certain extent, taking up one part of it into its constitution and leaving another hopelessly on the outside; on the contrary it must show itself sufficient to engross the whole. Nothing really human can be counted legitimately beyond its scope; for the grand test of its truth is its absolute adequacy to cover the field of human existence at all points, its *Catholicity* in the sense of measuring the entire length and breadth of man's nature. Either it is no redemption for humanity at all, or no constituent interest of humanity may be taken as extrinsic ever to its rightful domain.

It will not do to talk of any such interest as profane, in the sense of an inward and abiding contrariety between it and the sacredness of religion; as though religion might be regarded as one simply among other co-ordinate forms of life, with a certain territory assigned to it and all beyond foreign from its control. What is really human, a constitutive part of the original nature of man, may be indeed profaned, by being turned aside from its right use and end, but can never be in itself profane. On the contrary, if religion be the perfection of this nature, all that belongs to it must not only

admit but require an inward union with religion, in order to its own completion; and as Christianity is the end and consummation of all religion besides, it follows that such completion, in the case of every human interest, can be fully gained at last only in the bosom of its all comprehensive life. The mission of Christianity is, not to denounce and reject any order of life belonging to primitive humanity as intrinsically hostile to God, (that would be a species of Manichean fanaticism); nor yet to acknowledge it simply as a different and foreign jurisdiction; but plainly to appropriate every order to itself, by so mastering its inmost sense as to set it in full harmony with the deeper and broader law of its own presence.

Art, science, commerce, politics, for instance, as they enter essentially into the idea of man, must all come within the range of this mission; and so far as it falls short of their full occupation at any given time with the power of its own divine principle, it must be regarded as a work still in process only towards its proper end; just as really as the work of outward missions is thus in process also, and short of its end, so long as any part of the world remains shrouded in pagan darkness. It is fully as needful for the complete and final triumph of the Gospel among men, that it should subdue the arts, music, painting, sculpture, poetry, &c., to its sceptre, and fill them with its spirit as that it should conquer in similar style the tribes of Africa or the islands of the South Sea. Every region of science, as it belongs to man's nature, belongs also to the empire of Christ; and this can never be complete, as long as any such region may remain unoccupied by its power. Philosophy too, whose province and need it is to bring all the sciences to unity and thus to fathom their deepest and last sense, falls of right under the same view. Some indeed pretend, that Christianity and philosophy have properly nothing to do with each other; that the first puts contempt on the second; that the second in truth is a mere *ignis fatuus* at most, which all good Christians are bound to abhor and avoid.

But if so, it must be considered against humanity to speculate at all in this way; whereas the whole history of the world proves the contrary; and it lies also in the very idea of science, that knowledge in this form should be sought as the necessary completion of it under other forms. To pronounce philosophy against humanity, is virtually to place science universally under the like condemnation. And so to treat it as profane or impertinent for the kingdom of God, is in truth to set all science in similar relation; the very result, to which fanaticism has often shown itself prone to

run. But what can be well more monstrous than that; or more certainly fatal in the end to the cause of Christianity? Philosophy, like science and art in other forms, is of one birth with man's nature itself; and if Christianity be the last true and full sense of this nature, it is not possible that it should be either willing or able to shut it out from its realm. We might as soon dream of a like exclusion towards the empire of China; for it is hard to see surely how the idea of humanity would suffer a more serious truncation by this, than by being doomed to fall short of its own proper actualization the other way. The world without China would be quite as near perfection, we think, as the world without philosophy. Its full redemption and salvation, the grand object of the Gospel, and so the necessary work and mission of Christianity among men, include, it is plain, both interests, and we have no right ever to magnify the one at the cost of the other.

Such being the general nature of this missionary work intensively taken, we may see at once how far it is still from its own proper end even in the case of the nominally Christian world itself. It is melancholy to think, that after nearly two thousand years which have passed since Christ came, so large a part of the human race should still be found beyond the line of Christianity outwardly considered. But it is not always properly laid to heart, that the shortcoming in the other view, the distance between idea and fact within this line, is to say the least no less serious and great. If when we think of the millions of Africa, India, and China, we must feel that the Gospel thus far has been only in progress towards its full triumphant manifestations in the world; this feeling must prevail no less, when we direct our attention to the moral, scientific, and political fields, which all around us appear in like barbarous estrangement from its inward law. In this view, even more emphatically than in the other, may we not adopt the language, Heb. ii: 8: "We see not yet *all things* put in subjection under him"—though nothing less than such universal subjection be needed to carry out the first sense of man's life, (Gen. i: 26, Ps. viii: 6-8), and so nothing less can satisfy the enterprise of his redemption?

Alas, how quite the reverse of this are we made to behold in every direction. Not alone do the wild powers of nature refuse to obey at once the will of the saints, but it is only a most partial dominion at best also that the Christian principle has yet won for itself even in the moral world. Whole territories and spheres of human life here have never yet been brought to any true inward reconciliation and union with the life of the Church. Romanism has pretended

indeed to bring them into subjection; but so far as the pretension has yet been made good, it has been ever in a more or less outward and violent way only; whereas the problem from its very nature requires that the relation should be one of free, loving harmony and not one of force. Protestantism, seeing this, has in large measure openly surrendered the whole point; falling over thus to the opposite extreme; carrying the doctrine of freedom so far, that it is made not only to allow, but even to justify, in many cases, a full dissociation of certain spheres of humanity from the rightful sovereignty of religion. In our own time especially there is a fearful tendency at work under this form, which rests throughout on the rationalistic assumption that Christianity has no right to the universal lordship of man's life, and which aims at nothing less accordingly than the emancipation of all secular interest from its jurisdiction. It has become a widely settled maxim, we may say, that whole vast regions of humanity lie naturally and of right on the outside of the kingdom of God, strictly taken, and that it must ever be wrong to think of stretching its authority over them in any real form.

Hence we find the arts and sciences to a great extent sundered from the idea of the Church as such; and more particularly politics and religion are taken to be totally separate spheres. It is coming to seem indeed a sort of moral truism, too plain for even children or fools to call in question, that the total disruption of Church and State, involving the full independence of all political interests over against the authority of the new constitution of things brought to pass in Christ, is the only order that can at all deserve to be respected as rational, or that may be taken as at all answerable to man's nature and God's will. And yet what a conception is that of Christianity, which excludes from its organic jurisdiction the broad vast conception of the Commonwealth or State!

We may say, if we please, that such dissociation is wise and necessary for the time being, and as an interimistic, transitional stadium in a process that looks towards a far different ulterior end; but surely we are bound to pronounce it always in its own nature wrong, and false to the true idea of the Gospel; something therefore which marks not the perfection, but the serious imperfection, rather, of the actual state of the world. The imagination that the last answer to the great question of the right relation of the Church to the State, is to be found in any theory by which the one is set completely on the outside of the other, must be counted essentially

anti-Christian. Christianity owns the proper freedom of man's nature under its common secular aspects, and can never be satisfied with the violent subjugation of it in a merely outward way; but it requires at the same time that this shall be brought to bow to its authority without force; and it can never acknowledge any freedom as legitimate and true, that may affect to hold under a different form. So far short then as its actual reign in the world is found to fail of this universal supremacy over all the interests of life, it must be regarded as not having yet reached its proper end, as being still in the midst of an unfulfilled mission.

Of the two parables setting forth the progressive character of the kingdom of God, Matth. xiii: 31-33, it is not unnatural to understand the first, that of the mustard seed namely, as referring mainly to its extensive growth, while the other, that of the leaven hid in three measures of meal, is taken to have respect rather to this intensive growth, by which the new divine nature of Christianity is required to penetrate and pervade always more and more the substance of our general human life itself, with a necessity that can never stop till the whole mass be wrought into the same complexion. It is certain at all events, that the parables together refer to both forms of increase; for the mere taking of volume outwardly is just as little sufficient of itself to complete the conception of organic growth in the world of grace, as it is notoriously to complete the same conception in the world of nature. The taking of volume must be joined in either case with a parallel progressive taking of answerable inward form. The growth of the mustard seed itself involves this two-fold process; for it consists not simply in the accumulation of size, but in the assumption at the same time of a certain type of vegetable life throughout the entire compass of its leaves and branches.

It is, however, more particularly the image of leaven, that serves to bring out this last side of the subject in all its force, and that might seem accordingly to be specially designed for this purpose, in distinction from all regard to the other more outward view. The parallel, as in the case of all the New Testament parables, is no mere fancy or conceit, but rests on a real analogy, by which a lower truth or fact in the sphere of nature is found to foreshadow, and as it were anticipate a higher one in the sphere of the spirit. Leaven is a new force introduced into the mass of meal, different from it, and yet having with it such inward affinity that it cannot fail to become one with it, and in doing so to raise it at the same time into its own higher nature. This, however, comes to

pass, not abruptly nor violently, but silently and gradually, and in such a way that the action of the meal itself is made to assist and carry forward the work of the leaven towards its proper end. The work thus is a process, the growing of the new principle continually more and more into the nature of the meal, till the whole is leavened. And so it is with the new order of life revealed through the Gospel. Involving as it does from the start a higher form of existence for humanity as a whole (new and yet of kindred relation to the old), it is still not at once the transformation of it, in a whole and sudden way, into such a higher state. It must grow itself progressively into our nature, taking this up by degrees into its own sphere and bringing out thus at the same time its own full significance and power, in order to take possession of our nature at all in any real way.

In the case of the single believer accordingly it is like leaven, a power commensurate from the first with the entire mass of his being, but needing always time and development for its full actual occupation; and so also in the case of our human life as a social or moral whole. Christianity is from the very outset potentially the reconstruction or new creation of man's universal nature (including all spheres and tracts of existence which of right belong to this idea), just as really as a deposit of leaven carries in it from the first the power of transformation for the whole mass of meal in which it has been hid; but it is like leaven again also in this respect, that the force which it has potentially needs a continuous process of inward action to gain in a real way finally its own end. There is an inner mission in its way here, which grows with as much necessity out of its relation to the world, as the mission it has to overshadow the whole earth with its branches, and which it is urged too with just as much necessity, we may add, to carry forward and fulfil. The prayer, *Thy kingdom come*, has regard to the one object quite as much as to the other. This comes by the depth of its entrance into the substance of humanity, as well as by the length and breadth of it, as a process of intensification no less than a process of diffusion.

And it deserves to be well considered, that these two processes are not just two different necessities, set one by the side of the other in an external way; that they are to be viewed rather as different sides only of one and the same necessity; since each enters as a condition into the fulfilment of the other, and neither can be rightly regarded without a due regard to both. The power of Christianity in particular to take possession of the world exten-

sively, depends at last on the entrance it has gained into the life of the world intensively, so far as it may have already come to prevail. And it may well be doubted, whether it can ever complete its outward mission, in the reduction of all nations to the obedience of the Gospel, without at least a somewhat parallel accomplishment of its inward mission, in the actual Christianization of the organic substance of humanity, to an extent far beyond all that is now presented within the bounds of the outward Church. The heaven masters the volume of the meal in which it is set, only by working itself fully into its inmost nature. The conversion of the world in the same way is to be expected, not just from the multiplication of individual converts to the Christian faith, till it shall become thus of one measure with the earth, but as the result rather of an actual taking up at the same time of the living economy of the world more and more into the Christian sphere.

The imagination that the outward mission here may be carried through first, and the inner mission left behind as a work for future leisure, is completely preposterous. The problems then which fall to this last have a direct and most important bearing always on the successful prosecution also of the object proposed to the first. To make the reign of Christ more deep and inward for the life of the world, is at the same time to prepare the way correspondingly for its becoming more broad and wide. The proper solution of a great theoretic question, lying at the foundation of the Christian life, and drawing after it consequences that reach over nations and centuries, may be of more account for the ultimate issues of history, than the present evangelization of a whole continent like Africa. At this very time it is of more account by far, that the power of Christianity should be wrought intensively into the whole civilization of this country (the weight of which prospectively no one can fully estimate); that it should have in it not merely an outward and nominal sovereignty, but be brought also fully to actuate and inform its interior collective life, filling its institutions as their very soul, and leavening them throughout into its own divine complexion; that it should solve the problem of Church and State in a really Christian way, so as to bind them into one with free inward reconciliation, instead of throwing them hopelessly apart; that it should take possession truly of the art and literature of the country, its commerce and science and philosophy as well as its politics, passing by no tract of humanity as profane and yet acknowledging no tract as legitimate on the outside of its own sphere and sway: all this, we say, is an object far more near to the final redemption

of the world, and of far more need at this time (if it might be accomplished), for the bringing in of the millenium than the conversion of all India or China. The life of the Church is the salvation of the world.

From the whole subject we draw in conclusion the following reflections:

1. From the view now taken of the proper Catholicism or wholeness of Christianity, we may see at once that it by no means implies the necessary salvation of all men. This false conclusion is drawn by Universalists, only by confounding the idea of the whole with the notion of all; whereas in truth they are of altogether different force and sense. As hundreds of blossoms may fall and perish from a tree, without impairing the true idea of its whole life as this is reached finally in the fruit towards which all tends from the beginning, so may we conceive also of multitudes of men born into the world, the natural posterity of Adam, and coming short of the proper sense of their own nature as this is completed in Christ, without any diminution whatever of its true universality under such form. Even in the case of our natural humanity, the whole in which it consists is by no means of one measure merely with the number of persons included in it; it is potentially far more than this, being determined to its actual extent by manifold limitations that have no necessity in itself; for there might be thousands besides born into the world, which are never born into it in fact.

Why then should it be thought that the higher form of this same humanity which is reached by Christ, and without which the other must always fall short of its own destination, in order to be full and universal in its own character, must take up into itself literally all men? Why may not thousands fail to be born permanently into this higher power of our universal nature, just as thousands fail of a full birth also into its first natural power, without any excluding limitation in the character of the power itself? Those who thus fail in the case of the second creation fail at the same time of course of the true end of their own being, and so may be said to perish more really than those who fall short of an actual human life in the first form; yet it by no means follows from this again that such failure must involve annihilation or a return to non-existence. It may be a continuation of existence; but of existence under a curse, morally crippled and crushed, and hopelessly debarred from the sphere in which it was required to become complete. To be thus out of Christ is for the subjects of such failure indeed an exclusion from the true and full idea of humanity, the glorious orb of man's

life in its last and only absolute and eternally perfect form; but for this, life itself involves no limitation or defect. The orb is at all points round and full.

2. As the wholeness in question is not one with the numerical all of the natural posterity of Adam, so neither may it be taken again as answerable simply to any less given number, selected out of the other all for the purpose of salvation. This idea of an abstract election, underlying the whole plan of redemption, and circumscribing consequently the real virtue of all its provisions by such mechanical limitation, is in all material respects the exact counterpart of that scheme of universal salvation which has just been noticed. It amounts to nothing, so far as the nature of the redemption is concerned, that it is made to be for all men in one case and only for a certain part of them in the other. In both cases a mere notional all, a fixed finite abstraction, is substituted for the idea of an infinite concrete whole, and the result is a mechanical *ab extra* salvation, instead of a true organic redemption, unfolding itself as the power of a new life from within. The proper wholeness of Christianity is more a great deal than any arithmetical sum, previously made up under another form, for its comprehension and use. It implies parts of course, and in this way at last definite number and measure, and so in the case of its subjects also a veritable "election of grace;" but it makes all the difference in the world, whether the parts are taken to the factorial making up of the whole, or come into view as its product and growth, whether their number and measure be settled by an outward election or determined by an election that springs from within. A tree has a definite number of branches and leaves—so many, and not more nor less; but who would think of looking for the ground of this beyond the nature of the tree itself, and the conditions that rule the actual development of its life? The law of determination here is something very different from the law that determines the imitation of a tree in wax or the composition of a watch. So the election of grace in the case of the new creation holds *in Christ*, and not in any view taken of humanity aside from his person.

3. The Catholic or universal character of the Church thus, we may easily see farther, does not depend at any time upon its merely numerical extent, whether this be large or small. An organic whole continues the same (the mustard seed for instance), through all stages of its development, though for a long time its actual volume and form may fall far short of what they are destined to be in the end, and must be too in order to fulfil completely its inward

sense. So the *whole* fact of Christianity gathers itself up fundamentally into the single person of Christ, and is found to grow forth from this literally as its root. The mystery of the Incarnation involves in itself potentially a new order of existence for the world, which is as universal in its own nature as the idea of humanity, and by which only it is possible for this to be advanced finally to its own full and perfect realization. Those who affect to find this unintelligibly mystical and transcendental, would do well to consider that every higher order of existence, even in the sphere of nature itself, carries in it a precisely-similar relation to the mass of matter, surrounding it under a lower form, which it is appointed to take up and transform by assimilation into its own superior type. The Second Adam is the root of the full tree of humanity in a far profounder sense than the First; and it is only as the material of it naturally considered comes to be incorporated into this, that it can be said to be raised into the same sphere at all; its relation to it previously being at best but that of the unleavened meal to the new power at work in its bosom, or that of the unassimilated element to the buried grain which is destined by means of it to wax into the proportions of a great plant or tree. So too from the root upwards, from the fountain onwards, the new order of life, which we call the Church or the Kingdom of God, remains throughout one and Catholic. It owns no co-ordination with the idea of man's life under any different form. It is the ultimate, universal sense of man's nature, the entire sphere of its perfection, the whole and only law of its final consummation. With this character, however, the Church can never be content to rest in a merely partial revelation of its power among men, but is urged continually by its very nature to take actual possession of all the world, as we have already seen, both extensively and intensively. Here we have of course the idea of a process, as something involved in the very conception itself which we have in hand. As an article of faith, the Catholicity of the Church expresses a present attribute in all ages; it is not drawn simply from the future, as a proleptical declaration of what is to be true hereafter, though it be not true now; the *whole* presence of the new creation is lodged in its constitution from the start, and through all centuries. But who will pretend that this has ever yet had its proper actualization in the living world? The Catholic quality and force of Christianity go always along with it; but innumerable hindrances are at hand to obstruct and oppose its action; and its full victory in this view accordingly, as well as in the view of its other attributes, is to be expected only hereafter. To believe

in the Church as universal or Catholic, it is not necessary that we should see it in full actual possession of the whole world; for when has that been the case yet, and what less would it be than the presence of the millenium in the most absolute sense? It is to believe, however, that the whole power by which this is to be reached is already at work in its constitution, and that its action looks and strives always towards such end, as the only result that can fairly express its necessary inward meaning and truth.

4. The Catholicity of the Church, as now described, involves of course the idea also of its unity and exclusiveness. As being the true whole of humanity, it can admit no rival or co-ordinate form of life (much less any more deep and so more comprehensive than itself), and it must necessarily exclude thus as false and contrary to humanity itself all that may affect to represent this beyond its own range and sphere.

5. No other order of human life can have the same character. It is not of the nature of the civil state or commonwealth to be thus Catholic; and still less does it belong to any single constituent sphere of such political organization, separately taken. Even religion, which claims to be the last sense of man's life from the start, and which is therefore in consistency bound and urged under all forms to assert some sort of whole or universal title in its own favor, is found to be in truth unequal always to this high pretension, till it comes to its own proper and only sufficient completion in Christ. No system of Paganism, of course, could ever be Catholic. So a Catholic Mohammedanism is a contradiction in terms. More than this, it never lay in the nature of Judaism itself, with all its truth, to take up into itself the whole life of the world. To do so, it must pass into a higher form, and so lose its own distinctive character, in Christianity. No faith could say truly: "I believe in a Holy Catholic Judaism,"—even if all nations were brought to submit to circumcision before its eyes; for it is not in the power of Judaism as such to possess and represent in full harmony the *whole* idea of humanity; and what is thus not in itself possible, and so not true, can never be the object really of faith in its true form. Judaism is not the deepest power of man's life in the form of religion, and for this reason alone it must be found in the end a comparatively partial and relative power; leaving room for a different consciousness over against itself, with a certain amount of legitimacy and right too in the face of its narrow claims, under the general form of Gentilism. This contradiction is brought to an end in Christ (the true Peace of the world, as we have it, Eph. ii:

14-18), in and by whom religion, the inmost fact of man's nature, is carried at once to its last and most perfect significance, and so to the lowest profound of this nature at the same time; with power thus to take up the entire truth of its own universally comprehensive law; healing its disorders, restoring its harmony, and raising it finally to immortality and glory. Only what is in this way deeper than all besides, can be at the same time truly Catholic, of one measure with the whole compass and contents of our universal life.

6. As no other form of religion *can* be Catholic, so it lies in the very nature of Christianity, as here shown, to have this character. It *must* be Catholic. Conceive of it, or try to exhibit it, as in its constitution less comprehensive than the whole nature of man, or as not sufficient to take this up universally into its sphere of redemption, and you wrong it in its inmost idea. It must be commensurate with the need and misery of the world as a whole, or come under its own reproach of having begun to build where it has no power to finish. Say, that it is for all mankind, except the Malay race or the many millions of China; and our whole sense at once revolts against the declaration as monstrous. Substitute for such geographical limitation the notion of an invisible line, in the form of an outward unconditional decree, setting a part of the race on one side in a state of real salvability, and another part of it on the other side in a state of necessary reprobation, the atonement being in its own nature available or of actual force in one direction only and not in the other; and the spirit of the whole New Testament again rises into solemn protest. Under the same general view again it is monstrous, as we have already seen, to conceive of a line being interposed in the way of Christianity, in the interior organism of man's general nature itself; leaving one tract of it free to the occupancy of this new power, but requiring it to stop on the frontier limits of another (politics, trade, science, art, philosophy); as though it were deep enough and broad enough to take in a part of the great fact of humanity only, but not the whole.

Or take now finally another form of limitation, not unfrequently forced on the idea of what is called the Church in these last days. Suppose a line cutting the universal process of humanity, as a fact never at rest but in motion always from infancy to old age, into two great sections; for the one of which only there is room or place in the restorational system here under consideration, while the other, including all infants, is hopelessly out of its reach—unless death so intervene as to make that possible in another world by God's power, which is not possible here by his grace. Is the thought less mon-

strous, we ask, than any of the suppositions which have gone before? The Redemption of the Gospel, as it is the absolute end of all religion besides and the full destiny of man, cannot be less broad in its own nature than the whole life it proposes to renovate and redeem. Shall there be imagined any room or place in this for the dark reign of sin—any island of the sea, any remote nation or tribe, any reprobate caste, any outside moral tract, any stadium of infancy or unripe childhood—where the reign of grace (formed to overwhelm it, Rom. v: 15–21), has no power to follow and make itself triumphantly felt? That were indeed to wrong this kingdom in its primary conception. It must be Catholic, the true whole of God's image in man, the recovery of it potentially from the centre of his nature out to its farthest periphery, in order to be itself the truth and no lie.

7. As the attribute of Catholicity is distinctively characteristic of the Church as such, it follows that no mere sect or fragment of this can affectively appropriate the title. The idea of a sect is, that a part of the Christian world has been brought to cut itself off from the rest of it, on the ground of some particular doctrinal or practical interest, and now affects to have within itself under such isolated view all Church powers and resources, though admitting at the same time the existence of such powers and resources in other bodies also with which it owns no real Church union. This is a vast contradiction from the very start, which is found to work itself out afterwards into all sorts of anomaly and falsehood. The sect virtually puts itself always into the place of the Church, and in spite of its own principle of division is then forced to arrogate to itself the proper rights and prerogatives of this divine organization, as though it were identical with its own narrow limits. In other words, it is forced to act as the whole, when it is in truth by its own confession again only a segment or part. So far as any remnant of Church feeling remains (such as is needed for instance to distinguish a sect in its own mind from a voluntary confederation for religious ends), it must necessarily include in it the idea of Catholicity or wholeness, as an indestructible quality of such thought; for as it lies in the very conception of a sphere to be round, so precisely does it lie in the very conception of the Church to be Catholic, that is, to be as universal in its constitution as humanity itself, with no tract or sphere beyond. Hence every sect, in pretending to be sufficient within itself for all church ends, practically at least if not theoretically, asserts in its own favor powers and prerogatives that are strictly universal, as broad as the idea of

religion itself under its most perfect and absolute form; an assumption that goes virtually to deny and set aside all similar Church character in the case of other sects; for the case forbids the notion of two or more systems, separately clothed with the same universal force. Nothing short of such claim to exclusive wholeness is involved in the right each sect asserts for itself, to settle doctrines, make laws, and ply the keys, in a way that is held to be for the bounds of its own communion absolutely whole and final. Such ecclesiastical acts either mean nothing, sink into the character of idle sham, or else they are set forth as the utterances of a real Church authority which are taken to be as wide as the idea of the Church itself. Every sect in this way, so far as it secretly owns the power of this idea, puts on in mock proportion at least all the airs of Rome. But now, on the other hand, the inward posture of every sect again, as such, is at war with Catholicity, and urges it also to glory in the fact. The sect mind roots itself in some subjective interest, made to take the place of the true objective whole of Christianity, and around this it affects to revolve pedantically as an independent world or sphere. Then it is content to allow other spheres beyond itself, under the like independent form. So its universal rights and powers, as we had them just before (rights and powers that mean nothing ecclesiastically save as they *are* thus Catholic and not partial), shrink into given bounds; often ridiculously narrow; much like the power of those old heathen deities, whose universal sway was held to stop short with the limits of the nation that worshipped at their shrines. It is a power dogmatical, diatactical, and diacritical, as they call it, which is of full conclusive force (the "keys of the kingdom of heaven"), for one man but not for another his next neighbor; for James but not for John; for such as have agreed to own it but not for those who have been pleased to own a different Church; universal as the boundaries of the particular denomination from which it springs, the numerical all of a given sect, but of no force whatever beyond this for the mighty whole of which the sect is confessedly only a fraction and part. Here comes out of course the inward lie of the sect system, forcing it to falsify on one side what it affirms of itself on another. Sects are constitutionally uncatholic. Commonly they dislike even the word, and are apt to be shy of it, as though it smacked of Romanism, and as having a secret consciousness that it expresses a quality of the Church which their position disowns. By this, however, they in truth condemn themselves. It is the very curse of sect, to bear testimony here to the true idea of the Church, while

it must still cry out, What have I to do with thee, thou perfection of beauty! No sect as such has power to be Catholic; just as little at least as Judaism has ever had any such power. No one can say truly: "I believe in a Holy Catholic Lutheranism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, or any like partial form of the Christian profession," as he may say: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." For every such interest owns itself to be a part only of what the full fact of Christianity includes, and is so plainly in its own nature. How then should it ever be for faith the whole? What sect of those now existing, Lutheran, German Reformed, Methodist, &c., can seriously expect ever to take up the universal world of man's life into its bosom—unless by undergoing at last such a change in its own constitution, as shall cause the notion of sect to lose itself altogether in another far higher and far more glorious conception? No such has faith, or can have faith, in any universality of this sort as appertaining to itself; for to have it, would be to feel in the same measure a corresponding right and necessity to extend its authority over the whole world; which we know is not the case. It belongs to that which is in its own nature universal, to lay its hand imperatively on what it is found to embrace. Catholicity asks willing subjects indeed, but not optional. It says not, you may be mine, but you must. The true whole is at the same time inwardly and forever necessary. But what sect thinks of being Catholic in this style? Is it not counted Catholic rather in the sect vocabulary, to waive altogether the idea of any such universal and necessary right, and to say virtually: "We shall be happy to take charge of you if you see fit to be ours—but if not, may God speed you under some different conduct and care?" Not only the sect itself, but the sect consciousness also, the sect mind, is constitutionally fractional, an arbitrary part which can by no possibility feel or act as a necessary whole.

8. In this way we are brought finally to see the difference, between the true Catholicism of Christianity, and the mock liberalism which the world is so fond of parading on all sides in its name. This last appears in very different forms, though it ends always in the same general sense. Sometimes it openly substitutes the idea of mere humanism for that of Christianity, and so prates of the universal brotherhood of man, as though this were identical with the kingdom of God, and sentimental philanthropy the same thing with religion. In another shape, it is found preaching toleration among opposing sects, exhorting them to lay aside their asperities and endeavoring, it may be, to bring them to some sort of free and

independent confederation (such as the Peace Society aims at among nations), that shall prove the Church one in spite of its divisions. Then again it comes before us in the character of an open war against all sects, calling upon men to forsake them as in their very nature uncatholic, and to range themselves under the standard of general Christianity, with no creed but the Bible, and no rule for the use of it but private judgment. And here it is, that the spirit in question often comes to look like an angel of light, by contrast with the demon of sectarianism which it pretends to cast out; so that to many it seems impossible to distinguish it from the true genius of Catholicity itself, as we are taught to acknowledge this in the old Church Creed. But there is just this world-wide difference between the two, that the one is positive and concrete, while the other in all its shapes is purely negative and so without real substance altogether. This is at once apparent, where mere philanthropism is made to stand for religion; the liberality it affects has indeed no limits, but it is just because the religion it represents has no contents; and it is of one measure with the natural life of man, because it adds nothing to this and has no power whatever to lift it into any higher sphere. The same vast defect, however, goes along with the pseudo-catholic theory also, in its other more plausible forms. The universality it proposes is not made to rest in the idea of the Church itself, as the presence of a real concrete power in the world, with capacity and mission to raise the natural life of man to a higher order (the *Body* of Christ), which in such view implies historical substance, carrying in itself the laws and conditions of its own being. All this men may believe, but have no ability to make more account of than they may make of the natural world. Not in this is it made to rest, we say, the indubitable sense of the old Creed, but in the conception rather of the mere outward *all* of a certain number of men, or parties of men in world convention represented, who consent to be of one mind in the main on the great subject of the Gospel, and only need to extend such voluntary association far enough to take in finally the entire human family. All ends in an abstraction, which resolves itself at last simply into the notion of humanity in its natural character, as bringing into it no new whole whatever for its organic elevation to a higher sphere. There is no mystery accordingly ever in this pseudo-catholicism; it needs no faith for its apprehension; but on the contrary falls in readily with every sort of rationalistic tendency and habit. Sects too, that hate Catholicism in the true sense, find it very easy to be on good terms with it under such mock form; the most unchurchly and uncatholic

among them, taking the lead ordinarily in all sorts of buttery twaddle and sham in the name of Christian union. The purely negative character of the spirit is farther shown, in its open disregard for all past history. It acknowledges no authority in this form, no confession, no creed; but will have it, that Christianity is something to be produced by all men, in every age, as a new fact fresh from the Bible *and themselves*. But how then can it be taken to have any substance of its own in the actual world, any wholeness that is truly concrete, and not simply notional and abstract? Catholic and historical (which at last means also apostolical) go necessarily hand in hand together.

CHAPTER XXXIII

AFTER the Synod of York Dr. Berg continued his opposition to the Mercersburg Professors as opportunities presented themselves, at Classis, at Synod, through the *Messenger*, or his own organ, the *Protestant Quarterly*, gaining adherents mostly from the outside of the Church, but comparatively few from within. As both he and his followers did little or nothing to promote the general interests of their own denomination, those upon whom the chief burdens lay had no sympathy with him in mere negative opposition, or what seemed to them mere faction. The people generally felt that his protestations embodied a foreign spirit, at war with the life and traditions of their own Church, and gave him little aid or comfort. Early in the year 1852, contrary to his utterances at Synod, Dr. Berg concluded to withdraw from the ground and seek a more congenial home in another denomination. He was successful in carrying with him a large part of his congregation in Philadelphia, which went out with him, erected a new church in another part of the city, and connected themselves with the Dutch Reformed Church. The party that seceded left the congregation, which he had served for years, in a distressed condition, in fact, a mere wreck. It was one of the oldest and wealthiest in the denomination, and might, under proper influences, have been made the most influential in good works among its sister churches. The reasons assigned for such a sudden and violent change the pastor set forth in his Valedictory, which was published in pamphlet form for a wider circulation. He objected to various articles in the *Mercersburg Review*, but more specifically to the action of the Synod of Lancaster in 1851, in refusing to accept of Dr. Nevin's resignation as Professor of theology at once and without further delay. To him it was an endorsement of his doctrines, and this he affirmed brought him to an issue with the Synod and the Church itself. The Valedictory was of no very peaceful character; for the most part it was a characteristic assault upon the Professors at Mercersburg, to a large extent sensational, and apparently to many on the outside, who knew little or nothing about the nature of the questions at issue, a sublime defence of the faith once delivered to the saints. Under these circumstances it became necessary for Dr. Nevin, in order to destroy the effect of this secession and farewell sermon, to stand up both on the offensive and the defensive. His reply to "Dr. Berg's Last

Words," or "some notice" of it, as he said, appeared in the May number of the *Review* for 1852. We here give his replies to a few of the numerous accusations which were marshalled in line against him from the Philadelphia pulpit.

"The next accusation of Dr. Berg relates to the doctrine of justification by faith; which we in particular are said to have denied, in our work entitled the *Mystical Presence*, by making the relation of Christ to His people to be such, that His righteousness is not merely set to their credit or account, by a fiction of law in an outward forensic way, but is to be regarded as immanent in their very nature itself. This he will have to mean, that the believer is justified only by his own inherent or personal holiness, resulting from his union with Christ. Long ago we took some pains to show that no such construction of our language was right. But it has not suited Dr. Berg to bear anything of that sort in mind; and so we here have the old charge publicly paraded before the world again, without any qualification or reserve, just as though the ninth commandment had been stricken from the decalogue, or were of no force at all for a true Albigensian 'witness,' sweating and staggering under the weight of so big a cause. Justification, we know, is not sanctification. But still the first must be the real ground or foundation of the second, and this requires that it should be something more than an outward act, that comes to no union whatever with the life of the sinner. It imputes to him the righteousness of Christ, by setting him in connection with the power of it as a new and higher order of life, with grace in distinction from nature, wrought out in the bosom of humanity by Christ as the Second Adam.

"This implies that what is imputed or made over to men is not something out of them and beyond them altogether, but a fact already established in their nature itself, although a Divine act is needed to bring them into communication with it as individuals. In such view, the righteousness of Christ, the power of His atonement, the glorious fact of redemption, may be regarded and spoken of as *immanent* now in our nature, just as the law of sin and death is immanent in it also under its merely Adamic view, making room for a corresponding development of individual life. Natural birth sets us in connection with human nature, as fallen in Adam and under the curse; regenerating grace sets us in connection with the same nature, as recovered from the curse, and so made capable of righteousness, through union with Christ. The actual individual life in either case, with such inherent properties as it may be found to possess, is conditioned by the presence of a real possibility go-

ing before in the general life, out of which it springs. This real possibility, the potential underlying the actual, is the one man's disobedience in the first case, whereby many are made sinners, and in the second case the obedience of one by which many are made righteous, both immanent in humanity for their own momentous ends."—Passing over Dr. Berg's other objections to the false doctrines for which the Church as alleged had made itself responsible by sustaining its Professor, we pass on to the last, which probably in his mind was the most dangerous of all.

"The last offence with which we are charged in this valedictory demonstration, is our refusal to fall in with the anti-popery hue and cry against the Roman Catholic Church. This evidently is a minor point in the general bill of wrongs. It forms the culmination of the universal mischief, the 'unkindest cut of all' in the whole list of our provocations. Much else might have been patiently borne. But here patience itself is put fairly out of breath.

"Dr. Berg, it is well known, has a mortal antipathy to Romanism. He has long been distinguished as one of the school, which makes a vast merit of hating and cursing the Pope as Antichrist, and builds its first and greatest pretension to what it calls evangelical piety, on its want of all charity towards Papists wherever found. He has staked his personal credit, his popularity as a minister, his reputation as a theologian, on the anti-popery cause, asserted and maintained in this radical style; and the consequence has been, as usual, that the cause in such form has grown to be for him a sort of 'fixed idea,' synonymous in some sense with the identity of his personal life. He has preached on it; made speeches on it; written a book on it, with a glorifying introduction from Dr. Brownlee. 'I shall never apologize,' he writes years ago, 'either to the people of my own charge or to the public, for preaching and writing against Popery; for I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; neither am I afraid to lift up my voice and to cry aloud against the abomination of sin; and to rebuke, so far as my influence extends, the impudence of Antichrist.—For the system of Popery, 'the mystery of iniquity, in all its deceivableness of unrighteousness,' and in all the shades and grades of its known and unknown abominations, I do entertain the most hearty abomination. I believe it to be the arch-deceiver of precious souls and the Master-piece of Satan.' (See Berg's *Lectures on Romanism*, Pp. 23 and 24). Any quantity of similar stuff is found in other parts of the same book, as well as in the scurrilous pages of the *Protestant Quarterly*.

"In all this it is easy to read the symptoms of a very virulent affection. For one who surrenders himself to it, the anti-popery spirit is in truth a disease of the very worst kind. We know of no mental habit, short of absolute insanity, that seems to be more unfavorable to calm self-possession, to the exercise of clear sober judgment, or to the grace of godly sincerity and truth in the inward parts. Where it has come to be fully established, there is an end both of charity and reason so far as the Church of Rome is concerned. The mind loses its hold on proper realities, and falls as it were under a sort of magical spell or ban, which makes it impossible to see anything in its true color and right shape. It moves in a world of perversions, distortions, exaggerations, contradictions, and lies, from which, however, while the *fixed idea* lasts, no friendly light has any power to set it free. We have an exemplification of this in Dr. Berg. In his battles with Romanism, he spoils his own cause continually by extravagance and excess. He persecutes and spits venom, while affecting to play the bully for toleration and peace.

"He is irreverent and profane in the treatment of sacred things, while heaping accusations of profanity on Rome. He sets himself up, as the manifestation of private judgment to pull down the Pope; holding with great show of zeal that all men have the right of thinking as they choose, provided they think with *him*, and not some other way. He is great for free inquiry and light, and yet takes good care not to meet any question at issue in a really honorable and manly style; while all sorts of declamation, sophistry and falsehood are resorted to for the purpose of maintaining a show and sham of argument, where all argument in its true form is wanting.

"Such is the general style and fashion of this intolerant anti-popery school. No one, who has not been led to examine the matter seriously for himself, can have any idea of the extent to which falsehood and misrepresentation are carried in the common warfare upon the Church of Rome. No Church, as the great Dr. Johnson used to say, has been more monstrously slandered. Our religious papers, it is to be feared, lie here, too generally, under dreadful guilt. The warfare in question is conducted too generally without any regard to principle. It is forgotten that great interests of religion, deep and solemnly important truths, in the very nature of the case, are involved in Romanism; and the whole object then is merely to overthrow and destroy, regardless of all consequences that may go along with the wreck. Anti-popery in such form is purely nega-

tive. It seeks only to break down; and every blow is welcome that looks this way, though it be never so rude and blind.

"When we are taxed with refusing to succumb to the dictation of this fanatical and tyrannical school, we very readily admit the truth of the charge. We do not regard the Papacy, as such, to be Antichrist. There have been, we doubt not at all, many pious Popes. We do not believe that the Catholic Church was the synagogue of Satan, for more than a thousand years before the time of Luther, and are not willing to bastardize Protestantism itself, by making the Roman baptism from which it springs to be but a baptism of the Devil, unchurching thus at the same time with a single stroke of the pen the whole Christianity of the Middle Ages and of the ages before, away back to the days of Cyprian and Tertullian. We do not feel bound at all to follow the sense which Dr. Berg is pleased to put into two or three Bible texts, *against* the authority of Grotius, Hammond, Hengstenberg and Stuart, and we know not how many Protestant critics besides. It is no part of our religion to hate and curse Catholics, to lampoon their priesthood, to make a mock of their worship, or to treat their holy things with scorn and contempt. We have read too much church history, and looked too widely into the present state of the world for that. This moderation may be very unpalatable to Dr. Berg, and the school to which he belongs. But we cannot help it. Such is the state of our mind.

"The question here is only, whether it be an offence against Protestant orthodoxy to think in this way. That is what Dr. Berg maintains. It is not with him a matter of freedom, to differ here from the rule to which he is so unhappily sworn. He lays it down as a foundation *principle* that Rome is Antichrist, Babylon, and Amalek; that the Pope is officially the Man of Sin; that Mede's Key to the Prophecies is infallibly true; and that Popery has been from first to last 'the Master-piece of Satan.' This, we are told, is the only theory by which Protestantism can stand. It must pass for a term of orthodoxy, an article of faith. Since when, however, we ask in reply, has any such narrow and inquisitorial rule been in force? In what Draconian code is it now to be found? When, where, and how, especially, has the German Reformed Church erected any test of this sort, to bind the conscience of her ministers, either in Europe or America? The test is arbitrary altogether, an imposition smuggled in privily to subvert 'the liberty which we have in Christ Jesus,' and to 'bring us into bondage.' We disown it; and we give no place to it by subjection, not even for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel may remain without damage or harm.

We deny the right of any man, or any set and party of men, to frame rules and constitutions for us in this high-handed autocratic and overbearing style. Those who choose to make a large part of their religion consist in abusing and slandering Romanism, are at liberty for themselves to indulge as far as they please their own malevolent taste, and there is nothing to hinder them either from doing what they can, by rant or slang, to make others of the same mind. But let them stick to moral suasion. When they mount the tripod, and claim to be oracles, and affect to launch thunderbolts, making their miserable hobbies articles of faith, and then denouncing as heretics all those who refuse to take up the same song, it is high time to let them know that they are driving things quite too fast and too far. Whatever may come of them hereafter, their hobbies are *not yet* fully installed, for universal Protestantism, as oracles and articles of faith.

“So much for the burden of Dr. Berg’s Farewell Words, as directed mainly against ourselves. We are now ready for the consideration of it, as a cry against the German Reformed Church. That is the main end of the whole proclamation. It is intended to be an apology, as we have seen, for an act of voluntary secession. Dr. Berg wishes to play the martyr. He claims to be a seceder for conscience’s sake. This involves necessarily the idea of an issue with the whole body, which he is led thus heroically to forsake. To make out his case, it is not enough to muster charges, like those we have just been considering, against one man or another singly taken; that would be a poor reason for so big a step; it must be contrived in some way to give the matter a far more general character, and to bring in the whole church as *particeps criminis*, as a party to the alleged offences. Only in that form do we get at last a *nodus vindice dignus*, the full opportunity and fit occasion for such a Sampson Agonistes to put forth all his strength.”—As a matter of course Dr. Nevin found it to be a much easier matter to defend the Reformed Church against the charges made by Dr. Berg for dereliction of duty, and for endorsing dangerous errors in allowing her Professors to remain in their chairs at Mercersburg, which he proceeded to do thoroughly and exhaustively, as the reader may imagine from what has been said elsewhere in this history, and need not be repeated here.

It was an opinion entertained at the time by moderate and thoughtful persons that Dr. Berg’s demonstration in Philadelphia was only a part of a movement that extended beyond the Reformed Church, whose object was to revolutionize, or disintegrate it into

fragments. The virulence of some of the religious papers in sympathy with Dr. Berg seemed to favor such a supposition. The secession of the Rev. Jacob Helfenstein, and his congregation at Germantown, Pa., and their formal passing over into the Presbyterian Church, carrying with them their church property, which had belonged to the Reformed Church for more than a century, also seemed to show that there was some kind of concerted action. But whatever may have been the true state of the case, the Reformed Church retained her dignity, and did not suffer herself to be moved from her staid sense of propriety by the excitement and clamor of the hour. Dr. Nevin felt the gravity of the situation, and, by a trenchant article in the *Review*, sought to break the force of Dr. Berg's last act and words, at least, in the Reformed Church, in which he was successful. In doing so he appealed not only to arguments and reason, but called to his assistance some forcible language, which showed that he could strike back no less than to receive blows. We here give a few specimens of his language, which proved that he could wield the pen of a Junius himself, when he thought that occasion or duty called for it.

"It is generally known," he says, "that Rev. Dr. Berg, who has long been ambitious to head a party and create trouble in the German Reformed Church, by birth a Moravian, by education an American Puritan of the most thorough anti-popery stamp, has seen fit to do what he ought to have done long ago, abandon the denomination in which he has found himself so poorly at home for the purpose of trying his fortune in another. Pains have been taken to make the event notorious. It was evidently expected to create a sensation; and this valedictory discourse forms part of the apparatus, or what we may call stage-thunder, which has been ingeniously contrived in aid of such end.

"The sensation has not indeed come to much. The stage-thunder has proved to be very weak. The mountain in labor has once more given birth to a ridiculous mouse. This sermon in particular is intrinsically a small affair. Still it merits attention. It is not *beneath* notice, like too much from the pen of the same author in the *Protestant Quarterly*, by its gross vulgarity and rant. There is some decency in its style, some dignity in its tone. And then it has significance by its relations and accidents; as the end historically of much that has gone before; as a curious exemplification theologically of the intellectual obliquity and wrong spirit of the whole religious tendency which it may, in some sense, be said to represent. Altogether, we say, the sermon is not undeserving of regard.

"His going out of the body is to be no vulgar transition simply from one sect to another. It must be a solemn *Exodus*; a sort of a miniature repetition of the scene which took place, when the Free Church of Scotland went forth from the Establishment with the great Chalmers at its head. It must be for conscience sake. It must carry with it the air of a great and heroic sacrifice for the cause of righteousness and truth.—We almost wonder that he was not led to set up a fresh sect, or to try, at least, the experiment of a schism in the Reformed Church, to be baptized with his name. But, '*non omnia possumus omnes.*' A captaincy in such a case, without even a corporal's guard to follow, is rather a sorry business.—It was wise then not to venture a new church, but to take refuge rather in the 'Old Church of Holland, the Gibraltar of Protestantism,' already well known and firmly established. Still the movement must not forfeit, for this reason, the character of a true secession, a veritable heroism for faith, in the eyes of an admiring world. It is pleasant to be a martyr, or at any rate to have the name of one, if it come not to *bona fide* blood, and cost nothing either to stomach or blood. The object then of this Valedictory is to make good a title to such luxury and praise.

"Thus he expresses himself: 'I feel that my position is painful, but I am sure in my own mind that it is right. I cannot operate with the Synod of the German Reformed Church any longer. Its late action is a practical avowal of sympathy with views which I cannot endure, and subsequent developments have satisfied me that my mission in its communion is finished.'—All this is designed to be a sort of modest parallelism with the relation of Elijah to Israel, in the days of Ahab and Queen Jezebel. The Reformed Church answers to the Ten Tribes, gone or fast going after Baal. Dr. Berg is the solitary Tishbite under the juniper tree.

"We are charged with teaching, 'that sin was in the person of the Mediator, and that the presence of sin in His person entailed the necessity of His suffering,' because of our saying that the human nature which He assumed was that of Adam after the fall, and so a 'fallen humanity,' which was to be raised through this very mystery of the Incarnation itself to a new and higher order of life. To this most abominable misrepresentation, another breach of the ninth commandment, we reply in merciful Latin: '*Mentiris impudentissime.*' We abhor every such thought. It is not in our book. We have always disowned it."—This was the language of controversy, and as Dr. Berg was accustomed to use the weapons of satire and sarcasm very freely himself at times, he could not com-

plain when shells of this kind fell thick and fast around him. Most probably he admired the skill with which they were hurled. He, at least, never evinced any low resentment or secret hatred towards his great opponent, nor charged him with disingenuous motives; on the contrary he always spoke of him in terms of sincere respect. In the course of time he became professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church, at New Brunswick, N. J., and it is said based his lectures largely on Ebrard's *Christliche Dogmatik*, which was substantially the same theology as that which had been taught all along at Mercersburg.

As already said, the Rev. Jacob Helfenstein had likewise seceded from the Reformed Church, and, with a larger part of his congregation; had gone into the Presbyterian Church. Born in the Reformed Church, with an honorable ancestry of ministers, he, at an early age, had left it, became an ardent disciple of Mr. Finney, and then returned to it with an earnest desire apparently to build up its broken-down walls with the new light which he thought he had received from Oberlin, in the Western Reserve, Ohio. He had a few ministerial friends who sympathized with him, and thought they were called to perform the part of reformers in their day by introducing a foreign spirit into the Church. Having been brought to see that he had no occupation for a work of that kind in his own Church, he again withdrew, not however without first addressing a circular to the various religious papers, urging them to denounce what he considered dangerous heresy, making its appearance in the Reformed Church. Some of them heeded his alarm, but some of them did not, deeming it most proper for them to attend to their own vineyards. Dr. Berg at first discouraged secession, but the pressure from without, as he said, even on the streets of Philadelphia, was great, and he succumbed to what was a considerable ecclesiastical cyclone at the time. The editor of the *Christian Intelligencer*, not exactly the organ but the leading paper of the Reformed Dutch Church, especially, gave him aid and comfort in his various conflicts with his German brethren.

In the year 1852 the corresponding delegates of the Dutch Reformed Church, who had attended the meeting of the German Reformed Synod the year before, made a very unusual report—*sui generis*—of what they had seen and heard among their German cousins. Usually such reports were of a friendly and pleasant character, giving an account of the progress of the sister Church with its Christian greetings; but at this time, and for once, the report was of a decidedly warlike character, and the Dutch Synod deemed itself

called on to define its position as in no sense endorsing what had come to be called "Mercersburg Theology," or, in other words, the doctrinal views of the two Reformed Professors at Mercersburg. They had never been asked to do so, and the German brethren themselves had not done so in any formal way—simply protected them when unjustly assailed; but the Dutch brethren thought otherwise and supposed that it was incumbent on them to express an opinion in regard to the questions in dispute in the sister church.

This report of the Dutch delegates was allowed to be put on record on the minutes of their Synod, a copy of which was forwarded next year, according to the usual rule, to the other Reformed Church, which met in Baltimore in the year 1853. This document, of a very remarkable character, was placed in the hands of a special committee that gave it a careful and searching examination. The result was that the committee reported that their report did not harmonize with the facts in a number of instances, and the chairman, who was a vigorous German, did not think it was necessary that he should employ Calvin's merciful Latin in his report, as Dr. Nevin had done in the case of Dr. Berg; but simply said in plain Anglo-Saxon that all their statements were untrue, except that their stay with their German brethren was brief, which did not allow them sufficient time to secure more accurate information. The relation between the two ecclesiastical bodies, previous to this of a most intimate and affectionate character, thus became strained for several years. It resulted largely from the fact that the meaning of the object in the exchange of corresponding delegates was not properly understood at the time. Subsequently, when this came to be better defined, the old, fraternal feeling asserted itself and again began to grow.

Dr. Berg found a few other coadjutors and sympathizers in the Reformed Dutch Church. In the January number of the *Princeton Repertory*, in 1852, a long article on "Ursinus and the Heidelberg Catechism" made its appearance from the pen of Rev. John W. Proudfit, one of the Professors in Rutgers' College, New Jersey. Professedly it was a review of the translation of the Commentary of Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism by the Rev. George W. Williard, which he criticised very unfavorably; but the article seemed to have been intended more particularly for the benefit of Dr. Nevin, who, at the request of the translator, had prepared an Introduction for the book of moderate dimension on the life of its author, Ursinus. In connection with this biography, he took occasion to speak of the excellent spirit of the Catechism, of its irenic character, and of its reserve on the subject of the divine decrees as he

had done elsewhere. To much of this Dr. Proudfit objected, as well as to other productions of Dr. Nevin's pen, which he brought in by the way, such as his *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*, in connection with his articles on Early Christianity. Evidently it was not so much Mr. Williard's book as Dr. Nevin with whom he wished to have a tilt. His wish was gratified, and his article answered in Dr. Nevin's usually vigorous, and at this time rather caustic style, in the March number of the *Mercersburg Review* for the year 1852, in an article entitled the "Heidelberg Catechism."

"It only remains," says Dr. Nevin, "to notice briefly the criticism by Dr. Proudfit on Williard's translation itself. We have had no opportunity to compare this with the original text, and can therefore say nothing positively as to the ability and fidelity with which it is executed. But it is easy to see from the face of such evidence as we have before us, that the general criticism of the Brunswick Professor is exceedingly unfair. He affects to call in question the worth and sufficiency of Mr. Williard's Latin text, the Geneva edition of 1616, without any good reason whatever. He takes the translator solemnly to task, at the same time, for venturing out of his copy, to bring in short extracts from the old English Translation by Parry, although these extracts are carefully noted in the text itself as *addenda*, with due warning besides in the Preface.—But now only hear Professor Proudfit on this point: 'In this practice, we must remind him that he has departed from all the just principles which ought to guide a translator. We cannot well conceive a larger 'liberty' than for a translator to insert short extracts from unknown sources, changing the style and construction so as to adapt it to the *taste* of the modern reader.' The word *taste*, italicised to convey the entirely and perfectly gratuitous assumption, that the case may include some theological accommodation, instead of the fashion of language, the actual 'foisting in' of a new sense with sinister purpose and regard, is miserable balderdash.

"But there are instances, not a few, of bad translations in the book, according to the critic. We can only say, not having the original at hand, that the book does not read like a bad translation; on the contrary it runs very clearly and very smoothly, more so than translations do commonly, and makes, at all events, good sense.—All we wish to say is, that Dr. Proudfit's criticism here is chargeable with gross exaggeration.

"So as regards the typographical and general editorial execution of the work. It is declared to be unpardonably negligent and in-

accurate. This accusation, at least, we feel at liberty bluntly to contradict. Typographical errors may indeed be found; but they certainly need some hunting. They are not at once patent. Then as for the general style of the book, it may easily be left to speak for itself, as it has already in truth won in its own favor, on all sides, the highest commendation and praise. Seldom do we meet with a work of like size, for popular use, in the case of which the outward costume, both of paper and type, is less open to any fair reproach.

"It is plain enough after all, however, that the criticism of Mr. Williard's work forms but a small part of the real object of Dr. Proudfit's article. The main purpose is to assault the Mordecai sitting at the gate, our Introduction, namely, on the life and character of Ursinus. In what spirit, and with what sort of effect, this has been done, we have now tried, in some measure, to make apparent. The article is sufficiently ostentatious and ambitious; it is ushered in with quite an historical dissertation on the subject of catechetical instruction, abounds in sophomorical scraps of Latin (the author being Professor of the dead languages), and makes a wonderful parade throughout of doing up the work in a smashing, wholesale way. But in all this there is a great deal more show than substance. The historical introduction is but little to the point; the sophomorical scraps of Latin prove nothing; and what affects to be smashing argument resolves itself, on near inspection, into empty smoke or something worse. The argument consists, for the most part, in creating false issues, by pushing qualified statements to an extreme sense; by exaggerating and caricaturing points of controversy; in one word, by setting up men of straw, over whom an easy victory is gained, the weight of which is then pompously employed to crush what has been thus misrepresented and abused."

In conclusion, Dr. Nevin, willing to compromise with his New Brunswick critic, says: "It would be a pity if the present *Introduction* to Mr. Williard's book merely should stand in the way of its being favorably received in the Reformed Dutch Church, as Dr. Proudfit seems to think it should and must do. We beg leave therefore to suggest a simple remedy for the evil. Let *another* be drawn up, either by Dr. Proudfit himself or by somebody else, calculated for the meridian of New Brunswick, and conformed, in all respects, theologically to the reigning Puritan standard of the time. Let it roundly affirm, that on the subject of the decrees the formal teaching of the Heidelberg Catechism falls not a whit be-

hind the determinations of the Synod of Dort; that it owns no sympathy whatever with the Catholic ideas of the Ancient Church; that it eschews religiously the whole mystical interest in religion, and moves only in the sphere of the logical understanding; that it has in it no inward relationship with Lutheranism; that the true key to its sense and spirit should be sought rather in New England Puritanism; that it is unchurchly and unsacramental throughout; and that it acknowledges no objective grace, no mystery at all (just as little, be it whispered, as Art. XXXV of the Belgic Confession) in the holy sacraments, on a full par thus with the universal sectarian rationalism of the day. Let this be the stand-point, we say, of the new Introduction, got up for the special use and benefit of the Reformed Dutch Church; and if the Dutch Church generally should choose to be satisfied with it, the world at large, we presume, will not feel it necessary to make any objection."

In the year 1854 the *New Brunswick Review* was started under the editorship of Dr. Proudfit. It was expected to be in some sense the literary organ of the Dutch Church and it presented a respectable appearance; but in one way or another it was not properly encouraged, and in a year or two it was discontinued. It appeared to receive its main inspiration as an uncompromising opponent of the teachings of the Mercersburg Professors. In the first year it contained two very lengthy articles from Professor Proudfit, which attacked Dr. Schaff as a church historian and criticised very unfavorably his Principle of Protestantism, his History of the Apostolic Church and other writings, without, however, doing them any serious harm. The conclusion arrived at by the writer was that the "positions which Professor Schaff had already advanced were such as to lay the whole truth and the grace of God, and the whole liberty, hope, and salvation of the human race, at the feet of the Papacy." Thus the last article against the Mercersburg heresy came to its climax, in language which, of itself, showed that the writer had all along been pursuing an illusion of his own brain.

It was a matter of deep regret among the members of the German Church that the brethren in the Dutch Church were becoming estranged from them, and they naturally looked for some one to give a statement of the facts in the case. Dr. Nevin, therefore, published an article in the January number of the *Mercersburg Review* for the year 1854, entitled the "Dutch Crusade," giving an historical account of the late unpleasantness that had sprung up between brethren of the same Reformed faith, which would have been amusing, if it had not been of such a serious character. Perhaps the denomi-

nation applied to the "crusade" was not strictly correct. Neither the editor of the *Christian Intelligencer*, Dr. Porter, nor the Brunswick Professor had the honor of bearing a Dutch name, and it may be inferred that their family training had been more Puritanic than truly Dutch. The Professor himself was of Seceder descent, as one might suppose even from his writings. Both were in full sympathy with Puritanic ways of thinking, and occupying posts of influence they became representative opponents of the Anti-Puritan movement in the German Church. It was natural that with their Irish blood they should, *vi et armis*, uphold their Puritan faith and try to suppress the supposed Mercersburg heresy. But were they the proper persons to represent the dignity and learning of the old Dutch Church, its orthodoxy and churchliness? Certainly not. This was something for which they lacked the necessary qualifications. Professor Taylor Lewis, one of her brightest ornaments, or some one of the Van Dykes, could have performed this service much better.—It should, however, be remarked that the friction between the two churches, which seemed to be at the time such a terrible disaster, turned out in the end to be, if not a mere ripple, a matter of no very serious consequence. The two classes of people, the Dutch and German, knew each other, knew how closely they were related to each other in their past history, and they did not allow theological points to rend asunder ancient and hallowed ties. A better spirit came to prevail, and at present the two denominations, as a general thing, stand in more friendly relations than they probably ever did before.

CHAPTER XXXIV

IN the German Reformed Church, as may be supposed, for a number of years there was a continuous theological excitement, especially after the *Mercersburg Review* made its appearance in 1849. The object in all of the discussions was in reality to define her position and to give her a solid and rational basis of unity. But as the centripetal force was intensified, the centrifugal and tangential in a variety of ways asserted itself. In such circumstances ardent minds are prone to run into extremes and oftentimes into opposite directions. As we have seen, several German Reformed ministers passed over into other denominations and carried their congregations with them; but as history has its opposites, in the lapse of time the secessions were of a different character, and in this instance they took place from the Mercersburg school itself. Drawn into an opposite extreme, several young men, who were prominent advocates of Mercersburg doctrine, passed over into the Catholic Church and others followed them. They aimed to become leaders in the theological movement, in their own Church; but as it did not seem to advance rapidly enough for them, they fell out of rank, read Catholic authors almost exclusively, differed from their teachers, and in apparent sincerity, for the most part, yet in some sort of bewilderment, they sought refuge in the Roman Church. None of them fully understood the true Evangelical faith nor the real animus of what they had been taught in the Seminary. They were in an earnest theological movement, but they were not of it, and their withdrawal from it, although it tended to cast reproach upon it for a time, did in fact benefit it, serving as a lesson to others that truth is never found in extremes, but as Aristotle says, always between the two.

Some of the opponents of Dr. Nevin alleged that he himself was on the way to Rome, and fears were entertained by some of his friends that he too, troubled and perplexed by the Church Question, might lose his balance, and seek rest in a system where all questions are settled by papal authority. But such an alternative was a moral impossibility for a man of his vigorous intellectual and spiritual constitution. He was free during his entire life-time to change his views of men and things as he gained more light and knowledge, but he never changed his philosophical principles. These led him, as

we have seen in his controversy with Dr. Brownson, to deny that the Roman system, in its inward weakness, could answer the great question of the age, whatever it may have accomplished in past ages. Both logic, and philosophy, and Scripture too as understood by Dr. Nevin, were here an insuperable difficulty in the way of a transition such as was made by Newman. It would have falsified his most cherished convictions of truth, completely unmanned him and changed his entire make-up. We are aware that others at the time, strong in intellect and learning, fell back upon the Latin Church as their last resort, and so Dr. Nevin, in certain circumstances, or from sheer desperation, might have also done. Had the Church, for instance, in which he stood, adopted pseudo-protestant principles, or had she failed to give him her sympathy or denied him liberty of speech or pen, then possibly with no apparent mission at home, he might, in despair and no longer himself, have been flung into an alien region as his only place of refuge. But when he was out in deep waters, he paid no attention to the phantom ship of St. Peter, and, with his strong mind, continued to look up to *Christ*, who took him by the hand and kept him in the vessel of the Holy Catholic Church, to which he properly belonged.

In this connection we furnish the reader an admirable description of Dr. Nevin and his status during the latter part of his life at Mercersburg by his colleague in the Seminary, with whom he had passed through many sharp conflicts. When Dr. Schaff was in Germany in the year 1854, he was requested, by several missionary organizations at Berlin, to lecture on America, its political, social and religious condition, and out of these lectures grew a volume of 278 pages on America, which was published at Berlin in the same year. In speaking of the German Churches in America, he devoted a chapter to Dr. Nevin and his work in the Reformed Church, of which we here give a free translation, with the permission of the author.

Dr. John W. Nevin, until quite recently Professor of Theology and President of Marshall College, presents the rare example of a remarkable union of German and Anglo-German culture. He is a profound scholar, an independent thinker, an uncommonly earnest character, a *homo gravis*, as indeed his dignified external appearance would indicate.

An American and rigid Presbyterian by birth and education, and for ten years a Professor in the Presbyterian Seminary at Allegheny, Pa., he imbibed from Neander a new idea of Church History, which

affected his whole theology. In his mature manhood by the leading of Providence he was called into the service of the German Reformed Church, identified himself with its history, and studied the leading phases of modern German philosophy and theology, among others also Kant, Schelling, Hegel, Daub, Schleiermacher and Rothe, without attaching himself slavishly to any particular system. Such study emancipated him from the fetters of Puritanism, but it did not lead him into the path of scepticism or a lax theology, where many others have landed. It gave him a decidedly church tendency, which caused him to look back longingly into the past, into the age of the fathers, confessors and martyrs, and partly forward towards the ideal Church of the Future.

The "Mystical Presence," published in 1846, was his first dogmatic-polemical work, a Vindication of the Mystical Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and of the actual participation of believers in the power of His divine-human life, in opposition to the prevalent symbolical view in America, which sees in this sacrament only a commemoration of the death of Christ now absent in heaven. The theory of this book is substantially the Calvinistic or orthodox view, inasmuch as it advocates not a carnal real presence and oral manducation, but a spiritual real presence and participation, mediated through faith, and therefore rejects transubstantiation, and the Lutheran theory of consubstantiation so called, the *in* and *sub*, although not the *cum* pane et vino. At the same time, however, it is a scientific statement and profound enlargement of the view of the Geneva Reformer, and holds up emphatically the objective and mystical side of the sacred transaction; and is directed not only against the Romish, but also against its opposite rationalistic extreme.

Calvin lays the greatest stress upon the subjective act of the soul, which is raised to heaven, where it is nourished in an inexplicable way by the power of the Holy Ghost with the *vis vivifica* of the *caro Christi*; with Dr. Nevin Christ is present in the sacramental transaction, as the whole, undivided divine human Christ in his generic nature as the Second Adam, and the life-fountain of the entire new creation, as the head of the Church. His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all, invisible and spiritual of course, but, nevertheless, real and substantial. As such He is presented to believers as spiritual food, in order to strengthen their life-communication with Him already existing, so that He, as St. Paul and the Heidelberg Catechism express themselves so strongly, becomes more and more "flesh of His flesh and bone of His bone."

This view was decried on all sides, even by so-called Lutheran organs, as materialistic, mystical, pantheistic, Puseyistic, papistic and so on, but successfully defended by its author with overwhelming learning and philosophic depth. Here he had the great advantage that he had on his side substantially the most important symbols of the Reformed Church, which nearly all sprung up under Calvin's influence; especially the Heidelberg Catechism and the writings of Zacharias Ursinus; also most of the evangelical theologians of Germany on the more vital points, namely, in the recognition of an objective, mystical element in the Eucharist, in opposition to the one-sided, exclusively subjective and commemorative Zwinglian view. If Dr. Nevin, in his churchly and mystical tendency, went beyond the boundary line of the old Reformed conception, modern Puritanism and Presbyterianism—not to speak of American Lutheranism—certainly went much farther in the direction of the Socinian and rationalistic theory of the sacraments.

In general, he is entitled to the undisputed merit of having brought the theology of the Reformation period, which is much deeper, more spiritual and churchly than that of modern Puritanism, in a living reproduction, home to the consciousness of the German American Churches. That may be seen in his tractate on the "Anxious Bench;" still more so in the "Mystical Presence" and its defence against the attacks of Dr. Hodge; and in his excellent small treatise on the Heidelberg Catechism, anno 1847. The immediate result then was that in a wider circle the literature of the Reformation period was more zealously studied; that catechetical instruction, which with confirmation had to a certain extent been set aside by Methodistic influences, as mere formalism and mechanism, was reinstated; and the bond of sympathy with modern *German* theology, which had formerly been so much despised in America, was restored.

But the movement did not here stop. Already in the Mystical Presence, the idea of the Incarnation of Christ came to the front very clearly, as the central truth of Christianity. With this came also necessarily a deeper comprehension of the Church as the continuation of this fact; as an unbroken succession of the divine-human life of Christ in the history of humanity, with the attributes of unity, catholicity, holiness, apostolicity, infallibility, and indestructibility.

With this idea the present divided condition of Protestantism, especially in America, the classic lands of sects, seemed to stand opposed. Accordingly Dr. Nevin unsparingly attacked the entire

American Sect-system and the arbitrary, subjective, unhistorical, selfish, partisan, persecuting Sect-spirit in his remarkable work on *Antichrist*, in 1847, as the Anti-Christianity of modern Protestantism, in direct opposition to the general opinion, which confines Antichrist to the papacy and makes the two identical; and he moreover draws a parallel between it and ancient Gnosticism, whose fundamental error likewise consisted in the denial of the mystery of the Incarnation, and of an objective, historical Christianity.

At the same time his interest in history, which had driven him back to the Reformation period, led him further back to a more thorough study of patristic theology, and there he saw more clearly the difference, in form at least, between it and Modern Protestant Christianity, especially Puritanism, partly through his own independent study of the works of Augustine, Cyprian, Tertullian, Irenæus and so on; and partly through the help of modern works, such as "Rothe's Beginnings of the Christian Church," and Isaac Taylor's "Ancient Christianity."

In the same track with the more recent German theology, he studied with the deepest interest the entire Puseyite controversy, foremost the writings of Dr. John H. Newman, with whom he had many points of resemblance, and read the works of the most important Roman Catholic apologists and polemics, such as Bellarmín, Bossuet, Moehler, Wiseman and Balmes, who of course represent their system of faith in a much more favorable light than their Protestant opponents, and know how to idealize it, so that to a deep, earnest spirit it becomes powerfully imposing.

Dr. Nevin gave expression to his newly gained ideas in the *Mercersburg Review*, established by his pupils, edited by him, and read extensively beyond the Reformed Church, more particularly in the Episcopal. He there developed, in a series of essays and reviews, full of life and spirit, always going back to fundamental principles, the doctrine of the Person of Christ; of the nature and attributes of the Church, His mystical Body; of the Sacraments; of the theology of the Apostolic Symbol; the difference between patristic and American Christianity; the Relation of Freedom to Authority; of Faith to Knowledge; of Christianity to Civilization; and in short the deepest questions of the age, in which with rare polemic ability and dexterity, he attacked popular errors, more particularly, religious and political radicalism, and the materialistic tendency of the times.

He reproduced and lived over again the entire controversy between Romanism and Protestantism, and threw light upon it from

new points of view, with constant reference to the ruling American Church relations and the prevailing Puritanic system. All the controversies between the different Protestant bodies, the differences between Lutheranism and Reform, Calvinism and Arminianism, Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, and so on, appear to him always more as secondary matters as compared with the colossal antithesis of Romanism and Protestantism, which has its centre-focus in the doctrine of the Church, in the relation of the supernatural to the natural. He, therefore, came more and more to the conviction that the latter could not be defended by a regardless rejection of the first, but only as a transition state to a higher and better one, and that the contest against Rome can then become effectual only as Protestantism itself seeks to bring about its own regeneration.

"All this is with him no mere speculation but the most serious life question. In this respect he is a genuine American, as he looks at everything from a practical point of view, whilst a German is easily satisfied with ideas and theories. For him the Church Question, in its widest extent, is not only the greatest theological problem of the present, but, at the same time, one of personal salvation.

To this must be added, that somewhat inclined, we might say, to asceticism and monasticism, he has an overwhelming sense of the hollowness and indescribable vanity of the world, and of all mere natural life, even of learning and science, and so, also, of the absolute necessity of supernatural light and grace. Although a speculative thinker, he is fully penetrated with the conviction that mere speculation leads only to doubt and despair; that every one must enter the kingdom of heaven as a little child; and submit himself absolutely to an infallible divine authority, in order to arrive at a saving knowledge of the truth.

The more the idea of the supernatural, as something specifically different from the natural, and yet entering it as the real present power of God; the more that the meaning of the mystery of the Incarnation of God and of one Holy, Catholic Church, in the sense of the apostolic and post-apostolic symbols, took possession of his mind: just so much the more grew in him with this knowledge a corresponding sorrow over the numberless difficulties which surround modern Protestantism, especially in America, but in Europe also, where, in some respects, it is still worse.—These difficulties, of all sorts, gathering around his mind, as so many dark, gloomy pictures, pursue him late and early, and have almost crushed him. Thus Dr. Nevin is the peculiar embodiment of the Church's trouble (Kirchenschmerz), which has penetrated many of the most earnest

spirits of the age. I do not believe that any theologian, either of the old or new world, feels it more keenly, or prays over it more zealously, than he.

Under these circumstances not only his opponent but also some of the friends of Dr. Nevin have entertained the fear that he might submit to the claims of Rome, and there find rest for his troubled spirit. That would be an act of martyrdom, for which he has the moral courage and self-denial; but, although he is just the man to sacrifice every thing to his religious convictions, and although Puritanism drove him to a more favorable view of the Church of Rome, nevertheless on the other hand, he understands full well its weaknesses, and has exposed them beyond refutation, as it seems to me, in two articles against Brownson, the celebrated convert, of Boston. He showed, for instance, that the system of mere authority and blind subjection, as required by Rome, is in conflict with the entire constitution of man as formed for freedom, and with the idea of personality and the course of history. Notwithstanding the strong language, which he used in those articles regarded as most Romanizing, he leaves the way of escape open in the theory of historical development, which makes room for Protestantism, as one form of Christianity, although one-sided and transitional, to a much better age and a higher union of what is good in both Protestantism and Romanism. His entire philosophical system and his conception of history rest altogether on an evangelical Protestant basis and proceeds all along on the necessity of a reconciliation of authority and freedom, of objectivity and subjectivity, as the prospectus of the *Mercersburg Review* from the start expressed itself.

In this theological movement, the German Reformed Church, in whose bosom it sprung up, has been very much misunderstood, made responsible for the so-called "Mercersburg Theology," and bitterly persecuted and slandered; but she has not adopted or sanctioned any of Dr. Nevin's peculiar views; she has simply refused, at the beek of a fanatical and intolerant party, to condemn them as heretical, and is willing that the Church Question, which rests with a heavy weight upon the present age, should be discussed earnestly and under all its aspects, for which a certain measure of freedom is indispensable.

Dr. Nevin has thus far in every instance gained the victory over his opponents, and that not by intrigue, but in the most open and honorable way, by his writings and off-hand speeches, in which, dismissing all rhetorical ornament and without aiming at effect, he operated only through the power of thought, presenting whilst

speaking the appearance of a marble statue, showing the powerful inward nature only now and then by the trembling movement of his lips. Very properly the Synod has always held his talents and his moral religious character in great respect, and it will continue to hold in grateful remembrance his conscientious and unselfish labors of twelve years in the service of her literary institutions at Mercersburg.

The Synod, of which we speak, holds fast as truly and firmly as ever to her honored confession, which Dr. Nevin in many of his writings has explained, defended, and recommended to be more diligently used in Church and School, and she will never give it up until God Himself, by some new and positive creation in the department of doctrinal development, shall render the old symbol superfluous.

The only thing, which to many may appear suspicious, is the circumstance that she has made the necessary arrangements for the formation of a new Liturgy, which will do full justice to the liturgical element in divine worship, as the act of the entire congregation, and make more use of the hallowed prayers and formulas of the ancient Catholic Church than has been the case hitherto in most Reformed Churches. To this, however, no objection can be made as a Romanizing tendency, because a similar movement to remodel and enrich divine worship is confessedly going forward in the whole Evangelical Church of Germany and Switzerland, which has always recognized the liturgical principle, more or less, and acknowledged its value. The Reformed Synod confidently falls in with this movement, fully assured that it does not lead to Romanism but to the regeneration of Protestantism, and wishes to contribute her mite to prepare the way for the period of the true Universal, Evangelical Church, enriched with all the treasures of truth gathered up by eighteen Christian centuries. She has the consciousness that the many difficulties that encompass the Church of the present cannot be overcome truly and permanently by a return to a stand-point gained in the past, much less to the still greater difficulties of the papacy, but only by a progressive onward movement. This is the view not only of most of the theologians and pastors of the Reformed Church in America, but also of the most prominent minds in Europe. Such a faith and such a hope certainly will not be brought to shame.

CHAPTER XXXV

DR. NEVIN entered upon his duties in the Seminary at the opening of the Summer Session of 1840, so noiselessly and unobtrusively, that some of the students scarcely knew what to make of him. His leisure hours he spent in physical exercise, or in conversation with Dr. Rauch, in which he always gave as freely as he received. Dr. Rauch, his colleague in the Seminary, taught the branches that belonged to the department of Biblical Literature until his death, for less than one year, when the entire instruction of the Seminary devolved on Dr. Nevin, assisted only for a brief period by a Jewish Rabbi, who taught the classes in the Hebrew language. He thus continued to do the work, which at the present day occupies the time of three or four Professors, until the advent of Dr. Schaff in 1844, who relieved him of a part of his burden. In the circumstances he was under the necessity of imparting instructions mainly by the help of text-books. From the year 1842 to 1845, when the writer was in the Seminary, each class studied and recited from Horne's Introduction, Biblical History, with the use of Shuckford's and Prideaux's Connections, Hebrew Grammar and Bible, the Greek Testament, Jahn's Biblical Antiquities, Coleman's Christian Antiquities, Dick's Theology, Mosheim's Church History, Ernesti's Hermeneutics, and Porter's Homiletics, with lectures on Pastoral Theology.

If now it be asked, was not such a course of study inadequate and behind the times, we reply, that none of his students have ever thought so. The text-books were old, somewhat antiquated, called into requisition because they were the only ones to be had. But the teacher behind the book was a live professor, who understood their defects no less than their merits, always able and ready to bring forth things new and old for the edification of his pupils. Sometimes Dick or Mosheim was forgotten in the class-room, as he proceeded in his remarks to give more elevated views of Church History, or more profound and orthodox theological views. In this way the Old was useful and served as the starting point of the New. His clear-cut questions, not so numerous as exhaustive, were, in themselves, an intellectual training. They formed a skilful analysis of the subject of the recitation, in which the ground, cause, effect, condition, or relations of things were to be clearly defined

and distinguished, and his students could not infer the correct answer from the form of the question.—At first his remarks, in connection with the recitations in Dick's Theology, were brief, comprehensive, or epigrammatic; but, in the course of time, they became much more free and expansive until they formed a lecture that took the place of the lesson assigned for the time. The students then, of their own accord, began to take notes which swelled at length into a volume of considerable size and formed in themselves an independent treatise or hand-book of Theology, in which the doctrines of the Reformed Church, as the live product of their past history, were set forth judiciously, and with singular care and caution. Throughout they harmonize with the spirit of the Heidelberg Catechism better than with the rigid school of Calvinism. He thus taught theology as his own theological views were developed and matured, until he resigned his chair in 1850. His Notes, left behind, if published, would be read with profit by Christians generally, no less than by clergymen—as *Nevin's Loci Communes*.

As in the College, so in the Seminary more or less difficulty was experienced in paying the Professors' salaries. Efforts were made, from time to time, to remedy this difficulty, but they gave only temporary relief and the financial spectre continued to face Dr. Nevin from year to year, until at length he came to the conclusion to resign the position in the Seminary, which he had held for over ten years. It is quite likely that a desire to be relieved of the responsibilities of a public office, and to gain leisure to discuss general theological questions, had its influence in inducing him to take this step; but in his letter of resignation, he assigns increasing financial difficulties as the chief cause of his having intermitted his official duties in the Seminary in 1850. "This step," he wrote in his letter to the Synod, "was taken under the feeling that something of the sort was necessary to engage proper attention to the critical position of the Institution, and with distinct reference to the possibility of its being preparatory only to an act of full and final resignation; since in the nature of the case it would not be proper for me to continue long in this state of voluntary suspense, in which I have thus been brought to stand. Something has been done since to place the Seminary in a better condition. But the way is by no means open for it still to go forward with vigor and comfort on the scale of its present organization. Much is still needed to complete its endowment and to clear it of debt. It is plain, too, that to make it of any suitable account, a new impulse must be given to the cause of beneficiary education among us, far

beyond all that is thought of in this direction now. The Church is not prepared, as it seems to me, to carry out its present idea of a Theological Seminary with two professors in a truly earnest way; and, if such be the case, it is better at once to reduce our views and efforts to the measure of this necessity. Let the Seminary proceed for a time with *one* Professor, and whatever of surplus means may be then available for its use, let them be applied to pay off its debts, while at the same time all needful exertions are made to endow a second Professorship, and also to create a beneficiary fund for supplying it in part with students. Time may be had in this way for uniting hereafter in some satisfactory choice, to fill the important and highly responsible post which I now propose to leave vacant."

When the letter of the Professor was read at the Synod of Lancaster in 1851, it was referred to the Committee on the Seminary. At first it seemed to be thought that, as the resignation was urgent, made in good faith, and after mature consideration, no other course was left for the Synod but to accept it with proper acknowledgment of the valuable services of the Professor during his term of office. But upon second thought, it was felt that it would be discreditable to the Church to lose the service of such a valuable servant for only an apparent want of means to give him adequate financial support. Besides, it soon became apparent that, if the Synod should accept of the resignation without some kind of a protest, his opponents would make capital of it or misrepresent the standing of the Professor as well as the mind of the Synod in regard to him. A few unfortunate utterances had made their appearance in the *Weekly Messenger* a short time before, and some of the members of the Synod were apprehensive that the public might regard them as the voice of the Church in regard to Dr. Nevin. They were, therefore, unwilling to make haste in cutting asunder the ties which had bound them for many years to an honored professor. The Committee on the State of the Seminary, of which Rev. S. N. Callender was chairman, recommended in their report that Dr. Nevin be requested "to withdraw his resignation and resume service in the Seminary; and that, if he should insist upon his resignation, the Synod would yield to his request with great reluctance, and leave his professorship vacant, in the hope that in the providence of God he might see his way clear to return to the same at no distant day, and with the expectation and decided wish for him to remain in his present relation to the College in the meantime." The report led to discussion and elicited a considerable amount of feel-

ing. Dr. Schaff took an active part in it and eloquently defended the report. The result showed that the old opposition to the theological Professors remained the same as at York in 1845; and that in the meanwhile it had not gained any material strength. There were forty-two votes in favor of the resolution and four in the negative. The Synod acted wisely and with due self-respect. Here again, by its vote, without concurring in all the theological positions assumed by the Professors, it endorsed indirectly the general drift of their teaching, and expressed its confidence in the integrity and honesty of Dr. Nevin, that in the professorial chair, he would teach his students conscientiously the "old Reformed doctrine," as he had done faithfully during the previous years.

Dr. Nevin was profoundly affected by the action of the Synod, and rising from his chair, the cynosure of all eyes, he made a most eloquent and feeling address to his assembled brethren. He thanked them for this expression of their confidence, and promised to take their request into consideration. He had not made up his mind to withdraw from the Seminary, because he thought he no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Church, but was moved thereto by considerations of altogether a different character. He believed firmly that the nineteen-twentieth part of the Church would vote for his remaining in his old position instead of the reverse, a playful remark for the benefit of the editor who did not mean all that his language implied, as he voted with the forty-two that Dr. Nevin should remain at his post. In conclusion, he assured the brethren that their affection for him was fully reciprocated, and with deep emotion said that he loved this Synod, in which he had been laboring for years, *from the bottom of his heart*. Language like this from one who seemed to have so much iron or granite in his constitution, coming from the heart went to the heart, and drew tears of reciprocal affection from many moistened eye-lids.

There was here much admiration for the great theologian, the philosopher, the writer, and the polemic, who had never allowed his opponent to carry off any laurels from his brow on the battle-field; but at this parting meeting on the floor of the Synod at Lancaster there was likewise a deep admiration for the man, quite as much as for what he had ever said or done. It had before it a professor in whose integrity in the discharge of his duties as a teacher of theology the Church had full confidence; or as one of the delegates said, one who possessed his full share of old Roman virtue; and was in the language of the poet Horace

Integer vitæ scelerisque purus.

At this same meeting of Synod a communication from the Salem Reformed Church, in Philadelphia, was received, requesting the Synod to release Dr. Schaff from his connection with the Seminary, with a view to his accepting of a call from their congregation. The proceeding was allowed to take this course by Dr. Schaff so that there might be no financial difficulty in the way of Dr. Nevin's return to the Seminary, where his presence to him seemed to be a necessity. But he had made up his mind fully to withdraw, and the Synod with wise foresight requested Dr. Schaff to remain at his post. The latter then became the sole professor until an assistant could be called in, and Dr. Nevin, by the urgent request of the old students, continued for some period of time to give private instructions in Reformed theology as before.

Immediately after the death of Dr. Rauch, the Trustees of Marshall College urged Dr. Nevin to accept of the Presidency in his place. The friends of the Institution generally wished it to be so, and a strong pressure from all quarters was brought to bear upon his mind to step in and fill up the vacancy. In the circumstances, the existence of the College seemed to be endangered, and all eyes were now turned towards Dr. Nevin as the man for the position. He, however, refused to accept of the appointment tendered to him in good faith, but agreed to take charge of Dr. Rauch's department, and discharge all its duties until the way was open for the permanent settlement of a new President. This promise was given under the impression that the Church would rally and at no distant day endow the Presidency. To facilitate a movement of this kind he agreed to give his services gratuitously. This he continued to do from year to year until the College was removed to Lancaster in 1853; because, the treasury was never in a condition to make any different arrangements. In this way a young Institution, struggling for existence, was saved many thousand dollars, whilst it received new vigor from the strong arm of its President *pro tempore*. He became also President of its Board of Trustees, and by his wisdom and experience was of much service to that body. Being informed by his friend, Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, of Easton, that Dr. Traill Green, of the same place, and for a time Professor in LaFayette College, could be secured to fill the department of Natural Science, dismissing for the time the appointment of a new President, he immediately secured his appointment, and the new Professor was on the ground by the opening of the summer term in 1841. He was a most valuable acquisition to the College. He

filled his department with ability and zeal, and in a short time communicated his enthusiasm for the natural sciences to the students generally. Previous to his advent those studies were, in a great measure, neglected for the want of a competent teacher; now they took their place with other branches in the college curriculum. It was a new departure, full of hope to the College, which was still grieving over the death of its first President. In fact it helped materially in redeeming the loss in the minds of both students and professors. Professor William M. Nevin, a younger brother of Dr. Nevin, had been secured to take charge of the department of Belles-lettres and of the Ancient Languages, in the fall of 1840, who adorned his chair; Professor Samuel W. Budd, who had been the colleague of Dr. Rauch in the High School at York, from the year 1833, and subsequently at Mercersburg, occupied with ability the chair of Mathematics and Astronomy; and tutors from the resident graduates were called in to assist in the instruction of the lower classes. The Faculty, according to the standard of that day, was full, and animated with the spirit of the new head and in harmony with him did a large amount of hard work, inspired with the belief that they were promoting a good cause, one that was to inure for ages, and labored together thankfully—*ad majorem gloriam Dei*.

The friends of the institution rallied in a very short time notwithstanding their great loss, and it was gratifying to see the degree of hopefulness that sprung up under the new inspiration before the close of the year. But in such cases there is often danger of indiscretion in attempts to meet expectations that cannot always be realized. As the Institution seemed to be starting out in a new career of success under a vigorous helmsman, in the course of a year or two some of the progressive Trustees, resident in the village, thought there ought to be a new and showy building erected for the College. It was not actually needed, because the College students had been accommodated in the Seminary building with comfort and ease, and the same thing could be done without difficulty for years to come. But the proposition to build was carried under the impression that it would help to give fresh prestige to the College; and an immense pile of brick was hauled on the ground for the new building, apparently enough to erect a second tower of Babel; but when it was ascertained that it would be an expensive one, and that it could not be put up without incurring a heavy debt, Dr. Nevin insisted that the time had come to command a halt. It was well that he did so; but what was to be done with the brick?

It was difficult to dispose of them, and exposed to the weather they were in danger of disintegrating into their mother clay. This was a prospect which caused many an anxious thought in the mind of the President of the Board during the storms of winter or whenever a shower came up in summer.

But economy and good management prevailed in the end. A moderate building for the Preparatory Department and a modest Professor's house were erected and paid for. Still only the smaller portion of the brick were utilized, and the balance remained more or less exposed to the weather. Better it would be to give them away than to let them waste away; but nobody needed them, and so they lay as a burden on Dr. Nevin's mind, when he had many other things to think about. But necessity was the mother of invention here as well as elsewhere. And so the sequel went to show. The Literary Societies, Diagnothian and Gæthean, connected with the College, were very active and enterprising in those days; and in the year 1843 a few members of progressive tendencies in small parties began to discuss the question of erecting a hall for their use. The Societies at Princeton had such buildings, and why should those at Mercersburg not have the same accommodations? The question was an interesting one, and not without some enchantment about it.

At this point of time Dr. Nevin, hearing of such discussions and anxious to relieve his mind of some of its worry, without consulting with anybody, proposed one evening after prayers that the Societies should erect for themselves literary halls, and assured them that, if they did so, the College would supply them with brick gratis. The offer was accepted, and the class of 1843 went to work to collect the necessary funds from their honorary members and others, to erect their separate halls on the College grounds. They were successful, and in due time they were consecrated to literature and science. The corner-stone of the Gæthean Hall was laid on Gæthe's birthday, August 28, 1844, and that of the Diagnothian Hall on the birthday of American independence, July 4, 1845. The erection of these halls at Mercersburg was a feat of which the students were justly proud, and spoke volumes for their training, energy, intelligence, and public spirit. In the circumstances of the College they were a necessity, and their usefulness was felt in its full extent after they were finished.

Ample provision was thus made for the libraries, which now grew more rapidly than before, whilst abundant room was made for cabinets of natural curiosities, the beginnings of which were soon made.

The main halls, where the Societies held their meetings, resembled Senate chambers on a small scale, and could not fail to inspire self-respect as well as stimulate the students to self-improvement in oratory, debate and composition. The style of the Halls was Grecian, pure and classic, with a portico supported by graceful columns in front, which gave them a literary appearance, like temples devoted to the Muses. They arrested the attention of strangers at once as the chief ornament of the town. They were expected to stand like two fair daughters on either side of the large central College building, which, however, was never erected, and so they appeared only like two fair orphans. "It was not seemly," as Prof. W. M. Nevin remarked in his address at the laying of one of the corner-stones, "that the Literary Societies should remain secreted in the main building of a college edifice. They deserved to appear publicly in tasteful buildings of their own, like daughters, to say the least, on either side of their Alma Mater."

A large portion of the immense pile of bricks on the College ground was thus turned to account in the erection of useful and necessary buildings; but a large part of it remained without any mission, and the very sight of it plead for redemption to some higher use than their return to dust and ashes. That was accomplished before the fingers of time had accomplished their decay. The old church, in which the students and Professors' families had been accustomed to worship with the Reformed congregation, had become dilapidated, and was ill adapted for commencements or other College purposes. It was at the end of the town, hard to get at, and repulsive enough in its external dismal appearance and internal arrangements to suggest the idea of a prison or a barrack, rather than a place of devotion. It was in fact something of a reflection on the Institutions themselves; and those concerned with them did not feel quite comfortable when distinguished strangers visited the place, and had to be taken to the old stone church to unite in their literary festivities. The congregation, however, was growing in grace with its healthy spiritual surroundings, and the good people were anxious to rise out of the dust and put on more beautiful garments.

Accordingly, Dr. Nevin told them that if they would go forward and erect for themselves a new Church, the College would supply them with the bricks that would be needed, which it could easily do, as it had still a good supply on hand. The proposition was accepted, and Trinity Reformed Church was erected, in which the College was forever to have the right to hold its commence-

ments and other exercises. Thus all the weather-beaten bricks were consecrated to a sacred use, Dr. Nevin's mind vastly relieved, and by his good management much needed buildings were put up that most likely would not have gone up at all, if it had not been for "somebody's folly" at Mercersburg. Blunders, like offences, it seems must needs come, but if sometimes they must, it is fortunate if there is some one at hand to turn them to account. It is the very essence of good house-keeping. The new church gave an impulse to the congregation: it grew and prospered under the catechetical system without any need of the "Anxious Bench" or its accompaniments to get it out of the "gall of bitterness." It stood in front of the Seminary building, and presented an appearance of which the students and professors had no occasion to be ashamed when strangers visited their classic retreat.

This irruption of a great multitude of bricks upon College grounds taught Dr. Nevin a useful lesson. It was a fiasco that could not be repeated without danger of great harm. He had felt the necessity of an economical administration of the affairs of the College, but from this time onwards he insisted on it as an imperious necessity, and his word as a usual thing was law in such matters. The College went forward and prospered. It kept up a good appearance, and for efficiency, thorough training, and the culture that the graduates bore with them to their homes, it compared with the best institutions of the kind in the country. Its commencements with the anniversaries of the Literary Societies were the events of the year for Mercersburg and a large range of country extending over into Maryland and Virginia, and round about in Pennsylvania. Many persons from a distance visited Mercersburg on its gala-days once or twice a year to enjoy its festivities—but some more particularly to see Dr. Nevin, Dr. Schaff and their colleagues.

Back, however, of these pleasant features and appearances, was the financial question—the gaunt spectre, which the Faculty, the inner circle, had to contemplate from month to month. They were hard workers, usually performing more than their share of service, and they had a noble, generous head, who, renouncing all remuneration for his services, enabled them to draw their salaries on demand and to enjoy the comforts of life in a respectable and economical way. But this state of things could not continue forever. Even Samsonian shoulders will wear out in consequence of the wear and tear of time, and it is seldom that they can be replaced. Moreover the financial status did not improve: in truth, it grew worse, until the sad necessity loomed up that in the course of time

the College might have to be changed back again into a High School, in order to maintain its existence and do the work for which it was intended. In due season, however, Providence itself intervened in its behalf, as we shall see, and opened wide the door for its future success by its removal to Lancaster, Pa.

In the College all the branches of a liberal education were successfully taught as in sister institutions, and in this respect it did not differ from them in any material respect. It did however differ considerably from its sisters in the predominance which it gave to the religious element in the process of education, together with its enthusiasm for the German language and German literature. Religious training received an emphasis, not in words simply but in reality also, which from inadequate views of the subject it did not always receive in prominent schools of learning elsewhere. Various causes happily combined to bring about this order of things. The College was closely connected with the Theological Seminary; both classes of students roomed together in the same building; and theology was quite as prominent a theme of conversation as science, philosophy or gymnastics,—and rather more so. Dr. Rauch, the first President, was, as he aimed to be, a Christian philosopher, and in his lectures always endeavored to show the vital connection that should subsist between all true culture and Christianity.

Dr. Nevin, in his responsible position, felt it to be incumbent on him to see that a truly Christian spirit should pervade the Institutions with which he stood connected. In addition to the usual religious services, intended more particularly to promote this object in the Institution, he availed himself of opportunities in his classroom, especially in the department of Moral Philosophy, to imbue the minds of the students with reverence for divine revelation. The system of morals which he taught was substantially Rauch's Christian Ethics, which the author had left behind in manuscript notes. Here all true morality was made to take its rise in the divine law or will, irrespective of utility or merely human systems. Much interest in this study was excited in the minds of the students, and they were made to feel that philosophy or metaphysics was not to be taught mainly as so much mental training, but also for that higher end, which was moral and spiritual. This aspect of the subject arrested the attention even of thoughtless, worldly students, and salutary impressions were made on their minds that were never erased.

Some of them were accustomed to say that the lectures were sermons, just as they regarded his sermons as lectures. Delivered

during their last year in the College they were received, as they were intended to be, as the sublime finale of the college course. Some who entered college as sceptics had lost their infidelity by the time they came to graduate, and evinced a reverential regard for Christ and His divine person; and some who had been vicious or immoral in their lives became members of the Christian Church in after life, evidently more or less under the influence of their college training. Few if any of the graduates left Mercersburg as infidels or unbelievers.

Nevertheless colleges need discipline no less than good instructions. Much may be accomplished in imbuing the minds of students with correct views of morality, and by holding up to their mind the ideal of purity and truth as exemplified in the character of Christ; but as in other families of a larger or smaller size, they need, at times, the application of the law and the use of the rod. At first there was an apprehension on the part of some of the students of Marshall College, and an expectation on the part of others, that Dr. Nevin would rule the college with rigor. He ruled himself in that way, and as he was, apparently, an austere or hard man, it was naturally thought that the mild discipline of the College, hitherto prevalent, would be changed into something that would suit a body of soldiers in their barracks. But severe as he was towards himself, it was soon ascertained that, whilst he was bound to enforce the laws and maintain order, he was mild, considerate, and a paterfamilias towards all alike, not disposed to make a mountain out of a molehill, nor to suppose that the existence of the institution rested on a trifle.—He had scarcely entered upon his duties when several students were brought before the Faculty for some sort of misdemeanor, perhaps for swearing or lying. Fortunately they told the truth, acknowledging their error, which Dr. Nevin thought redounded to their credit. He accordingly gave them credit for this and dismissed them without any further formality, telling them to go and sin no more. From that time onwards he enjoyed the confidence of the students, moral and immoral. They confessed their faults, and he then gave them his fatherly counsel and advice.

On one occasion, however, he had what he regarded as a hard case to manage. A student had become infatuated with his admiration for Lord Byron and his works. He wore a Byronic collar, and drank brandy, alleging that it was an inspiration to his favorite poet in writing some of his grandest poems—that it was the best stimulus in the development of genius—his own no doubt included. Va-

rious expedients had been employed by the Faculty to bring him to a reasonable mind, but they all seemed to be labor lost. There was something about his very appearance that was not regarded as altogether reassuring—something of the Corsair rather than the Byronic or poetical. He called to see Dr. Nevin one dark and stormy night in his study and wished to have a conversation with him. The Doctor gave him a seat as far from his own as possible, eyed him very closely, and was at a loss to know what to make of him. Under all the circumstances the thought occurred to him that he might have come with some sinister or evil intention,—to get satisfaction, perhaps, for some imaginary wrong. He made his object known at once by saying that he thought he ought to study for the ministry and had come to ask for counsel and advice. He was under the impression that his life was uncertain, and felt that he ought to redeem his time whilst his life lasted. He was evidently sincere, and he was encouraged to carry out his good purpose, as it seemed to be an inspiration from above. He subsequently studied theology, became a useful minister in the Reformed Church, then afterward in the Episcopal, and died in peace, whilst still comparatively young.—His name was Aaron Christman.

On another occasion, the Faculty thought they had sufficient reason to exercise discipline in the case of a breezy Freshman, but they erred just as the Faculty of Yale College did a long time ago in the case of David Brainerd, the celebrated missionary among the Indians. They failed to hear both sides, but they did not suppose, like the ancient Faculty at New Haven, that their action was like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, that could not be changed. Brainerd was not restored to his place but the Freshman was.—We here give substantially the facts in the case as given us in a letter by the Freshman after he had grown up to be a distinguished civilian.

On a certain Monday morning he received a note, as he says, to appear before Dr. Nevin, and after he was introduced into his study he was at once informed that his connection with the College was ended; that on the previous Saturday the Faculty had expelled him; and that he was required to leave the College and the town that same day. Not being conscious of any dereliction, except that he had been out of town on Sunday without permission, he made some remonstrances in an irritated manner, but was quickly interrupted by the Doctor, who informed him that he was expelled for a totally different offence: that on the Friday night previous there had been a drunken and riotous demonstration on the streets

of the town, which was annoying to the citizens and disgraceful to all concerned; that he was not only a participant, but the leading actor in the shameful scenes enacted; and that he had been expelled for this transgression. He affirmed that he had not been outside of the campus that Friday night, and that he had no more to do with the occurrence complained of than any member of the Faculty who had pronounced sentence upon him. The Doctor interposed, and in a mild but very decided manner told him that the Faculty regarded the evidence against him as ample, and that there was only one thing left for him to do, to leave the College and the town.

When he arose from his seat to leave, his excitement and emotions overpowered him, and, as he informed us, he "blubbered like a boy." Dr. Nevin followed him to the porch, gave him his hand in good-bye, and said in substance that whilst he recognized no reason for regret in the action of the Faculty, yet it was deeply painful to him to contemplate the cloud with which his own conduct had blighted his name and character; for the evidence which identified him with the occurrence under consideration was ample and satisfactory to the Faculty. He then left, still weeping, walked from the yard to the College Campus, crossed it, and as he turned to ascend the steps leading to the portico, he saw Dr. Nevin still standing on his porch with his face towards him. At the moment he still looked sternly at him, as he thought, but it was in reality the father looking after a supposed prodigal leaving his house, where there was bread enough and to spare.

He left the College and the town that day. It was a severe blow to his mother, who was a widow, who had been cherishing fond hopes that he would make his mark high up somewhere in the world and be a comfort to her in her declining years. Other friends had expectations that he would some day reflect credit on his name and family. He still asserted his innocence, but many hearts were sad. Soon afterwards, however, it was ascertained that a mistake had been made, that he told the truth, and that the innocent had suffered for the guilty. At the end of two weeks or ten days after he reached home, his mother received a letter from Prof. William M. Nevin, explanatory of the case, which she preserved and cherished to the day of her death. It stated that the sentence of expulsion against him had been revoked, and recommended that he should be returned, to resume his standing and undergo his examination preparatory to entering the Sophomore Class. This was done, and he always was sure that the reversal and annulment of the sentence of expulsion was due to the intervention of Dr. Nevin,

as he was the only member of the Faculty to whom he had pleaded innocence, and who knew anything of the grounds of his defence.

Three years afterwards when the Faculty met to confer the honors of the graduating class of 1849, Dr. Nevin was present and presiding. After announcing all the other honors he came to the Valedictorian, and then there was a pause, a suspense, and a silence scarcely broken by a drawn breath. "In a *tone* and *manner*," he once told us, "the recollections of which revive at this day—with the same throbbing emotions inspired many years ago in my bosom—the Doctor alluded to the sentence of expulsion that had been pronounced on one of the members of the class, three years before, and whilst he expressed satisfaction in the reversal of the sentence, he spoke in a dignified but feeling manner of the gratification experienced in being able to confer this collegiate honor on a name that had been wronged by that judgment."—His Valedictory was of a high order, one of the most beautiful ever delivered, singularly touching and delicate in its address to the Faculty and its learned head, which everybody felt and appreciated.—The Valedictorian subsequently became distinguished in various capacities, and has reflected credit upon his family, his alma mater and his native State of Maryland at the bar and elsewhere, as an orator, *omni laude cumulatus*.

CHAPTER XXXVI

WHEN Dr. Nevin consented to serve as President of Marshall College at Mercersburg, in the Spring of 1841, it was intended, as already said, that the arrangement should be only temporary. He supposed that in the course of a few years the endowment of the College would be so enlarged as to open the way for the support, in a respectable manner, not only of a full force of professors but of a president also. In this expectation, however, he was doomed to disappointment. The institution kept up appearances and did its work of instruction in the best style; but it continued to be all along in a precarious financial condition, and its continuance depended largely on the gratuitous services of its temporary president, which, from ill health or other causes, might fail at any time, and as a consequence inflict serious harm upon its best interests. Such a status of affairs often saddened Dr. Nevin's mind. At times it appeared to him that the whole enterprise upon which he had bestowed so much labor and thought might collapse at any moment. On one occasion, in the year 1849, he with other members of the Faculty met in the family of the Rev. John Casper Bucher, a Reformed clergyman then residing at Mercersburg; and in the course of conversation the difficulty of keeping the College afloat came up, and the question was asked whether it might not in some way be united with Franklin College at Lancaster, an institution in which the Reformed Church owned a one-third interest.

Mr. Bucher, who was a trustee of the latter institution, was in favor of such a suggestion and thought it could be carried out. It was then agreed that something of the nature of a proposal to that effect should be sent to Lancaster. But strange to say the same arrangement had been under consideration, on the part of some persons, at least, at Lancaster. The Rev. Dr. Samuel W. Bowman, afterwards an Episcopal bishop, on his own responsibility, undertook to write a private letter to Mr. Bucher, proposing the consolidation of the two institutions in a new one at Lancaster. The two letters, embodying the same proposition, passed each other on the way to their respective places of destination.—Franklin College was owned by three parties. One-third of the Trustees, according to the the charter, were members of the Reformed Church, one-third of the Lutheran, and the other third were to be the represent-

atives of the community generally. It received its charter from the State of Pennsylvania in 1787, largely, it is said, through the influence of Benjamin Franklin, together with the grant of ten thousand acres of land in the northern part of the State as an endowment. In the beginning it was intended to be a school of high grade like Princeton or Yale College, for the benefit of the large population of the State that were of German extraction.

According to the charter, granted by the Legislature under Governor Andrew Shulze, in 1787, it was intended for "the instruction of the youth in the German, English, Latin, Greek and other learned languages, in Theology, and in the useful arts, sciences and literature; and from a profound respect for the talents, virtues, services to mankind in general, but more especially to this commonwealth, of his Excellency, Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive Council, the said College shall be and hereby is denominated *Franklin College*."—For various reasons, the original design of the institution was not carried out, and it never became anything more than a respectable Classical or High School for the city of Lancaster.

But after the lapse of many years its lands came into the market, its funds increased, and just at the time that Marshall College at Mercersburg had a severe struggle for existence, it was thought by some of the more progressive Trustees of Franklin College that the time had arrived when the original intention of their institution should be carried out in the establishment of an institution of the highest grade at Lancaster. But as there were already numerous colleges in the State, a part of the Trustees thought it would be better to diminish rather than to increase the number. Accordingly, influenced to a large extent by the reputation of the Mercersburg Professors, they were successful in securing a majority of their number to vote in favor of consolidation with Marshall College. It was hoped at first by some of the more liberal minded members of the Board that the new institution should become a Union College under the control of the Lutheran and Reformed denominations. That would have enlarged its patronage and helped to make it the central College of the State. But the time had not yet come for the realization of such a liberal and noble idea.

It was thought or felt, that it would work better in practice if the College was left to the control of a single denomination. It was, therefore, agreed that the Reformed Church should pay the Lutherans one-third of the value of the Franklin College property, amounting to \$17,000, which was to be devoted to the endowment

of the Franklin Professorship in Pennsylvania College, a prominent Lutheran institution at Gettysburg, Pa. This amount of money, freely contributed by the Reformed churches, was promptly paid over on demand, and the arrangement came to be regarded as satisfactory on all sides.

Thus the coast seemed to be clear at Lancaster, but there were serious difficulties in the way, both there and elsewhere, that had to be encountered before the marriage of the two institutions could be celebrated. The Trustees of Marshall College were an incorporated body, and their consent had to be secured before the interest could be taken out of their hands. A large portion of their number resided at Mercersburg or not far away, and the institution had enlisted a large amount of local pride which it was difficult to overcome. They met at Chambersburg on the 26th of December, 1849, to consider the proposition made by the Trustees of Franklin College to consolidate the two institutions. Fortunately those of their number residing at a distance were prompt in their attendance. After a long struggle the vote in favor of the removal of the College to Lancaster was carried by a fair majority. This was accomplished mainly by the strong personal influence of the President of Marshall College, who was present and advocated the measure with much earnestness as a necessity; and a clear intimation of Providence that it was a duty devolving on those present. He gave a plain statement of the precarious condition of the College, and the absolute necessity of immediate relief to prevent disaster to its most vital interests in the near future. His unvarnished tale, taken in connection with the record of his own arduous labors and self-sacrifices, carried the day, and the Reformed Trustees,—Wolff, Heyser, Rickenbaugh, Ruby, Kelker, Gloninger, Schell, Orr, Smith and others of Chambersburg or the vicinity, stood by him, nobly foregoing their local feelings or prejudices, and willing to make any sacrifice to promote the public interest. The Hon. David Krause, of Norristown, Pa., a learned civilian, was also present, who, with his thorough knowledge of law, made it clear that there was no legal difficulty in the way of the proposed removal, and that in the circumstances it inflicted no injustice upon any persons concerned.

When the Act of Consolidation came before the Legislature of Pennsylvania, early in the year 1850, it was thought that the necessary legislation could be secured without difficulty or delay. But it turned out that this was a mistake. It was ascertained that influences were at work to bury the whole project beyond the possibility of a resurrection by methods best known to politicians of a

low order. It was, therefore, deemed necessary for Dr. Nevin to be on the ground at Harrisburg and spend a part of his time as a lobbyist—a strange occupation for a Professor of theology, but it is correct to say that he discharged this new function remarkably well. He found no one specially interested in the movement, which he regarded as one of the greatest importance to the State at large as well as to the Church. Some inquiries—sad to say—had been made whether there was any money in the affair, and some, it seems, were waiting to see how much of it was available before they were called on to vote. The Professor was somewhat shocked at such an idea, but when he was asked the question, he took it coolly and replied that nothing of the kind had been contemplated. Having found several intelligent listeners, one especially from the western part of the State, he explained to them the bearings of the proposed measure, that it was one of a purely benevolent character, but of vast importance to the State, and that in itself it was entitled to a prompt approval by the Legislature. His hearers, when they were thus better instructed, informed him that in such a view of the case there would be no difficulty in either house. When, therefore, it came up for consideration in both places, it had generous minded men to vouch for its approval and the bill was passed, leaving no further room for log-rolling, as it is called. The new charter was one of the most liberal kind ever granted by the State.

At Lancaster, at the time the largest inland city in Pennsylvania, there was considerable excitement, when it was ascertained that a College was to be shortly located within its limits. The people were of two opinions, pro and con. Some of them, misinformed and misled, regarded its advent as a calamity that ought, by all means, to be averted. Stories of College tricks and pranks were freely circulated, until some of the deluded people began to fear that they would not be safe in their houses, nor their poultry on their roosts at night, if wild students should come to live among them. At length it was deemed best to call a public meeting and have the matter discussed and ventilated, so that all might receive proper information and learn how the matter stood. It was largely attended and the Court-house was crowded with interested listeners.

Dr. S. W. Bowman, not accustomed to address meetings of this description but always eloquent in the pulpit, made on this occasion a thrilling speech. Some of his hearers thought that the High School was all that was needed for the purpose of an education, and were apprehensive that it might, in some way, be eclipsed by the college. The Doctor, therefore, dilated on the value of a higher

education than anything that could be secured in high schools generally. In his remarks he very felicitously referred to the Hon. James Buchanan, sitting in the audience, who had just returned from England as American Minister, and quoted him as an illustration of the benefit of a classical or college education. The remark received due credit from Mr. Buchanan's numerous friends, but the opposition to the college project was represented by some able men of the bar or others, and it was deemed the part of prudence not to take any vote at this meeting, but to appoint a day on which all the people could express their sentiment at the polls by voting on the question of *College* or *No College*. It was believed that the College would win the day, and understood that all hands afterwards would be satisfied with the decision of the majority.

The friends of the College at first had no apprehension that there would be any danger in the application of such a test as this, but to their surprise they found that they were mistaken as the day for the vote approached. The votes in opposition increased from day to day, and they found it necessary to go out on the streets and exert themselves, lest after all they might lose the prize which they supposed they had already gained. The best citizens of Lancaster turned out to stem the tide, and Dr. Bowman did not consider it beneath his robes to take part in the canvass. It was well that they did. An unusually large vote was polled on this vexed question, and when the tickets were counted it turned out that the College had gained the day only by an inconsiderable majority. The victory, however, was decisive, and according to promise all active opposition ceased.—When the College *de facto* was located in the city, the students at first were looked upon with suspicion, by the townsmen or roughs; but it grew in public estimation, and gained throughout the community a respect seldom enjoyed by institutions of this description.—Mr. Buchanan, who had always taken a lively interest in the College at Mercersburg, his birthplace, and a personal friend of the professors, took an active and liberal part in securing for it a new home at Lancaster, in which he co-operated freely with such prominent citizens of the city and county as Dr. S. W. Bowman, Dr. John L. Atlee, John Reynolds, Hon. Henry G. Long, Emanuel C. Reigart, Esq., Hon. A. L. Hayes, D. W. Patterson, Esq., Nathaniel Ellmaker, Esq., Christopher Hager, John Bausman, Dr. Samuel Humes, Hon. Joseph Konigmacher, Hon. William Hiester, Abraham Peters, and others.

Another difficulty in effecting the union of the two institutions was experienced in raising the necessary funds, \$25,000, for the

erection of suitable buildings for the accommodation of the College, pledged to Marshall College as a condition of the unification. In itself considered this amount was nothing formidable for such a wealthy community as that found within the limits of the city and county of Lancaster. But, as already said, the people were not of the same mind, and with many of them at that time colleges were more than questionable in their general influence, and college students a nuisance rather than otherwise. The Rev. John Casper Bucher was appointed to collect the funds, on the ground that he possessed the necessary qualifications for a work of this kind and that he was deeply interested in its success. He entered upon his task in the spring of the year 1850, but it was not until some time in the year 1852 that he was able to make assurance double sure, and report that the task had been accomplished. There were few at the time, who could have brought more faith, patience or energy to a work like this, which at times seemed to be encompassed with invincible difficulties. He contended most valorously at his post until he had secured \$22,000 for the project, when the noble-minded Trustees, already named, took the matter in hand and raised the balance needed by their own exertions and liberality.

During this period of suspense, the author of this volume was brought within the inner circle of college affairs at Mercersburg. He was called to take charge of the Reformed congregation in the place as pastor, and in connection with this he was asked to fill the chair of Mathematics and Mechanical Philosophy in the College. Previous to this he had witnessed only the bright side of his Alma Mater, its commencements, its anniversaries or other festivals, which were redolent of the classics or of a divine philosophy. He was somewhat surprised at the grim spectre which he was compelled to witness behind fair external appearances. Prof. William M. Nevin had about twice as many recitations in the ancient languages as usually fall to the lot of professors now-a-days. Dr. Traill Green, after a heroic struggle to keep up interest in the study of the natural sciences, with no prospect that his department would be supplied with the necessary apparatus, with a measure of disappointment and discouragement, in the year 1848 had resigned the position which he had filled so well, and was succeeded by Professor Thomas C. Porter, who was performing the uphill work with youthful energy and enthusiasm. Professor Samuel W. Budd, Professor of Mathematics, a pillar in the College, and with Dr. Rauch, one of its founders, had fallen at his post in 1846. Thomas D. Baird, Esq., had succeeded him in 1847, and then was compelled to withdraw in 1849, because

the College did not have the funds on hand to pay him a regular professor's salary. His department, all important as it was, therefore, remained vacant until the good congregation of the place allowed its pastor to take charge of it at a nominal salary, on the 1st of January, 1851. Previously to this Dr. Nevin, in order to keep the College afloat, undertook to fill the mathematical chair himself, teaching all its branches, except one, from Algebra up to Calculus, and from Mechanics up to Astronomy. To maintain the reputation of the institution and to prevent it from disintegrating, he had assumed these duties, in addition to those of President of the College, Professor in the Seminary, and the prolific contributor to the *Mercersburg Review*, sounding the depths of the Church Question, fighting Sectism, and preaching about once every Sunday to the broken down congregation in the town. We were surprised and amazed. The Church at large was certainly not aware of the herculean labors of its Professor at Mercersburg, and we cheerfully consented to relieve him of a part of his burden. We once asked him how he got along in wading through mathematical questions. He replied that he found the greatest difficulty in mastering unimportant problems in Algebra, which sometimes occupied an entire afternoon of his time. They had to be solved so that the teacher might maintain the confidence of his pupils.

During the year 1851, it was doubtful whether the agent at Lancaster would be successful in raising the necessary funds for new buildings, according to the terms of the contract already referred to. Dr. Nevin had in a great measure lost confidence in the movement, and the citizens of Mercersburg were quite well satisfied with the apparent failure. Had they and their neighbors at this time in that section of the country stepped forward when they had the opportunity and pledged \$10,000 for the better endowment of the College at Mercersburg, Dr. Nevin would have been entirely satisfied that the College should remain where it was, and have taken measures to induce the Trustees to decline the proposition offered from Lancaster. But God rules in all things, and before the close of the year a cloud, not much larger than a man's hand, appeared on the eastern horizon, and gradually it began to appear that the indefatigable Mr. Bucher after all was bound to succeed in his work, and that the long talked of removal of the College was destined to become an accomplished fact.

As a matter of course, in the beginning of this movement to consolidate, it was generally supposed that the Theological Seminary would be removed to Lancaster with the College, and that both Dr.

Nevin and Dr. Schaff, whose fame had given inspiration to the movement, would come with it and the College. But it was thought best, although perhaps without sufficient reasons, that it should be left where it was for the time being in a state of unnatural divorce from the College. Dr. Nevin furthermore let it be known that it was his intention to withdraw from any further connection with the College after its removal. This was a severe disappointment to the friends of the project, especially to those residing at Lancaster, and it was difficult to understand his reasons for withdrawing from the field at this critical juncture of affairs. He acted, as he believed, and as we might suppose, conscientiously and from honest motives. In a private interview, which the author had sought to induce him to comply with the general wish, he stated his reasons for the course he intended to pursue. Among other things he said that, as was well known, he was not satisfied with the present state of Protestantism and much less so with that of Romanism; that he had published his views freely; that he did not wish to burden the new institution with the odium or opposition which they had called forth; and that the College was most likely to do better under a new president to whom there could be no objection on account of his philosophy or theology, as was the case with himself. This was no insuperable objection to his remaining in the College, as he had been informed by Dr. Bowman and others that he should never be disturbed in the discharge of his duties on account of his theological views. The main difficulty, he said, that lay in the way of further official duty of any kind in the Church, was the precarious condition of his health, which was very much broken down. Manifestly he was in doubt whether he would live much longer; at least he felt that it was a duty to himself now for the present to retire from further public service in the Church.

As the Winter Term of the College drew towards its close in the Spring of 1853, it was difficult for the students or people at Mercersburg to realize the fact, that it was to be the last that was to be spent in that village. As its end approached there was some fear that the students might be imprudent, and as a consequence be assaulted on the street in the evening by disorderly persons, who, in the spirit of mischief, proposed to send them away with some mementos of a fracas, which they would not forget. But this rudeness ended in better feelings on both sides. It so happened that one of the Literary Societies celebrated its anniversary on the last evening of the Term, which brought a large concourse of people together. At the conclusion of the exercises, it was suggested to

Dr. Nevin that he should take occasion to speak a few parting words in behalf of the students and professors. He said with considerable emotion that they did not leave because they were not attached to the place; not because they did not admire the magnificent scenery surrounding it, its bright skies, or its forest groves; and least of all, because they were not attached to its intelligent people. All its scenes they loved them well. Higher considerations, affecting the progress and betterment of the College alone had called for the change, and it was now with the greatest regret that he gave the audience their best wishes on the eve of their departure. Mercersburg would never be forgotten by those who had studied in the quiet, classic retreat which it had offered to successive generations of students. With many of them it would be a second Mecca, to which their thoughts would often revert when passing through the rough conflicts of life, and there find rest and peace of mind in the recollections of the past. And, as he predicted, some, at least in after years, would visit the spot in person, to revive old associations and call up the lessons of wisdom and truth, which they had there learned in the days of their youth. Words like these made a favorable impression on the minds of all present, and there was probably no one in the Church who was not prepared to say, Depart in peace. Mercersburg became truly hallowed to many, who in after years visited it, and few failed at such times to feel the force of Dr. Johnson's famous words:

"To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavored. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, and my friends, be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of *Marathon*, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of *Iona*."

The bill for the charter for the consolidation of the two Colleges was passed by the Legislature on the 19th of April, 1850, but it was not issued by the Governor until all the conditions included were complied with, in 1852. Soon afterwards the new Board of Trustees was organized, and among other things proceeded to elect a new faculty. As Dr. Nevin, according to his own statement, was not an available candidate for the office of the presidency of the college, it was thought by some that the way was now open to

reconstruct the faculty and to give it a new character and animus, somewhat different from what it had possessed at Mercersburg, and as expressed in the *Mercersburg Review*. A candidate for the office of President was brought forward, fortified by high recommendations from his Alma Mater in the East, but in little sympathy with the life of the College at Mercersburg, and recommended by a committee of the Board. In the absence of any other available candidate, he was favored by a considerable number of the Trustees, without much foresight or consideration. Thereupon, the Hon. John W. Killinger, a graduate of the college at Mercersburg, in 1843, understanding instinctively the drift of affairs and its influence on the future of the College, rose up and in an eloquent speech proposed as a substitute the name of Dr. Nevin in the place of the one named in the report. His motion was carried and Dr. Nevin was elected, with only a slender hope that he might reconsider his decision and respond favorably to the wish of the Board. This he consented to do, and therefore made no opposition to his election. By holding the call in his hand for awhile, the Trustees, as he thought, might have time to think, and so be able to select some other competent person for the post upon whom all could unite.

At the same meeting of the Board an effort was also made to reconstruct the Faculty by introducing one or two new Professors in the place of those who were to be left out; but all the old Professors of Marshall College were re-elected as best qualified to guide the institution in its new quarters, and to maintain its true and original character unaltered. It was just what was right and proper. Dr. Nevin did not see his way clear to yield to the wishes of the Board, but his spirit, his philosophy and theological tendencies were left to pervade the College without any interruption. There was no change in the text-books, and his Christian Ethics continued to be taught as before, from the brief compends of his lectures which the students had brought from Mercersburg.—Thus the College had free scope to remain as a part of his work as in days gone by.

Dr. Nevin having declined to accept of the appointment urged upon him officially, Dr. Philip Schaff was unanimously elected to fill his place in the College at Lancaster, but the Synod was not willing that he should withdraw from his position in the Seminary at Mercersburg, and it therefore remained for over a year without a head, until the fall of 1854, when Dr. E. V. Gerhart, President of Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio, and one of the oldest graduates of Marshall College, was elected President with much cordiality, who,

with the old Faculty intact, was in a position to carry forward its interests in the spirit of Rauch and Nevin. Here, as in other things, the hand of Providence manifested itself in enabling the College to grow in its own likeness and image, without suffering any harm to its historical integrity.

The Faculty, translated from Mercersburg to Lancaster unchanged, was strengthened by a new colleague in the person of Adolphus L. Koeppen as Professor of German Literature, History and Æsthetics, who here deserves a passing notice.—He was born at Copenhagen, Denmark, Feb. 14, 1804, where he completed his studies in the university. Travelling in Greece, in 1834, he was invited to fill the Professorship of History, Archæology and Modern Languages in the Military College on the island of Ægina. Whilst thus engaged he availed himself of his opportunities to make a careful and thorough examination of the antiquities of Greece. In consequence of the opposition to foreigners which broke out suddenly in 1843, he with others was compelled to leave his lovely Hellas, as he was wont to call his classic home. In 1846, he came to America, where for a number of years he delivered lectures on history at various prominent institutions in the country.—He was Professor in Franklin and Marshall College from 1853 to 1861. He then went to Germany, and at Dresden met the Greek Commissioners on their way to Copenhagen to bring young King George to Athens, and at their request he accompanied them on their journey as a friend and interpreter. Subsequently he became the tutor of the young ruler in modern Greek, and afterwards librarian of the royal library and a member of the Court. He died from the effects of an accident that befell him in mounting his horse in the royal suite, April 14, 1873.

Whilst Professor at Lancaster he prepared for the press his "World in the Middle Ages," in two volumes, accompanied with an "Historico-Geographical Atlas," published by Appleton & Co., New York, in 1854. The work, like the author, teemed with accurate learning, and was one of great value to scholars and literary men. He was a frequent contributor to the *Mercersburg Review*; and as he discovered that it was discussing pretty extensively the Christianity and Church of the Middle Ages, he said he would supply the theologians with a Geography and Atlas of that period and thus help them in their researches. He was eccentric, and somewhat sceptical in religious matters, which he regretted, but as he always said, a member of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, in which he had been baptized and confirmed.

X—IN RETIREMENT FROM 1853-1861

Æt. 50-58

CHAPTER XXXVII

WHEN the College was removed from Mercersburg in the Spring of 1853, the way was open for Dr. Nevin to retire from public life, and find that rest for his body and mind which, after thirteen years of the most intense mental activity, he needed more than anything else. His retirement, just at this time, was no doubt the means of prolonging his days, and of giving him new vigor and strength for future service and usefulness in the Church. He himself was under the impression that his work on earth was finished, as already said, and that now it only remained for him to prepare for another world. But, like Christian pilgrims generally, he could see only through a glass darkly, and did not know that he was needed yet many years to assist in completing and consolidating the work which he had helped to inaugurate in the Church of Christ. He lingered for a brief period on the field of his hard fought battles at Mercersburg; but in 1854 removed with his family to Carlisle, Pa., where, amidst interesting historical associations, and in pleasant literary intercourse with the Professors of Dickinson College, it was thought he could recruit his physical and mental energies. But one of the Professors of the College at Lancaster, happening to pass along that way, made it a point to stop and see him. Under the impression that after all the Doctor was not where he ought to be, somewhat officiously perhaps, he gave it as his decided opinion that Lancaster was the proper place of residence for him and his family, in which Mrs. Nevin, much concerned for her husband's health and comfort at the time, fully concurred. It was evident that he was not in all respects at home where he had taken up his abode, and accordingly in 1855 he and his family removed to Lancaster.—Mrs. Jenkins, his mother-in-law, dying soon afterwards, it devolved on him as an executor to assist in settling up her estate; and accordingly he removed to Windsor Place, where, amidst charming scenery and interesting family associations, he continued to reside from 1856 to 1858.

Here during this period the officers of a neighboring Episcopal congregation requested him to preach for them as a supply. Having ascertained that they had a right to make this request, and that it was satisfactory to his friend Bishop Potter, he complied with their wish, very much, it is said, to the edification of his Episcopal brethren as long as he preached for them. After his presence seemed to be no longer needed at Churchtown, he purchased a small farm of fifteen acres of land near Lancaster, erected on it a fine residence and made it his permanent abode. He superintended the erection of the building himself, and in so doing showed that he had practical talent, sufficient to build a house—with the aid, however, of Mrs. Nevin, a lady with practical ideas—as well as construct theories of theology or philosophy. Like a wise man he sat down first and then counted the exact cost of the structure, and it turned out that it did not cost more nor less than his calculations had called for. His knowledge of mathematics was here utilized, and his estimate of the number of bricks needed for the house was found to be strictly correct after it was finished.

The erection of a new house called for other buildings and a variety of improvements to make Caernarvon compare favorably with Windsor Place. Attention had to be given also to the farm, the horses and the cows, and Dr. Nevin, as in his younger days, could again “put himself to all kinds of agricultural labor.” He could plough his own acres, and do such other farm work as he deemed necessary. On one occasion as the author passed by on the pike, he saw him on a warm day pitching hay from the barn-floor into the mow, evidently in a hurry, as the clouds indicated a shower before evening. He reminded us of the ancient philosopher Thales, who once devoted a period of time to the culture of olives, in order to set a good example of industry to his neighbors, who thanked him for the improvements he introduced into their art. Caernarvon farm, garden, and lawn improved in appearance from year to year, and Lancaster county farmers, as they passed by, looked in and were pleased to see that the place kept up with the times in the “garden spot” of the State—thanks to a lady’s taste and oversight.

On one occasion, Mrs. Nevin, with the children, expected to be away from home a day or two, and as she was about to leave, she, in the way of pleasantry, told a young friend, a little daughter of a neighbor living near by, to look after the Doctor and take good care of him during her absence. The child took it seriously and under a sense of responsibility watched him during the day, and peering through the trees, saw him on a cherry tree

picking the ripe cherries! She immediately took her position under the tree and asked him to come down immediately. At first he demurred, and was no doubt amused at the simplicity of the child. But in a firm tone she became more urgent, and informed him that Mrs. Nevin had told her to take care of him whilst she was away, and that he must now come down at once. He meekly obeyed this order, and no doubt began to reflect on the wisdom given by God to little children. Had he remained on the tree he might have fallen and lost his life; and possibly the wee lady was thus the means of preserving a life which afterwards became fruitful and of extended usefulness.—The great Syrian general in Scripture was once restored to health by taking the advice of a little maiden.

Fortunately, however, Dr. Nevin, during this period of retirement, was not allowed to be laid aside altogether, so far as his intellectual talents were concerned. One occasion after another brought him out of his seclusion, and his services, in different ways, were called into requisition *pro Christo et pro Ecclesia ejus*.—After the College was removed to Lancaster, it was deemed proper to proclaim its formal opening by holding a public meeting in Fulton Hall, on the 7th of June, 1853, which was largely attended and served to excite no small amount of enthusiasm among the citizens. The Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, was present and added to the interest of the occasion by a graceful and appropriate speech in behalf of the State of Pennsylvania; an address of welcome was made in behalf of the city of Lancaster by the Hon. A. L. Hayes; and it fell to the lot of Dr. Nevin to represent the Faculty and College in a discourse, which, although of considerable length, was listened to with breathless attention by an intelligent audience.

“The State of Pennsylvania,” said Dr. Nevin, in his introductory remarks, “has not unaptly been compared to a *Sleeping Giant*. The trope finds its application and signification in three points of resemblance. In the first place, in itself considered, it is of large size and strength. By the extent of its territory, its fertility of soil, its mineral resources, its facilities and opportunities of trade, the peculiar character of its vast and sturdy population, its solid material wealth, and its commanding geographical position in the midst of the general American Union, it possesses a greatness and importance which must at once be acknowledged by the whole world. Politically, it forms the keystone of the arch, on which rests the structure of our glorious Republic.—In the second place, however, this great giant is still, to no small extent, asleep. Much

of its strength has never been developed; and such force, as it has come naturally to exercise, is too often put forth in a comparatively blind way, without the waking insight and self-conscious purpose, that should go along with it to make it of complete account.—But our figure implies, in the third place, that the giant, which is now sleeping, will in due time awake. The torpor, which we see here, is not of death. It is the rest rather of living powers, which may be expected to break forth hereafter, with a force proportional to the long restraint that has gone before. The secret strength and hidden resources of this great Commonwealth, as yet only coming into view, may be expected to reveal themselves in another and altogether different way.

“The undeveloped wealth of the State is at once both material and moral. It is only of late, as we all well know, that the physical resources, which it carries in its bosom, have begun to be properly understood and improved; and who shall say what treasures, richer than the gold mines of California or Australia, are still not reserved in this form for its future use? But it is not too much to say, that the latent spiritual capabilities of the State are fairly parallel with this condition of her natural resources, quite as full of promise, and of course much more entitled to our patriotic interest and regard. In comparing one country or region with another, intellectually, it is not enough to look simply at the difference of culture which may exist between them at a given time. Regard must be had also to the constitutional character of the mind itself, the quality of the moral soil, if we may use the expression, to which the culture is applied.—In this view, we think it not absurd to magnify the mind of Pennsylvania, although it be fashionable in certain quarters, we know, to treat it with disparagement and contempt. For our own part, we are persuaded that the State has no reason to shrink here from comparison with any section of our flourishing and highly favored land.—That growth is not ordinarily the best, which is most rapid and easy, and which serves to bring into view with the greatest readiness all it has in its power to reveal. It is by slow processes rather, that what is most deep and solid, whether in the world of nature or in the world of mind, is ripened and unfolded finally into its proper perfection. There is room for encouragement in this thought, when we look at the acknowledged deficiencies and shortcomings of our giant State with regard to education.

“It was far better, we may believe, that the peculiar constituents of our life, the elements from which was to be formed in the end the common character of the State, should not be forced into pre-

mature activity; but be left rather to work like the hidden powers of nature for a time, without noise or show, in the way of silent necessary preparation for their ultimate destiny and use. In such view, they are like the mineral wealth that lies buried so largely beneath our soil, whose value is created to no small extent by wants and opportunities, which time only could bring to pass. All that is wanted, therefore, now to make them a source of intellectual and moral greatness is, that they should be subjected to educational processes answerable to their own nature, and wrought into such form of general culture as this may be found to require. And may we not say, that the hour of Providence has struck for the accomplishment of this great work. With the mighty strides the State of Pennsylvania is now making in outward wealth and prosperity, is it too much to cherish the pleasing belief that she is fully prepared also for a corresponding development of the rich energies that have thus far slumbered to a great extent in her moral and spiritual life; and that intellectually as well as materially, from this time onward, her course is destined to be like that of the rising sun, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

“What has now been said of the general intellectual character and condition of the State, may be referred with special application to the *German* element, which has entered so largely from the first into the composition of its life.—Altogether, it is evident enough, that the German population in our midst has had much to do with the somewhat proverbial sluggishness of our State, thus far, in the march of intellectual improvement; and much reproach has been cast upon it, as being a sort of *Bæotian* drawback and drag on the whole life of the State, greatly to its disparagement, especially as compared with its more smart and forward neighbors of the North and East. But if the German mind of Pennsylvania has stood in the way of letters, heretofore, and caused her to lag behind other States in the policy of Education, we may see in it, at the same time, the fair promise and pledge of a more auspicious future, that shall serve hereafter to redeem her character on this score from all past and present blame. So far as this large mass of mind is concerned, it is owing, certainly, to no constitutional inferiority, that it has not yielded more fruit in the way of knowledge and culture. The fact, as we have just seen, is sufficiently explained by other causes. Regarded as material simply, no body of mind in the country is more susceptible of education, or more favorably disposed for the reception of it, in its most healthy and vigorous form. Who that knows anything of Germany itself, will

have to be told that there is no affinity between the spirit of such a people and the cause of knowledge, or that it can require anything more than proper opportunity and encouragement, in any circumstances, to bring this affinity finally into view?

"In this view, we have no reason to be ashamed of the German character of our State. There is a blessing in it, with all its faults, and the time has now come, we may trust, when the secret power of this blessing will begin to make itself extensively felt. The hinderances, which have heretofore stood in the way of its moral and intellectual advancement, are happily fast disappearing. Our German population has begun to free itself everywhere from the thralldom of an isolated, and, therefore, comparatively stagnant and dead social position, maintained heretofore through the use of a foreign tongue, and is entering more and more into free, active communication with the general life of the State. With the falling away of this middle wall of partition, old prejudices and old occasions of prejudice are rapidly losing their power. A new interest is beginning to make itself felt on all sides in favor of education. Much, of course, very much, still remains to be desired; but never before has there been the same room for encouragement that there is now, in the way of what may be regarded as a fair preparation at least, and promise here in the right direction. The field is already white to harvest. What is wanted is, that the rich opportunity should be rightly understood, and vigorously, as well as wisely, applied.

"In such circumstances, the true idea of education, for any particular portion of the country, should be felt to involve much more than a blind outward following, merely, of such modes and habits of intelligence as may have come to prevail in some other parts. The case requires rather that every section of the land should fall back as much as possible upon the true ground of its own life, and aim at a culture which may, as far as possible, correspond with this, and thus serve most effectually to bring out its proper capabilities in their best and most perfect form. No system of education, therefore, taken as a whole, can be regarded as complete for Pennsylvania, in which account is not made practically of the German mind and the German character as such. We do not mean by this, of course, that the German tongue should be retained in common use, or that the German national usages and customs are to be carefully carried forward from one generation to another. When we speak of German character we mean something much deeper than this. We refer rather to the nature of the German mind as such,

its distinguishing spirit, its constitutional organization, its historical substance and form. It is true indeed, that this has undergone a certain modification by the influences to which it has been subjected thus far in the new world, but it has entered largely, as a lasting constituent, into the universal character of the State, and it is in this view especially, we say, it is entitled to continual practical regard in our schemes of intellectual and moral improvement. Our Anglo-German character demands an Anglo-German education.

“From what has already been said, it is plain that this requirement is one which cannot be met adequately by our common schools. Viewed as a matter of education, the spirit that should rule them must descend into them from a higher quarter, from the university or the college. Here we see the true relation between the college and the school, between education in its higher and education in its lower character. Nothing can well be more foolish and absurd than to think of exalting one of these interests at the cost of the other, or to imagine that there exists between them any sort of real contrariety or opposition. A true system of education for any people must embrace both; and it must embrace both always in this relation, that the spirit of the College shall give tone and character to the spirit of the School, as it ought to make itself felt indeed in the spiritual life of the entire community. It is to our colleges then we must look mainly for the proposed solution of the problem now before us, an educational culture that may fairly be answerable to the wants of Pennsylvania, as an Anglo-German State. And if they are not brought to provide for the case, it will be in vain to expect that suitable provision can ever be made for it in any other way.

“An institution suited to the character of Pennsylvania, and carrying in it a proper relation to its educational wants, particularly at the present time, needs to be English altogether in its general course of studies, and yet of such reigning spirit that both the German language and habit of thought shall feel themselves to be easily at home within its bosom. The presence of this element will be cherished with true congenial sympathy and respect. The power of a natural affinity with it will be felt and acknowledged on all sides. A living communication will be maintained with the literature and science, philosophy and religion of Germany itself, serving to promote, at the same time, an intelligent regard for the German life at home, with a proper insight into its merits and defects, its capacities and wants. Such an institution will have faith in the resources of this home life, as such; it will understand the true sense

of it, the sterling qualities that lie hid beneath its rude and rough exterior; and will address itself honestly and heartily to the task of developing and drawing out these qualities in their own proper form, in the full persuasion that no better material, no more worthy sphere of service, and no surer promise of success in the end, could be offered to it from any other quarter or in any different form.

"Making itself one in this way, and feeling itself one, with the natural spirit of the State, so far as it is German, an institution of this sort must carry with it at once a passport to the good opinion and confidence of our German citizenship; for it is wonderful how like makes itself intelligible to like, and the sense of a common nature seems to draw the most different forms of mind together, causing even children, for instance, to feel themselves familiarly at home with age and authority in one case, while they shrink from their presence in another. Such fellow feeling in the case before us must open the way immediately for the happiest results. The German mind of Pennsylvania, seeing and feeling the real significance of its own nature, reflected upon it in this way from an institution of learning really and truly belonging to itself, cannot fail to be inspired with a new sense of independence and becoming self-respect. No object deserves to be considered as more important than this for the cause of education in our State; and if a college may be so constructed and ordered, as by its relationship with the German mind among us to become an interpreting key that shall serve to make this mind in any measure rightly intelligible to itself, it will, by such good office alone, have done more for the State than can be well expressed.

"A proper patronage will be called forth in support of a system of education, which is thus appreciated and understood by the people. It will become more and more the fashion to send their sons to college; and the influence of the college will be made in this way again to reach forth more and more extensively upon the community. The case will be one of continual action and reaction; and so long as the institution remains true to its original character, and tries to carry out faithfully, as it ought to do, its proper mission and task, as a college for Pennsylvania, and not for some other State, working thus in harmony with the natural spirit of the State itself, and finding in it a congenial element, it will make itself felt upon this more and more as a source of general education, giving tone and character to its universal life. Such we consider to be the general process by which it might be possible to realize the conception of a reigning education, properly adapted to the Ger-

man character of Pennsylvania, and which every true friend of the State should be willing to approve and encourage for this purpose.

"The German language must soon pass out of popular use, and along with it will disappear with inevitable necessity much of the outward show and fashion of our good old Pennsylvania life, as it now stands. The time is fast coming on, think of it as we may, when this good old life will exist only in story or in song, like that which Diedrich Knickerbocker has rendered so illustrious in his ever memorable history of New York. In this approaching revolution and wreck, if anything, however, is to be saved, it can only be the soul, the spirit, the inward genius and power of what is thus in every other view doomed to destruction. But, as we have now seen, the spiritual conservatism, which is needed for securing a victory of this sort over such a crisis, is a power that can be exercised only by our colleges.

"It is hardly necessary to remark, that what we have now said looks in no way to the idea of anything like an exclusive German spirit in our system of German education. The life of Germany, as such, can never, and should never, become the life of any part of these United States; just as little as the life, in any like view, of England, Italy or France. All that we mean is, that the German mind among us should come in for its just share of regard, as a vast and mighty element in the composition of our State. Respect must be had also, of course, and in the nature of the case always will be had in more than full proportion, to what may be denominated the naturally English side of our life. What the case demands, as we have already intimated, is an Anglo-German education—a form of intellectual and moral culture, in which the English and German nationality shall be happily blended together in the power of a common spirit fairly representing the mixed character of the State. The two orders of life are eminently well fitted to flow in this way into one; and the combination, we believe, would give a result which in the end must prove itself to be better than either. Towards the accomplishment of this great object, the patriotic wishes of all good Pennsylvanians should be actively turned. And now especially, when the fulness of time might seem to be at hand for it in the course of God's providence, it ought to be the aim and scope of our whole educational policy.

"The interest and importance of this celebration turn altogether, we may say, on the relation it bears to the cause, whose claims I have thus far been endeavoring to explain and enforce. The opening of Franklin and Marshall College in the city of Lancaster is an

event which deserves to be proclaimed in this way, and one which is destined, we trust, to be held in long remembrance hereafter, not simply because a new Institution of learning is thus introduced under favorable auspices to the attention of the world ; but especially and mainly for this reason, that the Institution in question is one, which, by all its connections and relations, stands pledged to sustain such a true Anglo-German character, as we have seen to be needed for Pennsylvania, and may be expected to do much towards solving practically the problem of right education in the State under this form.

“The new college is formed by the consolidation of two chartered institutions, both of which were intended, from the beginning, to serve the cause of learning, more particularly among the German part of our population. The funds of Franklin College were created by the Legislature of the State, expressly for this purpose, and could never have been devoted to any other without a solemn breach of trust. Marshall College was established at Mercersburg in 1836, under the patronage of the German Reformed Church, for the same end ; and it is not too much to affirm, that its energies have been faithfully and successfully devoted to this object from first to last. It has aimed to be an Anglo-German Institution, and to adapt itself in this respect to the genius and wants of Pennsylvania, as well as of other parts of the country in which the English and German elements are similarly united ; and in the prosecution of that end, it has steadily refused to be a copy or echo simply of systems of thought elsewhere established, which might carry in them no reference whatever to any such order of life. Having this character, and pursuing this course, the college has, in fact, done much, during the comparatively short period of its history, to encourage and promote a proper zeal for education in German communities, as well as to show how much of promise for this cause is contained in our American German mind, just so soon as proper pains may be taken to turn it to account.

“The whole worth and weight of this moral character and property, including the favor of its Alumni and other pupils at this time widely scattered over the land, together with the perpetual patronage and support of the German Reformed Church, pass over now along with the college itself to the new institution now established in Lancaster.

“Finally, we have much to augur in favor of this new institution from its own location. In any view Lancaster offers a fine situation for such a seat of learning. Its immediate local advantages

are too well known to require any notice or mention. By its position, in the midst of the new facilities for travel and trade, which are opening on all sides, it is easy of access from all quarters. Especially may it be regarded as in this view likely soon to become the very heart and centre of the Reformed Church, and of what may be termed the German region of the Middle States. A college of good character established here can never fail to be in full sight of this broad and ample territory, and to command more or less of its attention and respect. But it would be hard to name any place at the same time, which might seem to have less need or occasion to look abroad in this way for encouragement, in the case of any such enterprise. The city and county of Lancaster ought to be considered a host in themselves, most fully sufficient for carrying it forward alone, if that were at all necessary. The county for size, population and wealth, might pass respectably for an independent State; and if the cause of education within it stood in any sort of proportion to its prosperity in other respects, it would be found to require no doubt, as it would abundantly sustain, a flourishing college simply for its own use. No such patronage indeed is to be asked of it, or expected from it now. The time for that has not yet come. But who will say, that it may not come hereafter, or that it may not begin to come soon?

“Let the enterprise only prove true and faithful to what we have now seen to be the object which should be aimed at in a system of education for this State; let it be carried forward vigorously in the spirit of the idea, which would seem to be prescribed for it by all the conditions in the midst of which it starts; and we see not how, with these favorable auspices and omens, this field of opportunity and promise, it should fail of being crowned with the largest and most triumphant success.—Let us accept as an omen and pledge of this the public welcome with which the arms of the community are thrown open to receive the institution into their midst on the present occasion. The whole State knows, we might almost say the whole world knows, that if the city and county of Lancaster see proper, Franklin and Marshall College may soon be made the ornament and glory, not only of this city and county, but of the entire Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. And who will pretend, that the ambition and zeal of this old German community, now rolling as it does in wealth, would not be well and worthily laid out, if they were turned in fact towards the realization of so grand an object?—Lancaster should either have no college at all, or else one that may be in all respects worthy of the name.

"It is a case that involves, to no small extent, the honor and credit of the German name. It is such an opportunity as may never occur, we believe never will occur again, under any other form, for making this name respectable, and for securing to it its just rights, in the educational history of Pennsylvania. Let the county see to it, that the opportunity be not neglected, and in the end lost. And let it be the ambition of the city to do faithfully its part also in building up an interest, which may be made externally as well as morally to redound to its embellishment and praise. The most beautiful location in the immediate vicinity of the town has already been secured for the institution, with ample room for all improvements that may be required for its service and accommodation. It would be unfortunate, indeed, if so commanding a situation, exposed from all sides to the widest public view, and looking out continually upon the world of travel that passes by, should not be occupied in proper course of time with buildings and arrangements worthy of such a position, and fit to appear as the standing advertisement of what is destined to become hereafter, we trust, so great a college. I beg leave, in conclusion, to commend this point in particular to the attention and care of the city. It concerns the taste and pride of the city upon its own account."

At the first Commencement of the College at Lancaster, after the Formal Opening, Dr. Nevin was requested by the Board to preside and confer the degrees on the graduating class. On this occasion he availed himself of the opportunity of delivering a Baccalaureate Address, full of earnestness, affection and paternal solicitude for the students, which were the growth of days and years in the past. Space here allows us to give only a few of its admirable thoughts. His theme was "Man's True Destiny," and in seeking to point it out, he proceeded in his discourse to show that the true destination of man, the proper end of his being and life, lies beyond the present world in an order of things which is supernatural; and that it is absolutely necessary that he should know this, and have supreme practical regard to the fact, in order that he may not live in vain. In harmony with the gravity of his subject, he prefaced his remarks with an invocation that the Spirit of all truth and grace might so hallow the naturally sacred associations of the occasion, that they might serve to fix deeply and lastingly on the minds of the students, and all others, the living force of this one single thought, so that in the future it might be the pole-star of their existence, lighting it, till life should end, onwards and upwards always to the glorious immortality of the saints in heaven.

"The necessity of owning a supernatural destiny for man," said the reverend instructor to many attentive listeners, amidst a season of festivity, "lies to a certain extent in his natural constitution itself, in the relation he is seen and felt to bear to the world around in his present mortal state. This relation, in one view, is of the most close and intimate kind. The organization of the world, as a system of nature, comes to its completion in his person. This is signified to us very plainly in the Mosaic account of creation, where the whole magnificent process, rising gradually from one stage of order and life to another, is represented as reaching its climax finally on the sixth day in the formation of man, when God said: 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.' Man is thus strictly the perfection of nature, the crown of its glory, the very centre of its light.

"But for all this, or rather we may say for this reason, the life which belongs to man in the order of nature is for him always something incomplete, a form of existence which manifestly does not find its full and proper sense in itself, but needs and seeks this continually in some higher and different constitution of things.—But man is himself, as we have just seen, the end of nature, the point where its whole process reaches its ultimate destination. How then should he find in it his own destination or end?—The world, as a system of nature, completes itself in him, becomes in him a moral world, a world of intelligence and active will, in order simply that it may, through him, become linked, under such form, with another economy far more glorious than itself. Without such object and end, it must be regarded as an insupportable vanity.

"And is it necessary to add, that what is in this way continually proclaimed by the general constitution of the world, finds its full echo in the moral nature of man himself. Whatever relation his intelligence and will may bear to the present world as such, they carry in their very constitution, at the same time, no less distinctly, a necessary reference also to something beyond this world, to a higher economy, which is felt to extend over it in the form of truth and law, in which alone is to be sought and found its highest and last end.

"But it is in the sphere of religion and conscience, especially, that the necessary relation of man's life to an order of things which is above and beyond nature, so far as his own consciousness is con-

cerned, comes most of all to view. Whether the religion be true or false is of no account as regards this point.—For the sense of religion in some forms is as universal as our human nature itself, and forms an inseparable part of its constitution; and it includes everywhere, also, the assurance of its own legitimate authority, and its right to be regarded as a supreme power in the organization of our life.—It is not hypothetically or problematically only, but with a full categorical imperative, that the chief end of man is referred here to another world, and that he is required to subordinate to this all other ends of a merely secondary account.

“Such is the natural testimony of the soul, with regard to its own destination. No force of error or corruption can ever reduce it to silence. It speaks in the individual conscience of every man. It is heard in the religious faith and worship of nations, and is handed forward as a sacred tradition from one generation to another, deep answering unto deep, as it were, in the vast and mighty abyss of the human spirit, and the voice of ages, like the sound of many waters, uttering itself forever in one and the same awfully solemn tone.

“The world as it now stands, the cosmos whether of Humboldt or Kant, has no power, it is true, to affirm supernatural realities in their own proper form; they lie *over* its horizon; but it goes far to show negatively and indirectly their necessity, and to turn the eye of expectation and desire towards the region in which they are found. Time always points to eternity. Nature cries aloud for that which is higher, greater, and more enduring than itself. The world that now is, with man in the centre of it, is a riddle whose burden can find no relief except in the world to come. The whole moral and religious side of man’s life especially proclaims, with uncontrollable witness, his supernatural destiny and leads him to acknowledge his relation to the invisible and eternal through all ages and times.—This universal demand among men for religion in some form, both proves the reality of the supernatural relations on which the whole rests, and creates a presumption at the same time, not against, but powerfully in favor of any system which may present itself with the proper credentials of a true revelation.

“But to give effect to this conclusion, the voice of revelation must be added to the voice of nature. The supernatural must make itself known, not as a notion or thought merely, but as an actual reality, comprehending in it the very end itself for which man is thus required to live. This has been done, as we know by the Gospel, which is to be regarded as a single revelation shining

more and more 'as a light in a dark place' through the time of the Old Testament, until it burst forth finally with full effulgence in Him who is the 'Sun of Righteousness,' who, by the mystery of His Incarnation, became Himself among men the full manifestation of the Truth under a living, personal form; who, by His Death and Resurrection, 'brought Life and Immortality to light;' and who reigns 'Head over all things to the Church,' a Prince and a Saviour at the right hand of God, to give repentance and remission of sins, redemption and eternal salvation, to all who draw near to God in His name.

"The true destiny of man, the grand object and purpose of his existence, being thus not in the present world at all, but in an order out of it, above it and beyond it, and so in relation to it, supernatural, it becomes at once of itself plain, that no one can live to purpose, who does not know and acknowledge this end in its own proper character, so as to make it in reality the governing power of his life. It is not enough that we have been created for such end, nor yet that we may see and feel the necessity of it, as, on our part, something beyond this world. The case calls for purpose and will, in an object which is known to be real. This comes before us here in the form of a supernatural revelation, brought to its full accomplishment in Christ; and the power, by which we are set in actual communication with it, is what we denominate *faith*.

"This then is the summit of all education, the perfection of knowledge and wisdom, that a man should comprehend and practically pursue the true end of his being, by seeking first the kingdom of God and His righteousness. It is so, because it serves to bring into the soul at once order, harmony, light, freedom, and strength, by setting it in right relation to the law of its own life. All things are beautiful and strong in their place, only as they obey the law of their nature, stand in their appointed sphere, and fulfil their original destination; and so man, as made at first in the image of God and formed for immortality, can never be true to himself in any stage of his existence, in any sphere or department of his life, except that he is brought to live supremely for this supernatural end and no longer. This is for him emphatically the *Truth*, the fundamental reality of things as they are and ought to be, in the apprehension of which as a living fact consists the idea of all *Wisdom* rightly so called.

"How easy it is to see, that the smallest measure of understanding in this form is of infinitely more worth than the largest stores of learning or skill in any different view.—We have no right to

undervalue education and learning; and I have no disposition to do so certainly on the present occasion; but we must not shrink still from seeing and owning here what is, after all, but the simple truth, namely, that no conceivable amount of such culture can deserve to be placed for one moment in comparison with an inward habit of piety, which consists in fearing God and keeping His commandments. Without this, the greatest philosopher is less wise in fact than the unlettered rustic to whom it may belong. The science of the saints is something far higher than any mere learning of the schools.

“The whole subject reveals to us the nature, necessity, and value of *Faith*. The chief end of man, the last meaning of his life, is not found, and is not comprehended in the present order of things, the passing diorama in the midst of which he is here carried forward to the grave.—Opinion, speculation, dreamy sentiment, in the case, are not enough. The world in question is not made up of negatives simply and abstractions, but of facts, realities, and actual living relations, which need to be apprehended as they are, that we may be saved by the sense of them from the vanity of our present life; and this precisely is what is accomplished for us by faith. Facts here must always go before intelligence and thought; and knowledge must follow faith. We see then the nature of this faculty. It is the power of acknowledging the supernatural, the miraculous, the real presence of possibilities, and powers, and actual operations that go beyond the resources of nature and surmount all its laws, in a new order of life, which is made to be actually at hand in the mystery of the Church, through the Death, the Resurrection and the Glorification of the Son of God.

“It sets us in real communication with things unseen and eternal, and makes it possible for us to have such regard for them as we ought, in working out the fearfully solemn problem of life. It is not the product in any way of reason or logic. These so far as they are concerned with natural things, or with the order of the present world, have no power to reach the supernatural; and so far as they may be capable of being exercised on this also, *when* known, they have no power ever to originate any such knowledge. Facts here, as always, must go before intelligence and thought, and knowledge must follow faith. The case speaks for itself. On the necessity and importance of this sublime capacity, this faculty of believing realities which transcend and confound sense, more need not be said.

“Well might that great student of nature, the late Sir Humphrey

Davy, tired out with her same everlasting response to all the questionings of science, *It is not in me! It is not with me!* make the memorable declaration towards the close of his life, 'that he envied no man any other possession whatever, such as wealth, learning or wordly distinction, but would cheerfully give all for the one simple privilege of being able to believe firmly and steadily the realities of another world. That, indeed, is something better than all knowledge, and power, and riches, and glory besides.'

"You need this habitual, practical sense of the supernatural, that you may not walk in darkness and miss the true end of life, regarded as a purely private and personal interest. But you need it no less, in order that you may be able rightly to understand the living world around you, and so be prepared to act a right part in it in your generation. The very idea of a liberal education forbids the thought of its being devoted to merely selfish purposes, under the low base form particularly which these carry with them for the most part in the present world. It is degraded, profaned, and made grossly vulgar and illiberal by every association of this kind. But to live for the world really and to purpose, we must have clearly before our minds its true constitution, the actual meaning of it, the fundamental law of its being, its absolute destination and end; just what we need, in one word, in the case of our separate personal life, that it may be ordered wisely and with true effect. Self-knowledge here, and the knowledge of the world complement each other, and go hand in hand together.

"The spirit of the age is always at war in reality with the actual truth of things, as we find this exhibited in the Gospel and in the Church. It directly or indirectly seeks to pass itself off as an angel of light, 'flying in the midst of the heavens, and having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, to every nation, kindred, and tongue, and people.' In its general character, however, it remains just what the same power has always been over against the true Kingdom of Christ. It has no faith in the supernatural, except as this may be brought to resolve itself into some sort of gnostic abstraction or dream, in which form it professes to hold it in high account, taking credit to itself in so doing for its own spirituality. But its spirituality, alas, always ends in mere spiritualism, the working of the simply natural mind pretending to soar above its own sphere of the *Flesh*, but never getting out of it in fact.

"For the *Spirit*, in the sense of the Gospel, the supernatural under a real form, the Mystery of the Creed and of the Church, this

eminently spiritualistic spirit of the age has no sense or organ whatever. It eschews all that, and holds it in abomination. The notion of the real presence of spiritual powers in the Christian Church for supernatural ends, involving as it does, necessarily, the subordination of the whole order of nature to a higher economy that can be apprehended only by faith, is precisely that which it has no power to endure; and the presence of which, wherever it may come seriously into view, proves always to be for it like the touch of Ithuriel's spear, causing it to start up instantly in its true anti-christian shape.

"If you would understand your duty to the world and be able to live for it to any purpose in your generation, it is necessary, first of all, that you should cultivate a firm and steady faith in the reality of its supernatural relations, and have regard continually to the destiny of man as formed for a higher stage of existence. The smallest measure of faith here is of more value than any amount of useful knowledge. Education is no blessing, but only a curse to society, if it be not based upon religion, and animated throughout by the sense of its supreme authority in some positive form. Not to see and feel all this, is itself a species of infidelity, which opens the way for the worst disorders and mistakes. It is to set the natural practically above the supernatural, which is to deny, in fact, the reality of the last altogether. It is to make humanity in and of itself, as it now stands, sufficient for its own ends, which is such a lie as overthrows the whole Gospel, and necessarily turns into caricature all truth besides, by forcing it into false relations and proportions. Hence the universal affinity in which this style of thinking is found to stand with all sorts of rationalistic speculation, sectarian fanaticism, radicalism, socialism, and wild revolutionary republicanism of the most openly antichristian stamp. Here we have in truth the veritable *Antichrist* of the present age. Learn to know him and to be aware of his devices. If you are to live wisely for your generation, it will depend much, very much, on this one counsel well kept in mind.

"Finally, to return again in conclusion, to what is more directly concerned in the application of our theme, let me exhort you all to be true to your own proper destination, by seeking each one of you, for himself, the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. As it was once said by a distinguished artist, to account for the pains he took with his work, *I paint for eternity*, so let it be your care also, to live seriously and earnestly not for the world, which is now passing away, but for that which is to come.—Here is an object

worthy of your highest ambition and most active zeal, in comparison with which the most dazzling visions of glory in this world are of as little worth as so much dust or chaff.—Meditate on your personal destiny. It has been well said, that the thought of eternity, brought home to the soul from day to day, is for every man the thought of all thoughts, which, if it does not make him wise, must show him to be mad.

“It is a volume of wisdom comprised in a single word. Read it much, I charge you, and study it well. Read it through the living commentary of that illustrious cloud of witnesses, apostles, prophets, martyrs, confessors, saints of all ages and climes, whose faith has already received its reward, and who now from their heavenly seats look down upon you with unceasing interest, and kindly beckon you to follow them in the path by which they have been conducted to eternal glory. Read it above all at the foot of the Cross, where in the person of Him, who is the Way, the Truth and the Life, nailed upon it, crowned with thorns, covered with His own blood, and overwhelmed with reproach and contempt, the true sense of this world and the true sense of the next, the nothingness of the one and the infinite importance of the other, are brought into view as they could be by no representative besides.”—Thus ended this remarkable Baccalaureate Address, or as it might have been styled, this Baccalaureate Sermon. Amidst the gaieties of the commencement, it was listened to with the profoundest respect by the assembled Alumni, lawyers, physicians, clergymen, undergraduates and others. It was regarded as the most inspiring feature of the occasion, and all believed that they had received something valuable to carry with them to their homes. The words spoken were felt to be what were proper to be uttered by one who had come out of his seclusion from the world to address his former pupils.—See *Mercersburg Review*, November Number, 1853.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

AS we shall see further on the subject of a new Liturgy for the Reformed Church engaged to a large extent the attention of Dr. Nevin during his retirement. He addressed himself to it with much earnestness, and studied it profoundly. Out of this grew his faith in the Church Year, to which he gave expression in an article in the *Mercersburg Review*, which is here given to the reader without abbreviation.

The idea of a sacred or ecclesiastical year is not something peculiar to any particular people or time. It grows forth naturally from the religious constitution of man, and reveals itself spontaneously in his religious history, among all nations and through all ages. Paganism, Judaism, Christianity, show themselves here of one mind and feeling. All alike seek to link themselves in this way with the course of nature, by bringing it into standing connection with the high sphere of religion under their own several forms. The only difference is in the order and quality of the spiritual conceptions, with which they are severally occupied and employed. These, as they may be of a higher or lower grade, condition necessarily the way, in which the idea in question may be reduced to practice. But the idea itself is of universal authority and force; and if, in any case, it be hindered from coming into view, it must always be with some measure of violent restraint put upon the religious life of the communities in which such exception may prevail. The unnatural and artificial here have place, not in seeking to join the solemnities of religion in this way with the circling course of the year, but in affecting rather to dispense with all such conjunction as something superfluous and vain.

The general ground of this is easily explained. It lies in the close necessary connection, which holds universally between the spiritual life of a man and the constitution of nature. Two worlds, two different orders or spheres of existence, are joined together in man's person. He is composed of body and spirit. In virtue of his spirit, he is above the whole system of mere nature and beyond it, possesses in himself a life which is no product or continuation simply of its powers, but the result of a new and higher principle; and looks to his ultimate destination in an order of things, to which

plainly it is intended to minister only as a scheme of transient preliminary preparation. On the other hand, however, he is just as truly and really, for the present, comprehended by means of his body in this same system of nature, as the very home of his being.

Its entire organization comes to its last sense, completes itself in his person. The material creation culminates in man, as the point towards which all its powers struggle from the beginning, and whose presence alone serves finally to impress upon its manifold parts the unity, roundness, and symmetry of a common whole. He is thus the highest and most perfect birth of nature, the full efflorescence of its inmost life. Its powers reach him, and affect him, on every side. In this way his whole existence, spiritual as well as physical, is rooted in the natural world around him, and conditioned by it continually, from the cradle to the grave. For the two parts of his being, spirit and matter, mind and body, are not united in a merely outward and mechanical way. They flow together in the constitution of a single life. Hence the material organization underlies the spiritual throughout, supports it, enters into it, determines more or less its entire form and complexion.

Mind, in the case of a man, is never a power wholly abstract and free from matter; it is always, in a most important sense, derived from and dependent upon the body. The true relation between the two requires, indeed, that this last should be ruled by the first, as the higher power; that the material organization should be in the end so taken up by the spiritual, as to pass, in some sense, over to this out of its own sphere; and that the body should be glorified into full harmony with the superior nature of the soul. But still, with all this, the soul can never free itself absolutely from the power of the body. Such is the law of humanity. However it may be with other intelligences, *man* is made up of both matter and spirit. His whole being is conditioned by the natural basis in which it starts, and from which it continues ever afterwards to grow; just as the plant which blooms towards heaven, draws the quality of its leaves and flowers at the same time from the soil that secretly gives nourishment to its roots. Primarily and immediately, this natural basis, for every man, is his own body. But as we have just seen, the human body is no separate and isolated existence in the world of nature.

The world of nature is a system, a single grand whole, bound together in all its parts, and looking from all sides towards a common centre; and this centre is precisely man himself, in his material organization. To be dependent on the body, then, is to be

dependent also through this on the general system or constitution in which it is thus centrally comprehended. Mind, modified and conditioned by its union with the body, is in fact necessarily also mind modified and conditioned, in its universal existence, by the whole world of nature to which the body belongs. Man stands in sympathy and correspondence with the material universe on all sides. It acts upon him continually through all his senses. It gives form to his affections and color to his thoughts. In his highest flights of intelligence, he owns still its authority and presence. It surrounds and pervades his spirit at every point, and forms the very element in which he lives, moves, and has his being.

Such is the general law of correspondence between the inward and outward sides of our existence in the present world, between the higher life of the soul in man and his lower life in the body. We feel the force of it every hour, in the influence which is exercised over us by the forms of nature as they surround us in space. Skies, mountains, seas, plains, forests, rivers, enter into us, and become part of our spiritual being. All natural scenery, in one word, is educational. Our interior life is conditioned by it in every stage of its development. Our thinking and feeling, from first to last, owe to it a large part of their peculiar character and form.

And what is thus true of nature as a system existing in space, is no less true of nature as a system existing in the continual flow of time. The changes, movements, revolutions, and periods, through which the world is continually passing, connect themselves with the economy of our inward being, no less really than the material objects which are perpetually subject to their law. Days, months, years, and cycles of years, carry with them a plastic educational force for the human spirit, fully as profound and far reaching, to say the least, as any that is exercised over it by seas, plains, mountains, or skies. Indeed of these two forms of nature, existence in space and existence in time, it would seem that the last here must be allowed even to surpass the first in power. It lies nearer to the soul, and holds more direct affinity with its spiritual constitution. It is by the sense of movement in the way of time especially, that the more outward sense of matter in space is etherealized and made to enter into the service of intelligence and mind.

Our whole existence, spiritual as well as physical, is continually influenced in the most powerful manner by the course of nature, as thus measured by periods and seasons. We feel it in the succession of day and night. This is for us no merely outward index of time. It marks a law of regular revolution in our life, which cor-

responds in full with what goes forward in the world around us. The force of this law shows itself in our souls as well as in our bodies, in the activities of our mind no less than in the pulsations of our heart. Day is the time for action, night for sleep. There are strong sympathies in us also with particular hours. We make inwardly the circuit of morning, noon, and evening. Midnight constitutes a crisis for our universal being. Diseases come and go, have their remissions and intermissions, at certain points of the orbit. Good health and sound understanding alike depend on proper conformity with the order, which God had been pleased thus to establish for us in the general constitution of the natural world. So too the revolutions of the moon have their effect upon our life, as well as upon the growth of plants or the ebb and flow of tides.

And still more the grand period which is accomplished by the revolution of the earth round the sun. The year, with its four seasons, makes its full circle continually in man himself, as really as in the world around him. Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter repeat themselves perpetually in the onward movement of his existence. Clouds and sunshine, all atmospherical changes, all the varying phases of nature, are mirrored in his consciousness and responded to by his inmost sensibilities, in the order of the rolling months. His existence is not just a continuous line in one and the same direction. It proceeds by cycles that are always returning upon themselves. It is made up of years, which repeat themselves with perpetual recurrence in the progress of his experience, ever the same and yet ever new, from infancy to youth, from youth to manhood, and from manhood to old age. The year, it has been well remarked, is the most perfect and complete measure of time belonging to the earth. It is not merely a full revolution for itself in which the end comes back to the beginning, but it forms also a distinct whole in the organic process of all terrestrial life. In many cases this begins and ends with the annual circle; and where that is not the case, the circle marks at least a full round period in the process, which may very fairly be taken as an apt representation and image of the whole. Each single year forms for every man a significant epitome, first of the several ages of his life, and then of his life itself in full. Nothing is more natural, as nothing is more common, than the sense of this analogy. And thus it is that all the world over, men are led to look upon the year as the type and symbol of their universal existence upon the earth, and under such view seek to make it the vehicle and bearer of what is most inward and spiritual for their experience, as well as of that which is merely outward and physical.

Here then we reach the proper conception of the religious or sacred year. Two ideas are brought together in it, which are materially different and yet closely related, religion and nature. Starting in nature, the life of man is required to complete itself in religion, as an order of existence above nature, and involving relations which go altogether beyond the present world. In the religious year, all this is expressed by an easy and natural symbolism. The higher sphere is made to link itself with the lower, in such a way as to show, at once, both the necessary connection of the two, and the proper subordination of the last to the purposes and ends of the first. Religion lets itself down, as it were, into the sphere of nature, in order to raise this into its own sphere.

The lower constitution in this case is made to carry in itself the sense of the higher, in the way of figure or type. Nature passes into an allegory of religion. We should err greatly, however, if we should imagine that there was nothing more here than a mere outward resemblance, arbitrarily established by the wit and fancy of man. We have already seen, that there is an inward, real correspondence between the spiritual and physical sides of man's being; and that this last is organically comprehended, by means of his body, in the constitution of nature as a whole. From this it follows as a necessary consequence, that the entire physical order of the world must look towards the spiritual in all its parts, and find there always its last, most true and perfect sense. Could we understand in full the economy of creation, we should see the first of these spheres to be in its very nature a perpetual parable of the second. So it was evidently to the mind of Christ; and so we too feel it to be, when listening to its most simple and yet most profound lessons, as interpreted under this view from His lips. It is by no mere figure of speech, no simply rhetorical metaphor or comparison, that the forms of nature in space, or its powers in time, are taken to be significant of facts and truths in the higher world of the spirit. There may be much of mere fancy and conceit, much ignorance and blindness, in particular attempts to make out and express the full force of the correspondence at different points. But the correspondence itself is for all this none the less certain and real. The natural carries in itself an affinity with the spiritual; tends towards it as its own proper complement and end; and forms everywhere an adumbration of its invisible presence and power. So in the case before us, where the year is made to assume a sacred or religious form, by having the ideas or facts of religion lodged in its natural revolution, we are not to conceive of the relation as be-

ing simply outward and artificial; but are bound to see in it rather a real inward connection between the things which are thus brought together. In no other way can we do full justice to the subject, or be able to understand and explain the position it occupies in the actual history of the world.

The existence of such inward necessary cause or reason, in the case, is at once established by the fact, already mentioned, that the notion of a sacred year is found to prevail among all people and through all times. It enters spontaneously, as it would seem, into the thoughts of men, and can be repressed and set aside only by a certain violence inflicted upon the spirit of religion itself. What is thus natural and universal can never be accidental merely or arbitrary. It must have its ground always in the real nature of things. A sentiment or practice, in which all forms of religion come together with common agreement, cannot be absolutely false or without meaning. It cannot be an empty prejudice merely, or a hurtful superstition. Error and falsehood, perversion and extravagance, may correct themselves with its use. But no such corruption can turn the principle itself, which may be thus wronged and abused, into a wholesale lie. They form rather part of the evidence, which goes to establish its truth. Back of all such wrongs and abuses, this still stands firm and secure, as being by the universal consent of mankind something grounded in the religious constitution of the world itself, and so beyond all rational contradiction or doubt.

The force of this in reference to the religious year becomes more striking, when it is considered that the universal consent in question reaches far beyond the mere general notion of making the year in this way a religious remembrancer, the bearer of religious thoughts and ideas. Were this all, we should find unbounded freedom in the manner of carrying out the conception. There would be no fixed order or rule in the location of particulars, in the determination of details. All would be at the mercy of fancy or caprice. Such, however, is not the way, in which we find this universal conception carried out in the actual practice of the world. The conception determines also, to a very material extent, the order and mode of its own reduction to use. It is not satisfied with having the year hung around with religious garlands and festoons, the ornamental imagery of a higher life, in a merely loose and external manner. It involves always the supposition of some necessary order and method, growing out of the correspondence of the natural and spiritual worlds themselves, according to which only the arrangement can be rightly carried into effect. It is assumed

throughout, that the course of the year in time, with its revolving material changes, serves to shadow forth in a real way the idea of a higher spiritual orbit, through which man is to be regarded as moving towards his proper destination in another world.

Time is made to be the mirror thus of eternity. The visible is held to reflect the invisible. The lower sphere is felt to include in itself parabolically the sense of the higher. The natural, accordingly, is not taken to represent the spiritual at random, in any and every way, but only according to a law fixed in its own constitution. This we see exemplified in the actual judgment and practice of the world. The natural year, all the world over, is made to underlie the religious or sacred year, and to lead the way in determining its order and form. The relation between them is such, that the first refers, as it were, of its own accord to the second, and offers itself throughout as its proper utterance and expression. The ideas of the religious year are apprehended as having an actual representation in the facts of the natural year, as meeting in them their own picture or echo. Hence we have, in the midst of all that may seem to be confused and fantastic in the filling up of different forms of this spiritualized year, a certain uniformity of scheme at the same time that serves to impress on the whole a common character. The more closely the matter is examined, the more clear it seems to become that these various forms are themselves in some way inwardly related; the only difference being that some are far more perfect than others, in the measure of their approximation to the truth, which all in their way propose to reach and express. This fact, still more than the mere universal notion itself of a sacred year, goes conclusively to show how truly and really the whole conception is grounded in the natural constitution of the world.

Religion in the case of man, however, requires more than the simple development of his own spiritual faculties and powers in what may be denominated the order of nature. It supposes, as necessary to its own completion, an order also of grace, a supernatural revelation descending into the bosom of the world in the form of actual history and fact. The absolute fulness of this revelation is reached at last in Christ, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." In the form of promise, prophecy and type, it runs away back to the beginning of the world, preparing the way through the whole period of the Old Testament for His glorious Advent. Necessarily this system of grace, under such historical view, must be vastly more for the religious life of man than the system of nature; and it might seem, in one view, that the idea of religion thus

based on what is above nature, and virtually opposing it as a power antagonistic to faith, would require no such union with it, and no such help from it, as is implied in the conception of a sacred or ecclesiastical year; that its true interests rather would be much better consulted in every way, by separating it wholly from all such connection with the merely natural order of time, and joining it in thought and association only with the supernatural facts which are presented to us in the Bible, in their own higher order and form. But here three thoughts offer themselves to our view.

First, these supernatural facts are themselves historical; and having thus entered into the sphere of nature and time, they need to be held in permanent connection with this for our thinking, in order that they may be apprehended as facts, and not as notions merely or imaginations. Like all other historical events, they must have for us a local habitation in our sense of chronology, to be realities at all for our belief. This of itself at once leads to the conception of anniversaries, monumental solemnities, seasons of commemoration; to the conception, in one word, of an ecclesiastical or sacred year. It is in this way, great national facts perpetuate their force in the mind of a nation. Other forms of tradition, oral or written, are not enough for the purpose. They must be lodged monumentally in the ever recurring circuit of the year, that grand image of all time, that proper epitome of man's life, both individual and universal; so as to be in this way reproduced and called up anew in the national consciousness, age after age.

This gives us the idea of a political year; which is constituted, not just by a system of anniversary observances in memory of all separate events possessing national historical interest, but rather by singling out such events as are felt to be of cardinal and fundamental account in the history of the nation, and making them to represent the whole. Without some arrangement of this sort, no true national spirit can be long maintained. But now the very same law which requires the great facts of political history to be kept thus alive, for the purposes of patriotism, requires just as much the great facts of sacred history to be kept alive in the same manner, for the purposes of religion; and so we are brought here again to the idea of an ecclesiastical year, precisely as in the other case we come to the idea of a political year. As historical events, the facts of revelation need to be domiciliated for our minds, in this way, in our natural sense of time. Without this, they must ever be in danger of becoming for us mere shadows and abstractions.

Secondly, whilst it is true that the order of grace, resting on revelation, is something far above the order of nature, resting upon the constitution of the present world, and that this last, regarded as a separate system, involves a certain opposition to the first; it does not follow from this, by any means, that the two systems are in absolute contradiction to one another, and capable of no agreement whatever. On the contrary, it is certain, from the very nature of the case, that as different parts of the same creation they must be inwardly related, and closely bound together, in the harmony of a common divine purpose and plan. The case demands not the destruction or exclusion of nature, not a Manichean fanatical hostility to its presence in any and every form; but its proper subordination merely to the authority of grace, as the sphere in which it is formed to find properly its own true significance and end. In such right order, nature appears no longer as the foe, but only as the handmaid of grace, and this relation too is found to be in no sense compulsory, but most perfectly free. The lower sphere shows itself to have been in truth created and formed for the higher. Nature becomes the prophecy of grace, its universal type and symbol. The two systems flow thus easily and of their own accord together. There is no reason, therefore, why the facts of revelation, regarded as the ground of religion, should be taken to exclude or thrust out of sight the facts of nature in the same view.

In the third place, the more we look into the subject the more we shall see that these two classes of facts do in very deed, as it were, run parallel the one with the other, so as most readily to admit the harmony of which we have just spoken. So much might be presumed, as an *a priori* anticipation, on the supposition that both systems proceed from God. There is no room properly for the thought of such correspondence, in the case of any simply national or political year. Who would dream, for example, of setting the Birth-Day of Washington, or the Declaration of American Independence, in any sort of connection with the astronomical character of their anniversary seasons, unless it were in the way only of acknowledged fancy or conceit? Ordinary national history is too narrow and partial an interest to be separately symbolized, in such fashion, by the constitution of nature. It can be so symbolized at best, only as it is comprehended in the general movement which represents the history of the world as a whole. The political year, accordingly, is not expected to fall in with the full constitution of the natural year; it is enough, if it be brought simply to rest upon this as an outward and artificial arrangement.

But with the religious year the case is altogether different. This has to do with the most universal of all human interests. Religion is for no nation as such, but for the whole world. The facts which underlie it historically in the form of revelation, are necessarily of the same universal and abiding force; and we have a right to expect, accordingly, that the constitution of nature, related, as it must be, to the destiny of man under the like broad view, should be found to include a certain inward correspondence with the order and course of these supernatural facts, as well as with the spiritual economy itself which they underlie. And what might thus be anticipated, we find to be in truth strikingly verified in the actual relations of the two systems. The main historical facts here have been so ordered, in the wise providence of Him who rules all things for His own glory, as to fall in chronologically with the very facts in nature which properly symbolize their sense and power; thus rendering it perfectly easy to bring both systems into the construction of one and the same Church Year. It is easy to see how this goes, on the one hand to attest the truth of revelation, by showing its correspondence with the typology of nature; while it serves, at the same time, no less clearly, to interpret and corroborate on the other hand the true sense of this lower sphere, as being, throughout, the terrestrial parable of spiritual and heavenly things.

The sum and organic comprehension of the entire symbolism of nature comes to view in the *Year*, as being the completion of a full circle in the process of all earthly life. By being taken up into the sphere of grace, not only is the year itself glorified, but along with it, at the same time, the whole constitution and course of nature may be said to be glorified also, and sublimated into a new and higher sense. For the higher sphere, on the other hand, the relation involves the idea of a real victory or conquest, enlarging its rightful power. The sense of this expresses itself in the ordinary conception of *festival days*. They carry with them the feeling of joyful solemnity, elevation above the common level of our earthly life, rest from the hard work-day character of our natural worldly existence in the bosom of a higher order of being, which is made to descend upon us by the power of religion. The ecclesiastical year becomes thus a system of symbolical festivals; in which is celebrated continually the true and proper relationship of the two economies of nature and grace.

Such is the conception of the religious year in its perfect form. As such, it must be of course, at the same time, the Christian Year.

But it does not necessarily appear at once in this completeness. Rather it has a history, a genesis, through which it reveals itself under various forms, rising from what may be considered its rude beginnings only to that which constitutes at last its absolute consummation. Wide differences characterize these forms; but through all such differences, they are still found to represent and express fundamentally the same idea of law. So much indeed is implied by the supposition of any real history in the case. The idea of a religious year, as we have before seen, is universal, a fact seated in the religious constitution of the world. Under all manifestations, accordingly, it is the same force always working in the same direction. Its different forms are but so many different stages, in the progress of which, it is carried forward to its true ideal perfection.

Regarded in this light, the sacred year falls, for our observation, into three grand historical types—PAGAN, JEWISH, CHRISTIAN. To these the subject requires us now to turn our attention.

In the *Pagan* religious year, we have the symbolical apprehension of nature in its most elementary and rude form. The visible material creation is felt to carry in itself the traces of its divine origin, and becomes to the consciousness in this way the sign and type of powers existing mysteriously behind itself, on which it is always dependent and whose presence it serves to reveal. But there is still no clearness in the perception; and so no power of steady discrimination between the sign and the thing signified. Hence the two are made to flow together, at the expense of the higher thought. Nature is confounded with the divine powers it represents, and superstitiously invested with their proper dignity and right. The divine, in this view, becomes earthly, as the earthly also is taken to be divine.

It fares with the religious nature of man here, as in all other cases where it labors to fulfil its constitutional destiny, without the help of an objective revelation. The effort to do so proves an abortive nîsus merely in the right direction, which terminates at last in an empty shadow, throwing the spirit helplessly back upon the sphere of nature, which it had thus vainly struggled to surmount. In all such cases, however, the abortion is not without its meaning. It shows what the religious constitution of man universally needs and seeks; and becomes in this way a testimony and argument for the truth, which it has no power to reach; just as the blind force which turns and leads the roots of a plant towards the water, or its upward growth towards the light, shows its necessary relation to these elements, even before this may be established in

fact. Such unsuccessful endeavors on the part of the religious spirit, in the sphere of Paganism, can never be more of course than sad caricatures of the Truth itself, as brought into full view by the glorious light of Christianity. But caricatures are still in their way correspondences; and the old Greek Fathers, therefore, were perfectly right, in looking upon Paganism itself as a real preparation in such view for the Gospel.

We need not be disturbed at all, then, by any parallelisms it may seem to offer with Christianity. We need not shrink from owning them in their utmost force. We should be glad rather to meet them, wherever they may come in our way. They are just what we are bound to expect if Christianity be indeed the absolute truth of religion, that in which all its partial and defective manifestations come to their final end. What comparative anatomy and physiology are to the structure of the human body, or comparative psychology to the true idea of the human soul, that precisely comparative religion, as we may call it, or the scheme of religious systems in general, is to Christianity. If this stood in no agreement or correspondence with religion in other forms, we might well question its pretensions. They show themselves unquestionable, just because analogies of this sort do press upon it from every side, and find in it the universal and harmonious fulfilment of their own sense.

The Pagan sacred year, through all its variations among different nations, proceeds always on the theory of a merely natural or physical religion. The relation of the sun to the earth is felt darkly to signify, and then in some way to actually involve, the higher spiritual destinies of the world, as well as its simply outward changes. The active and passive forces of nature, represented in this relation, are confounded with the notion of divine powers. All becomes mythology, a play of the religious fancy, constructed on the basis of purely physical facts and changes. This may be clearly seen especially in the Roman Heathenism, which is to be regarded as the last result only or falling together of all older Pagan religions. It is throughout pure naturalism, based upon the movements of the astronomical or solar year. Its twelve superior deities personify the system of the twelve months, the course of the year through the signs of the zodiac, the great leading changes wrought by the sun, during this period, in the life of the earth. We have no room here to follow out the correspondence in its details; nor is it necessary. It is enough for our purpose to state the general fact.

The equinoxes and solstices form the four cardinal points of the

process, and rule throughout the order of its symbolism. The oldest Pagan years were made to commence in the Fall, equinoctially. The later Roman year, on the other hand, was solstitial, opening in the Winter. In both cases, however, the order and sense of the symbolism is substantially the same. It starts with the time, in which the powers of nature are shut up, as it were, in its interior economy; the life of the earth in a state of deep slumber; the strength of the sun in a great measure unfelt. Through the winter months, we have a struggle between the forces of darkness and light, resulting continually more and more in the triumph of the last. The heavens gain power. With the progress of Spring, this power descends into the air and earth, causing the whole sphere to wake into new life. In Summer the victory becomes complete. The sun culminates in the June solstice, and exercises universal dominion in the form both of light and heat. He shines as Mercury; burns and thunders as Jupiter. The earth is made to teem with living spirit. Afterwards the heavens seem to bury themselves in its bosom. All becomes fruit, harvest, vintage. Then follows a new equilibrium, and sort of second Spring, more spiritual than the first, in the grave form of Autumn. The process completes itself as the full maturity of terrestrial life; which thus returns back again from its outward action into its own original stillness (the gloomy reign of Proserpine), only to make room for a new circuit afterwards under the same form.

In all this, there was for the Pagan mind a reference to the general conception of religion; that is, to the idea of *redemption*, as a process of deliverance from the powers of darkness and evil, which are felt universally to press upon the life of man in this world. To be real, this process must begin in the soul, must be spiritual. For the natural religious consciousness, however, it has its mirror in the life of nature as set forth by the process of the solar year. This, unfortunately, has no power to bring into view the positive supernatural realities, through whose power alone it is possible for the symbolized idea to become fact. That requires the historical intervention of a higher life, in the form of revelation. Having no such help, Paganism could never make its escape, as we have seen, from the sphere of nature. Matter and spirit fell confusedly together. All ended in a purely physical mythology, of the most fantastic and barren kind.

But shall we say, for this reason, that there is no connection really between the course of nature and the process of redemption in its true and proper form? By no means. The Pagan

feeling on this subject was right, although dark and confused. The enigma did not lose its sense, nor cease to be a real prophetic burden for the human soul, merely because it came to no true interpretation. There exists, we have good reason to believe, a real analogy or parallelism, between the natural year and the system of redemption, in virtue of which, the last is typified by the first throughout, in a way far beyond all simply fanciful conceit. This can be fully apprehended, of course, only where the system of redemption itself comes fully into view; that is to say, only in the full light of Christianity, the end and completion of religion in every other view.

The *Jewish* religious year was of a vastly higher order than the Pagan. It was established by divine law, and rested immediately on historical facts, miracles of grace actually wrought in the world, and serving to reveal in the bosom of nature the intervention of a supernatural life. What nature struggled in vain to reach and express without revelation, was here to a certain extent supplied by its presence. With such higher character, Judaism necessarily stood opposed, at the same time, to the way in which the religion of nature was carried out by Paganism, involving, as this did, an apostasy which changed the truth of God into a lie and drew after it all the abominations of idolatry. Its mission was to prepare the way, on the one hand, for the coming of Christ, and on the other, to turn the human mind away from nature, that it might be fixed upon itself and made to know its own need of redemption. Both these purposes called for laws and positive institutions. Nature was not to be set aside; it was still, with all its yearly changes, a manifestation of divine powers; but it must not be confounded with the notion of these powers themselves. The symbol must pass into a better sense, by being made an allegory of history, an image in the world of sense, representing God's actual dealings of grace with men.

The peculiarity of the Jewish year is, that it has not only yearly but *weekly* sacred days. It starts from the *Sabbath*, as the centre which rules and conditions its whole construction. It has yearly festivals also; but they are made to hinge on the weekly institution, as the primary power. This of itself had a tendency to break the force of the simply physical year, as it ruled the religious thinking of the Pagan world; and contributed very materially, beyond all question, to raise the idea of worship out of the element of nature into a different and far higher region, that of history, God's supernatural conduct and providence, employed for the redemption and salvation of His chosen people.

But with all this care taken to guard against perversion and abuse, regard was still had to the natural year, as being of itself in true harmony and correspondence with the life of religion in man. This appears at once from the fact, that the great annual festivals were made to fall in with those parts of the year precisely, which corresponded parabolically with their proper signification and sense. They were not founded directly on these; all of them rested on grand historical facts, which they served to commemorate from age to age; but these facts themselves had been so ordered, as to concur with the times in question. The epochs of history fell in wonderfully with the epochs of nature. The Passover, commemorating the deliverance of Israel from the bondage of Egypt, answered in this way to the time when the whole Pagan world celebrated the renewal of nature through the return of spring. So in like manner, Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles, resting on the memory of other dispensations of God's favor towards the same people, had their significant analogies also in the positions assigned to them in the natural year, which it is by no means difficult to discover and understand. Have we any right to look upon this as a merely accidental, and therefore unmeaning concurrence? We think it must be plain to all, that we have not. It must be viewed as belonging to the plan of the world; and goes to confirm what we have already said, that according to this plan a real original and necessary parallelism holds between the two systems of nature and grace, in virtue of which the first is to be regarded as everywhere adumbrating the sense of the second.

True, the sacred year of the Jews was made to commence in the Spring; differing in this respect from that of Paganism, which dated from Autumn or the first part of Winter. But then the system took no account comparatively of the period between Autumn and Spring. This suited the character of the Old Testament dispensation, under which the process of grace preparatory to redemption lay back of the fact itself, in a sort of hidden mystery, like the powers of nature during the reign of Winter. With the coming of Christ, this mystery clears into magnificent light. The process of redemption is found moving its course, first in His person, in order that it may break forth in the full victory of Easter, as a fact accomplished for the world at large. Here the mystery of Winter finds at last its proper spiritual meaning. The year of religion falls back again in its order, and is brought thus once more to commence where the year of nature also of right begins. Only the correspondence is now such as to light up the movement

with celestial splendor from beginning to end. Nature appears transfused throughout with spirit and life. Grace reigns triumphant over all the months and seasons.

This is the *Christian Year*. The universal character of Christianity, as compared both with Judaism and Paganism, is fulfilment or completion. Judaism stood far above all simply natural religion. It was a system of revelation. It rested on supernatural history. Still it was only a relative and partial exhibition of the truth in such form, the shadow of blessings to come. For this reason, it could never do full justice to Paganism. It was the direct, broad contradiction of the wholesale lie into which this had fallen, by substituting mere nature for the proper idea of God; but such contradiction had no power of itself to harmonize with their true end the principles and tendencies, out of whose corruption the falsehood sprang. There was, accordingly, an antagonism here, that called for reconciliation in a still deeper and more comprehensive sphere of life. In the fulness of time this appeared in Christ, the Word made Flesh. "He is our Peace," says the Apostle, the end of all previous discords; the last full sense of man's relations to himself, to the world and God. In Him, Judaism was fulfilled and Paganism explained. Christianity is the absolute truth, in which both the types of the one, and the dark endeavors of the other, are satisfied and brought to rest. This general character appears in its universal constitution; and so among other things embraces also the structure of its sacred year. Religion in the form of nature, and religion in the form of history, come here to a perfect understanding and agreement. The constitution of the world is sanctified, by being taken up into the constitution of grace. The year of religion is now truly and properly a *Church Year*.

If the correspondence between the historical facts of Judaism and the course of nature be striking, as we have just seen, the correspondence between the great facts of Christianity and the same course of nature is more wonderful and instructive still; showing most manifestly the presence of a common thought in both, by which the one is to be considered a true type and figure of the other. Who in his senses can imagine, that no such significance attaches to the time of our Saviour's death and resurrection; or that the festival of Easter has been determined thus by a fortuitous correspondence only, to the period of the vernal equinox? Who that thinks can fail to see in the Festivals of Ascension and Pentecost a similar relation to the triumphant progress of the sun towards the summer solstice, and the changes which are brought to

pass by it on the earth? And so much being allowed, who can have a right to consider it an empty play of fancy only, when the months going before Easter, from the beginning of Winter, are taken to symbolize the process of redemption, as carried forward previously to that point in the mystery of Christ's own person; or when the months following Pentecost, on to the close of Autumn, are made to symbolize in like manner the progress of the same work, as carried forward subsequently in the life of the Church? In both cases, what a field for pious contemplation! Analogies, of the most interesting sort, thicken upon our view, just in proportion as we give the subject our earnest attention.

Our limits will not allow us to enter here into any more particular consideration of the organism or structure of the Christian Year. The object of this article has been merely to bring into view the general nature of the conception, and the grounds on which it properly challenges our religious respect.

Those who fancy, that the use of any such scheme of worship is without reason or meaning, or who, it may be, permit themselves even to stigmatize it as an unprofitable and hurtful superstition, betray at once their own want both of earnestness and knowledge. There is in truth a deep foundation for it in the constitution of nature, and it falls in with the universal spirit of religion. Christianity differs from other religions here, only by passing beyond them in the fulness and perfection of its image. The feeling, which justifies and prompts the conception of a religious year, found nothing to counteract it in the coming of Christ, but much to favor it, much to assist and carried it forward in the right direction. The great facts of Christianity served powerfully of themselves to call it into exercise. The lively apprehension of them, which prevailed in the mind of the early Church, made it impossible to avoid so natural an observance. The Christian year, accordingly, is as old as the Christian Church itself. What an amount of interest do we not find clustering around the solemnity of Easter, from the earliest times! The idea of such a year, and its general outlines, leaving room of course for much filling up afterwards in its details, entered into the universal thinking of the Church, and conditioned the entire system of its worship, from the beginning. It did so, moreover, spontaneously, and by the necessity, as it were, of an inward law. It came not primarily by art and reflection, but grew forth rather as a natural product from the Christian consciousness itself.

And so we may add, its true sense and force can never be fully measured by any merely logical standard. It speaks, not just to

the understanding of man, but far more to his feeling and heart. Its voice is for the deep places of the soul, where life reigns as a full power back of all partial forms of expression. Hence the authority it has carried with it for the Christian world through all ages. Only since the Reformation has the attempt been made, not by Protestantism in general, but by a fragmentary section of Protestantism, to set aside the whole conception and practice as a "relic of superstition," serving to encumber more than to assist the proper spirituality of Christian worship. But of what force can any such isolated judgment be, over against the united mind of the Church in all past centuries, backed as this is, at the same time, by the religious constitution of the world, and by its religious history also, in the most universal view? The exception is too violent, too monstrous, we may say, to stand.

Any attempt to set aside the proper Church Year, involves necessarily an attempt also to substitute for it some other scheme of religious solemnities, contrived to serve the same end; for there is a natural instinct or impulse here, which will not allow itself to be long absolutely disregarded. But no such scheme can ever carry with it anything like the same worth for the ends of religion. Every other scheme must be in comparison mechanical merely and superficial. All experience goes to show, that no system of Christian instruction, no method of Christian worship, can ever be so effective for Church purposes, as that which is based on the proper use of the ecclesiastical year. As it is always an unnatural, so it is always a poor and hurtful exchange, where this is given up in favor of any other arrangement; and it is certain that no such new arrangement can be able to compete successfully, in the long run, with the infinitely more respectable authority of the older system.

The principle of the Church Year is of vastly more consequence than is commonly imagined. It goes deep into the very heart of Christianity. So it must do, necessarily, if we have now taken any right view at all of its nature. There is a most intimate connection between the use of such a scheme of worship and the practical apprehension of the great facts of Christianity in their own proper form. Puritanism, in this case, pretends to be more spiritual than the old Church faith, as it does also in so many other cases, by setting its worship above all outward forms and conditions. But such spiritualism is something very different from real spirituality.

The difficulty with this whole habit of mind is its want of power to receive and hold the historical truths of the Gospel,

not as ideas, merely, but as realities and facts. It is sadly infected throughout with the old leaven of Gnosticism, which is, ever in disguise, again nothing else but the secret virus of Rationalism. It is but the natural result of such character, that it should be unfriendly to the Church festivals, and to the whole idea of the Church Year; and so, on the other hand, it may be assumed, that this ancient system cannot anywhere go into general disuse or neglect, without serious loss to the true interests of religion, just in the direction of such Gnostic or rationalistic thinking. The system forms a necessary part of the churchly scheme of Christianity. Where it has fallen to the ground, there can be no right sense of the Church; no proper faith in the holy sacraments; no sound liturgical feeling; no active sympathy with the grand facts which are set forth in the Creed; and no firm hold on the abiding power of these facts, as an order of grace moving onward in sublime correspondence with the order of nature to the end of time.

CHAPTER XXXIX

MUCH of Dr. Nevin's time during his period of seclusion was occupied in the study of the Liturgical Question and in the preparation of an Agenda or Liturgy for the use of the Reformed Church. The subject to him was somewhat new, and occupying much of his attention served to give a healthy direction to his thoughts. We here give a history of this movement with his relations to it, and allow it to extend beyond the present chronological division of his life.

At first the old German Liturgy, published in the Palatinate, Germany, in 1563, was in general use in the Reformed Church in this country, but being out of print copies of it became more and more rare. Church members seldom, if ever, saw it. In 1840 a new liturgy, the work mainly of Dr. Lewis Mayer, was adopted by the Synod and recommended to the ministers for use, on stated occasions. It was, however, considered unhistorical, not based on older liturgies, and failing to give general satisfaction it served a good purpose only as the occasion for a deeper study of what a genuine liturgy ought to be. The progress of a strong liturgical tendency in Germany, more particularly in the Evangelical Church of Prussia, made itself felt in this country, most especially through Dr. Rauch and Dr. Schaff. The former said that a liturgy was "a work of art:" the latter said, "it was a growth from the inner life of the Church, in which one period or age teaches those that followed it how to pray." Such thoughts naturally took root, grew and bore fruit.

In 1847, the Classis of East Pennsylvania, composed mostly of aged German ministers, requested the Synod of Lancaster to make arrangements to prepare another liturgy, which should represent more fully the spirit and animus of the Reformed Church. As this was felt to be a matter of great importance, it was deemed advisable on the part of the Synod first to ascertain the sense of the Church on the subject, and the whole matter was referred to the Classes for further instructions, before any step in advance should be taken.—At the Synod of Hagerstown, Md., in 1848, the Classes, with only one exception, reported in favor of an onward movement, and after a careful survey of the ground, and considerable discussion, the subject in all its bearings was referred to a committee, which was to report at the annual meeting the year following.

At the Synod of Norristown, in 1849, an elaborate report was presented by the Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, Chairman of the Committee, in which the general posture of the early Church, and of the Church of the Reformation, was set forth, together with a series of resolutions in favor of an immediate onward movement for the formation of a liturgy, suitable to the wants of the body represented by the Synod. The resolutions affirmed that the use of liturgical forms fell in clearly with the practice and genius of the original Protestant Church; that there was no reason existing in the state of the American German Church, at that time, to justify a departure from ancient usage; that the Liturgy then authorized was inadequate to meet the wants of the Church, because, apart from other defects, it makes no provision for *ordinary occasions of public worship*; that whilst the older Reformed Liturgies are in general worthy of adoption, there is still need of various modifications to adapt them fully to the circumstances and wants of the times; that the time being was as favorable for action in the case as any that could be thought of in the future; and, that, accordingly, it was expedient to proceed forthwith in the work of providing for the Church a new Liturgy.—With slight modifications, the entire report was adopted, and a large committee was appointed to proceed with the work, and report at the next Synod the plan of such a Liturgy as the interests of the Church might be supposed to require.

The original Committee consisted of the Rev. J. W. Nevin, D.D., Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., Rev. B. C. Wolff, D.D., Rev. Joseph F. Berg, D.D., Rev. Elias Heiner, D.D., Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D., and the Elders, William Heyser, Hon. J. C. Bucher, Hon. G. C. Welker, and Dr. Caspar Schaeffer. Subsequently Prof. Thos. C. Porter, D.D., Rev. D. Zacharias, D.D., Rev. S. R. Fisher, D.D., Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D., Rev. Thomas G. Appel, D.D., and the Elders, George Shafer, John Rodenmayer and Dr. L. H. Steiner, were added to the Committee, substituted in the places of the members who had resigned or could not attend the meetings.

Naturally Dr. Nevin became the mouth-piece of this movement, and in the November number of the *Mercersburg Review*, accordingly, he congratulated the Church that “so auspicious a commencement had at length been made in this high and solemn work.” At the same time the reader of his article may see what his ideas were in regard to a genuine liturgy at that early day.

“For two years past,” he says, “the subject has been, in a certain sense, before the mind of the Church, but in such a way, un-

fortunately, that it has not been able to come to any fair and open discussion. There has evidently been a feeling of embarrassment in venturing to approach it, and a disposition to hold it at arm's length, which has thus far stood very much in the way of a just consideration of its rights and claims. In the meantime, the wish, that has thus been suppressed, has been gradually making itself to be more and more felt on all sides; until at length it is found forcing its own way to the clear utterance, as it were, from which it had been so long previously withheld and restrained. The preparation for a new Liturgy has been altogether more general and deep, it would now seem, than most persons before had imagined. The Synod at first was, by no means, clear in regard to its own mind. But discussion, once fairly set free, caused a whole world of fog to pass away; and the body was taken with a sort of surprise, in the end, at the unanimity of its views and feelings, where it had so needlessly been haunted with the spectre of controversy and discord. The discussion has, in all respects, had a happy effect.

"As the case now stands the door is thrown open for the most free discussion of the whole liturgical question. Not only is it allowed, but it is loudly demanded and required. It is not enough to follow a mere blind sense of want, or to obey a tendency, however good in itself: we need a clear insight into our want, and a rational mastery over our movement. This cannot be done without much thought, much consultation and debate. It is not enough that the ministers, and some of the elders, should be satisfied; the case requires that the people, the churches generally, should have their views enlightened, their hearts disposed and prepared for what may be done. This is indeed one of the last cases in which any end is to be carried by management or trick. No one need fear discussion.

"If we are to have a liturgy at all, it is of the utmost consequence that we should have a good one; and this requires, in the first place, a true and just idea of what a liturgy means; and in the second place, some inward preparation for the use of one in its proper form. We have no right then, and nobody surely should have any wish, to prevent the most full and free study of the subject in all its length and breadth, in order that if possible these necessary conditions of success, in so vast and solemn an enterprise, may be duly secured. Let the subject be examined without prejudice, or deference to surrounding prejudice, or shy jealousy of any particular *tendency*; as though such a thing might be allowed to hoodwink a whole Church out of its sober rationality, and *we*

would forestall all that, and take care of its proper liberty by laying a bridle on its neck beforehand, to keep it from going too far! The danger here is not in free inquiry, but in the want of it.

“What is most of all to be deprecated, is the formation of an unripe Liturgy; one that may fall behind the true inward demands of the interest itself, and fail, accordingly, to satisfy in the end the very want from which it springs. Everything here depends on starting right. Our Liturgy will take its character and complexion finally from the end it is designed to serve. If it is taken to be a mere outward help and convenience for public worship, a sort of crutch to assist the decent conduct of our sanctuary devotions, it is not to be expected that we shall bring to it anything better than such poor mechanical character. Better no Liturgy at all, we say from the bottom of our heart, than one produced from such a spirit and constructed on such a plan. If we are to have a Liturgy that is worth anything, we must seek it and accept it under a widely different view. We must embrace it, not as a burden, but as a relief, not as a yoke, but as a crown, not as a minimum of evil simply, but as a maximum of privilege and good.

“The conception of a liturgy in the true sense, as compared with our reigning unliturgical and *free* worship, is the conception of a real emancipation into the liberty of the children of God. Argument and debate here, that are not led by the idea of worship itself, but turn on other considerations altogether, whether they go for or against a liturgy, are of very small account; just as little worth, in truth, as a controversy about Art to those who have never felt what Art means, and for whom all artistic creations are alike destitute of inward law and soul. Worship, like Art, has a life and nature of its own. It involves, in its very constitution, certain principles, elements, and rules, which must be understood and turned to right account, to make it complete. Any true analysis of the nature of worship, any resolution of it into its necessary constituents and conditions, we have no doubt at all, must bring us to see and feel that it requires a liturgy; and that a vast loss is suffered where it is violently forced to move under any less perfect and free form. All unliturgical worship is, to the same extent, incomplete and cumbersome. Nature itself is a divine liturgy throughout. The life of heaven is still more a liturgy, ‘like the sound of many waters,’ of the most magnificent and sublime order. What we need, therefore, in our present movement, is the full sense of what worship means under this view: sympathy, with the music of the spheres, and with the songs of the angels; the same mind that led

the early Church into the universal use of liturgies, without opposition or contradiction from any quarter, so far as history shows."

The matter of a liturgy, thus candidly and fairly placed before the Church for consideration, led to considerable discussion, more in private than official circles; in the former, it sometimes came as a grim spectre, proposing to carry the Church through the air into the Episcopal fold or into some other body still more dangerous. Two valuable contributions to existing liturgical literature appeared in the *Mercersburg Review* during the year following: the one was a translation of the "*Old Palatinate Liturgy of 1563*," by the Rev. Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger, of Easton, Pa.; the other, a translation, by Rev. Dr. B. C. Wolff, of several chapters on Public Worship from the Introduction of Dr. Ebrard's "*Reformirtes Kirchenbuch*," which had just been published.—The Committee reported to the Synod in 1850 through Dr. Nevin, the Chairman, that they had not deemed it expedient to go forward with their work, and expressed some doubt whether the time had as yet arrived to consider the question of a new Liturgy. Under the impression that the further prosecution of the work might lead to serious complications in the Church, if not its division—as was affirmed by some—the Committee recommended that the Synod fall back on the old Palatinate Liturgy, publish it with some modifications for the use of the churches, and lay aside the idea of a new Liturgy for the present. The report was received with due respect, but notwithstanding its discouraging character, the Committee was continued and instructed by the Synod to go forward with its work.—Dr. Nevin resigned its chairmanship, but continued as active as before in the capacity of a member. Dr. Schaff became the Chairman, and with his usual ardor and hopefulness infused new life and courage into the liturgical movement.

During the year 1851 the Committee made little or no progress in the work, and were probably as yet at a loss to know exactly what kind of a liturgy should be presented to the Church for adoption. Accordingly, in order to find their way out of their perplexing situation, they asked for more definite instructions from the Synod that met in 1852 in Baltimore. Through the Chairman, Dr. Schaff, they proposed a plan, making provision for the various services or offices; which are generally comprehended in a regular Liturgy in the proposed sense of the term. They included a full service for the Lord's Day, and Lessons from the Scripture to be read in the churches throughout the year. In the next place, the principles on which the Committee thought the New Liturgy ought

to be constructed were set forth in the report without reservation.

"The liturgical worship of the Primitive Church," it said, "as far as can be ascertained from the Holy Scriptures, the oldest ecclesiastical writers, and the liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches of the third and fourth centuries, ought to be made, as much as possible, the *general basis* of the proposed Liturgy; the more so, as they in fact also are the source from which the best portions of the various liturgies of the sixteenth century were derived, such as the form of confession and absolution, the litanies, the creed, the *Te Deum*, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the collects, the doxologies, &c. For, the merit of the Reformation in the department of worship, if we except hymnology, did not consist so much in producing new forms of devotion, as in transferring those handed down from former ages into the vernacular tongues, in purifying them from certain additions, in reducing them to greater simplicity, and in subordinating them to the preaching of the Gospel, as the principal part of the Protestant worship.

"If the principles," says the report, "are conscientiously and wisely carried out, it is hoped, with the blessing of God, a Liturgy might be produced, which will be a *bond of union both with the ancient Catholic Church and the Reformation*, and yet be the *product of our own denomination in its present state*."—The report, embracing the plan and the summary of principles, was adopted by the Synod without any modifications, and its closing suggestions approved: that a *specimen Liturgy*, for the *inspection* of the Church should be printed, as soon as the nature of the work would admit.

The Committee, now clothed with ample authority, proceeded with their work anxiously and thoughtfully, making a gradual progress from year to year, until at the meeting of the Synod of Allentown, in 1857, when they had the pleasure of reporting that, according to its request, they had completed and published a *Provisional Liturgy* for examination or optional use in the churches, styled, *A Liturgy; or Order of Christian Worship*, published by Lindsay & Blakiston, Philadelphia, 1857. The report was adopted and the Committee thanked in very flattering terms for their services in the preparation of the work. It met with and gained an extensive circulation, a third edition being called for in 1858. The book was read, studied, criticised and generally received with favor as a help for both public and private devotion.

The following general remarks of Dr. Schaff appeared in his notice of this New Liturgy in the April number of the *Mercersburg Review* for the year 1858:

"Next to the Word of God, which stands in inapproachable majesty far above all human creeds and confessions, fathers and reformers, popes and councils, there are no religious books of greater practical importance and influence than catechisms, hymn-books, and liturgies. They shape the moral and religious sentiments in early youth; they feed the devotions in old age; they are the faithful companions of the most solemn hours in the house of God, around the family altar and in the silent closet; they give utterance to the deepest emotions, the purest thoughts, the highest aspirations; they urge to duty and every good work; they comfort in affliction, and point to heaven at the approach of death. Even the ripe scholar delights to return from time to time, if not daily, to the first question of his Catechism, or a familiar verse, or the simple Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, which his pious mother taught him when a child, on his knees, and derives more solid wisdom and substantial comfort from them than from a whole library of learned volumes. They embody his earliest and his deepest impressions; they remind him of his best moments; they are his sacred things 'which doubt has never dimmed and controversy never soiled;' they teach him his 'only comfort in life and in death.' Luther did more good by his little Catechism and a few hymns than by all his twenty-four large quartos, save only his translation of the Book of books. The authors of the Heidelberg and the Westminster Catechisms exerted greater influence upon their age and subsequent generations, than all the schoolmen of the middle age by their subtle commentaries on Aristotle and Peter the Lombard. The author of the simple verse, 'Now I lay me down to sleep,' etc., was one of the greatest benefactors of children, and through them of the race.

"It is difficult to say which of these three nurseries of the Church occupies the first rank. National and denominational differences must here be allowed their due weight. In Protestant Germany, which produced the richest hymnology in the world, and still adheres to the practice of congregational singing as an essential element of public worship, hymns have a power and influence as in no other land. The Presbyterian and Puritan Churches would no doubt at once give the Catechism and Confession the preference, and look upon liturgies with suspicion as tending to formalism. In the Episcopal Church, the 'Common Prayer Book' has probably done more to keep her together, to preserve her faith, to nourish her piety, to attach her membership, and to attract a certain class of foreign material, than all her bishops, priests and deacons. The

best state of things would perhaps require the equal excellency and harmonious co-operation of the doctrinal and devotional standards. But we know of no denomination which may claim to have at once the best catechism, the best hymn-book and the best liturgy.

"The German or Evangelical Reformed Church of this country has undertaken the difficult and responsible task of providing for its membership a new Liturgy or Directory of public and private worship. She did not seek it, but was providentially prepared for, and led into it. The book is now before the public, but simply as an experiment and for provisional use. The Committee which prepared it have no wish whatever of seeing it introduced into any congregation without their free and full consent. All they ask for their work is a fair examination and trial. In their final report, they requested Synod not to take any action at present either for or against the book. Its merits or defects can only be properly tested by practical experience in the family and the Church. It may require several years to settle the question of its adaptedness to the wants of the denomination for whose use it has been prepared.

"This is indeed a new method of introducing a Liturgy, and its practicability may be doubted. But if it be wrong, its fault lies not in the Romanizing, but in the Protestant direction, and should, therefore, give at least no alarm to anybody on that score. It makes full account of the general priesthood of believers. It may be called a Republican and even a Democratic method, or an application of the popular sovereignty-principle to Church movements. If the ministers and congregations do not want the new prayer book, all they have to do is, to vote it down, and either to refer it back to the old committee for revision, or to order the preparation of a new liturgy on a different plan, or to drop the subject altogether and settle upon the exclusive system of extemporaneous prayer in the house of God as well as in the family.

"But whatever may be the ultimate fate of this provisional liturgy as a public standard of worship, it has some significance even as an experiment. It is certainly one of the most important works which the German Reformed Church has attempted in this country. It represents a piece of her present spiritual life. It forms a chapter of her inner history and development. It is the practical result of a theological movement which has agitated her for a number of years past. It may have considerable influence even beyond the pale of the denomination that gave it birth. For this liturgy, although defective, and admitting no doubt of considerable improve-

ment, is by no means a mere compilation or patchwork, but something of an organic growth. The stones are old, but the building itself is new. The book has a life and spirit of its own. It is an American product, grown up on American soil and intended for American use. It is at least an earnest effort to solve the vital question of the best mode of conducting public and private worship for the wants of the present age; and that question will have to be met sooner or later by every Protestant denomination of this great and future-pregnant country.

"The German Reformed Church, like all the Churches of the Reformation, was originally liturgical. Zwingli, Calvin, Bucer, and even John Knox, as well as Luther and Melancthon, Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, were all in favor of a fixed and settled order of public worship, that should serve as a guide to the minister and secure decency, dignity and harmony to the exercises of the sanctuary. Their object was not to overthrow but to purify; to simplify and to adapt the ancient devotional forms which had been handed down from the previous life of the Church; to transfer them from the Latin into the vernacular tongues; and to enrich them with new forms that should embody and perpetuate the peculiar spirit of evangelical Protestantism. Hence the great number of liturgies and sacred hymns, which sprung up in the sixteenth century during and after the pentecostal days of the Reformation.

"But while agreed as to the liturgical principle even on ordinary occasions, the Protestants differed from the beginning as to the extent to which it should be carried. The Lutheran and the Anglican Churches adhered more closely to the traditional Catholic order of worship, and allowed less room for free prayer in public than the Calvinistic Churches. A few extreme branches of Calvinism, namely, Presbyterianism in Scotland and Puritanism in England, with their large offshoots in America, during the seventeenth century dropped the public use of prayer-books almost entirely. This can be easily accounted for by their extreme antagonism to the Church of England, by the unsatisfactory character of Knox's Liturgy, which never took proper root, and by the unwise and tyrannical attempts of Archbishop Laud and the Stuarts to force the Anglican service upon the reluctant Scotch nation. In the course of time the anti-liturgical prejudices have in these ecclesiastical bodies assumed the power of tradition, which it is very difficult now to overcome, especially in this country. But we have no room here to enter into a general argument in favor of liturgies against their opponents.

"The Protestant Churches of the Continent are without exception liturgical to this day, and make use of prescribed forms in every service in connection with more or less extemporaneous prayer. But they have too many liturgies, and consequently too little unity and harmony in worship. These liturgies, moreover, are intended as guides and helps simply to the ministers, and not for the use of the people, like the catechism and hymn-book. And yet the Protestant doctrine of the general priesthood of believers should lead to some active co-operation of the congregation with the pastor in praying as well as in singing. Here are some of the reasons why none of the Continental liturgies, either Lutheran or Reformed, has been able to take very deep root in the popular heart and to prove as successful as the Common Prayer Book. For the latter is truly a national institution, as strong and powerful as Parliament itself; it has stood the test of three hundred years without serious alteration; it is now as popular as ever, and extends further than ever.

"The German branch of the Reformed Church uses a considerable number of liturgies in Germany, and in Switzerland where almost every canton has one of its own. Some of them are excellent in many respects, especially those which date in whole or in part from the sixteenth century. But none of them, not even the old Palatinate Liturgy, can be called at all equal in depth, fervor and power to the Heidelberg Catechism. None of them combines those merits which constitute a truly popular Church-book, and exempt it from the necessity of a revision in almost every generation. But the same holds true of the Lutheran Church, which has as many liturgies in Germany as Germany has independent sovereignties.

"This is one of the causes of the unsatisfactory liturgical condition of the German Reformed Church in America. The missionary fathers of the last century brought with them the different liturgies then in use in those sections of Germany, Switzerland or Holland from which they emigrated. None of them ever received, as far as we know, the exclusive sanction of the Synod. Each minister was left to help himself as well as he could, and this in point of fact is the case still. The Palatinate Liturgy was used more extensively perhaps than any other. But it was superseded in Germany itself, and never republished in this country. Hence only a few copies of the original are to be found even in East Pennsylvania. Several older ministers in that section of the Church have manuscript copies of some of the old Palatinate forms and use them to this day, while a few others prefer the German translation of Dr. Mayer's Liturgy.

In addition to these, there are in use, especially among our foreign German congregations, several Swiss Liturgies, of Berne, Basel, Zurich, Coire, and Ebrard's Reformirtes Kirchenbuch. Such a diversity and arbitrary freedom in public worship is certainly undesirable in one and the same denomination and leads to confusion.

"In the course of the present century our Church was gradually anglicanized and in the same proportion also presbyterianized and puritanized to a very considerable extent. This influence showed itself in public worship by the gradual introduction of the free prayer-system in the *regular* services of the Lord's day. It gradually gained the ascendancy and prevails now almost without exception in our English congregations. But the Church never prohibited, of course, the use of liturgies even on ordinary Sundays, and always adhered to the liturgical principle for all special occasions and sacramental transactions. Here the same loose practice and arbitrary freedom have prevailed to this day, as in the German congregations. Some use the translation of portions of the Palatinate liturgy as appended to the hymn-book of the Dutch Reformed Church; others, Dr. Mayer's; others, portions of the Episcopal Common Prayer Book; others, prefer to compile from various sources their own forms for the sacramental occasions, for confirmation, marriage and the burial of the dead; while still others go the full length of the Puritan principle and depend altogether upon their individual resources and the inspiration of the moment for all these solemn occasions.

"This is the state of things which the Church has long in vain tried to correct and to regulate. For the last thirty or forty years the Synod has agitated from time to time the liturgical question, with the view to do away with this loose practice and to introduce a settled and uniform system of public worship, both in the English and German congregations under its jurisdiction, by means of a liturgy that should breathe the spirit of its doctrinal standard, the Heidelberg Catechism, and yet be adapted in arrangement and style to the wants of the Church at the present day and in this country in the midst of Anglo-American relations.

"In the meantime, since the year 1844, this body began to be strongly agitated by a theological controversy known as the 'Mercersburg' movement. It referred to the Church Question under its theoretical and practical aspect. It commenced with the discussion of the original and fundamental principles of Protestantism in its relations to Roman Catholicism, on the one hand, and to rationalism and sectarianism on the other, and extended gradually over a

considerable number of important historical and doctrinal topics, including the sacraments, the ministry and the nature of public worship. It led to serious synodical discussions after the meeting at York, in 1845, in which the members of the new liturgical Committee have in part occupied very different ground. As this movement is not yet closed, but in active, though more silent and peaceful progress, it would be premature to pass a final judgment on its merits. The best in it is unquestionably its *providential* character, which justifies the hope that it will lead ultimately to good results, in and out of the denomination in whose bosom it was first started. We are here merely concerned with its bearing upon the New Liturgy.

"The Mercersburg controversy evidently did not originate the liturgical movement in the German Reformed body, as appears from the preceding statement, but it gave it a new impulse and direction, and carried it to a practical result that differed very widely from what was originally contemplated. It called attention to the liturgies of the age of the Reformation and of the primitive Catholic Church, which had been almost entirely lost sight of in this country, and recommended them as the general basis on which the new work should be constructed. It placed, moreover, the defense of liturgical service on different grounds. It viewed it not simply in the light of convenience, decency and propriety, but as a sacred bond of union between the different ages of Christ's Church; as a guarantee against excesses of arbitrary freedom; as a conservative power in doctrine and discipline; as the organ for the exercise of the *general* priesthood; and as the artistic form, which the very spirit of social worship instinctively assumes, and which will characterize even the worship of the redeemed in heaven as a complete harmony of united thanksgiving and praise.

"The friends of that system deprecated the idea of a liturgy that should be either a purely subjective and narrow denominational production, or a mechanical compilation from other sources without principle and vitality. Such a book would hardly deserve the name, and not be worth the trouble of preparation. They called for a free reproduction and adaptation of the time-honored devotions of the purest ages to our particular age and country. In one word, they desired a truly *scriptural, historical, Evangelical Catholic and artistic* liturgy for the *people* as well as the ministry. Whether this aim be at all attained in the new book, is an altogether different question. For, from the ideal to the real, from theory to practice, there is more than one step, and many of the noblest aims of mortal men remain *pia desideria* in this world of imperfections."

In the article already referred to, Dr. Schaff gave some interesting reminiscences of the labors and toils underwent by the Committee in completing this Liturgy, which we here subjoin.

"The scheme and general principles adopted by the Baltimore Synod were conscientiously, yet not pedantically, adhered to by the Committee in their subsequent labors, as will appear from a comparison of the report with the book.—The Committee held several meetings more than were originally contemplated, one in 1856, four in 1857. Each lasted from one to two weeks. The number of the morning, afternoon and night sessions, as I learn from the Secretary, amounts to one hundred and four, exclusive of the sessions of the Lancaster and Mercersburg sub-committees, and those preceding the Synod at Baltimore. The first four of these general meetings were held in Lancaster city, owing to its central location and its being the residence of several members of the Committee; the last was held in Philadelphia, in the midst of the late financial panic, and the proof was read as the book passed through the hands of the printer. The members will not easily forget the old fashioned round walnut table in the Consistory Room of the First Reformed Church at Lancaster, and the similar table in the equally comfortable Consistory Room of the Race Street Church in Philadelphia, one of the oldest in the city and in our denomination, where once Schlatter, Hendel, Weiberg and other missionary fathers of pious memory labored in their generation. The Committee sat many a day, praying, writing, consulting together, criticising, examining and pondering over Bibles, Concordances, Liturgies, old and new, from the Clementine down to the Irvingite, and

Over many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore.

"They applied the pruning knife very freely to their own productions and laid aside whole piles of manuscript. Human nature, unaided by divine grace, would hardly have submitted to such an unceremonious process. But the book, I am sure, is only the better for it. Almost every sentence and word was rigidly examined and measured. Sometimes interesting theological discussions would spring up and relieve the mind of the weariness of minute verbal criticism. The whole was a capital training school, and if the Committee could have recommenced their labors when they stopped, with the experience they had acquired, they would probably have made a much better book than the one now published.—The last meeting, consisting of five members, was held Wednesday, October 21, 1857, at Philadelphia, and closed at 6 o'clock p. m., in a solemn manner by prayer and the singing of a doxology."

CHAPTER XXXX

IN 1860, three years after the publication of the Provisional Liturgy, the Committee made their final report and were discharged. The new work was in circulation, accessible to all alike, and the Synod submitted it to the Classes for their examination, approval or disapproval.—At the Synod of Easton in the following year, the Classes reported favorably in regard to its merits, its general plan and reigning spirit, most of them making various suggestions according to which it might be improved; and some of them calling for its revision. Thereupon it was placed in the hands of the original Committee for its final revision, and the principles which were to guide them in their work distinctly stated. They were instructed to consider the suggestions of the Classes as given in the minutes of their late meetings, “as far as the general unity of the work would allow, and in a way that shall not be inconsistent either with established liturgical principles and usages, or with the devotional and doctrinal genius of the German Reformed Church.”

It was the wish of the Synod that the Committee should complete the revised edition of the Liturgy, and present it at its next annual meeting, if possible, with the view of bringing this devotional work to the consummation desired by the Church during the Tercentenary Commemoration of the Heidelberg Catechism, to be observed by the Church as a whole during the year 1863.

The Provisional Liturgy already published had been unanimously adopted by the Committee, but when the question of revision was brought before it, there was a diversity of opinion, and unexpected difficulties sprang up in regard to the precise nature of the revision that was required. It was, therefore, thought best by the Committee not to take any further steps in the matter, until the mind of the Church could be more definitely ascertained. They therefore submitted to the Synod of Chambersburg, in 1862, a lengthy report, published in pamphlet form, prepared by Dr. Nevin, discussing the general principles of liturgical worship, pointing out the difference between what was termed an Altar and Pulpit Liturgy, and presenting the case very candidly, in a fair and honorable manner, in order that the Synod might act intelligently in the premises. The report of a small minority was read, proposing to adopt the Provisional Liturgy, already published, with a number of changes,

omissions and so on, which were specifically pointed out. This led to a very animated discussion, which continued for several days, at the end of which the Synod voted down the proposition to amend or expurgate the Provisional Liturgy; and deeming it advisable to give the Church still further time for reflection, decided by a large majority, that the optional use of the Liturgy should be continued for ten years from the time of its publication, and that the whole question of its revision should be postponed for the present.

Thus far the preparation of a new Liturgy was in the hands of the Eastern Synod of the Church and was intended more particularly to meet its wants. The Western or Ohio Synod in 1852 had appointed a Committee to co-operate with the Eastern Committee in the preparation of a suitable Liturgy for the use of the entire Reformed Church; and at Neria, Michigan, in 1853, it approved of the "Plan and Principles" for the new Liturgy, proposed by Dr. Schaff at the Synod of Baltimore in 1852. In 1854, however, at its meeting at Greensburg, Pa., it dissolved its Committee, and decided that the Church, as a whole, did not then seem to be prepared to go forward cordially with this important work. Thus the movement came to be confined, principally, to the Church in the East. But in the meantime a change in the constitution of the Church was effected by uniting the different particular Synods in one General Synod, and through it the Church, as a whole, was brought to confront the Liturgical Question. Had it been left in the hands of those who were its originators, it would have been solved with much less difficulty; but Providence ordered otherwise, and, in the end, it was better that the whole Church itself should unite in settling peacefully the controversy brought upon it.—At the first meeting of the General Synod at Pittsburgh in 1863, a recommendation was sent down to the Eastern Synod to go forward with the work of revising the Liturgy, *according to its own judgment*, so as to have the work completed by the next meeting of the General Synod in 1866. Accordingly, at the Synod of Lancaster in 1864, the subject of the Liturgy was once more brought before it for consideration. It complied with the wish of the higher body, and reappointed the old Committee to revise their work, and to report the result of their labors to the Synod before the next meeting of the General Synod, so that it might be revised and approved before it was submitted to that body, according to its request.

Under such encouragement, acting as a stimulus or spur, the Committee went to work again in good earnest, held many meetings, re-

ceiving or rejecting their own contributions to the work, using the freest and sharpest criticism, and had it finished and published by the time the Synod met at York, in October, 1866. The word "Liturgy" had come to be offensive to many persons, and the new book was simply called *An Order of Worship for the Reformed Church*. Its superior merits justified the expectations of its friends. It was a vast improvement in all respects on its predecessor. The defects of the latter had been pointed out, and had come to be felt by the Committee men themselves, no doubt, more than by any one else. They were, therefore, the best qualified to make all the needed improvement on their previous work. It was a gem in liturgical literature, a near approach, to say the least, to a work of art, no matter what might be its future destiny. A copy of the Order of Worship was presented to the Synod for examination, whereupon it was referred to a committee for a careful examination. After giving a brief history of the liturgical movement from its incipency, such as we are here repeating, the report thus concludes:

"The instructions given to the Committee from time to time, after much diligent labor continued for the last two years, embracing forty-five sessions in all, have been carried out, and as a result we now have before us the Revised Liturgy, printed and prepared for the examination of Synod. The work bears on its face the indications of unwearied patience and perseverance, of self-denying toil, of an elevated and devotional taste, of much study and reflection, and an undeniable purpose to serve the Church and the cause of Christ. It is questionable whether more labor and earnestness of purpose have ever been bestowed on any similar work, in Europe or in this country.

"From the history of the progress and consummation of the work before us, as it has just been given, the Committee are of the opinion, that the Liturgy, which is now presented to the Church, is fully as much the work of the Synod as of the Committee. It must be conceded, we think, that the Committee have acted with prudence, and respect for the instructions of the Synod at each step they have undertaken in the prosecution of their labors, and that all along they have been prompted and urged forward in their work by the special action of the Synod. The Liturgy is, therefore, the legitimate offspring of the Synod. Whether it will ever come into general use in our congregations or not, it is evident that for all time to come, it will be a monument both to the learning, ability, piety, and devotion of its authors and to the liturgical idea, which they have so well comprehended.

"The revised edition just published, and now reported to the Synod, comes recommended to us as an improvement on its predecessor. It might be presumed, if we may judge from the amount of labor bestowed on the revision, and the experience which the Committee were enabled to bring to their task, that this should be the case. Various changes have been made in it, so as to make it more suitable for use in divine worship, while the spirit, aim, and general character of the Provisional Liturgy, have been retained."

The report then concluded with several resolutions, recommending that the thanks of the Synod be rendered to the great Head of the Church that this work, so far as the Synod was concerned, was brought to a termination; that its thanks be tendered to the Committee for the zeal, ability and unrequited toil, which they had displayed in the prosecution of the work, from the beginning to the end; that the *Revised* Liturgy be referred to the General Synod for action; and that its optional use be allowed within the limits of the Synod, until the whole question should be finally settled by the various Classes and the General Synod, according to the Constitution of the Church. The report elicited considerable discussion, and aroused a deep interest in the community. Here, at this Synod, the war against the Order of Worship and its tendencies, extending over a number of years, was initiated, which on the whole probably did it more good than harm. Being the only one of ten opposed to the form of the revision, Dr. Bomberger had withdrawn from the Committee, and from that time onward he fought the Order of Worship with such weapons as he deemed most effective. His speech at this Synod was answered by Dr. Harbaugh in his own peculiar style, to the satisfaction of all liturgical men. Dr. Nevin and other members present did not deem it necessary to make any extended remarks or arguments, as the matter seemed to be in safe hands. The Synod adopted the report by an overwhelming majority. —Much interest was now concentrated in the approaching meeting of the General Synod which was to convene at Dayton, Ohio, during the latter part of the following month of November.

After the Ohio Synod at Greensburg, in 1854, had decided that the Church was not prepared to go forward in the formation of a new liturgy, a liturgical feeling began to spring up among some of its ministers, which could not be suppressed by any feeling of indifference or doubt which may have previously prevailed. In 1863, in answer to its request, the General Synod at Pittsburgh granted it permission to go on and prepare for itself a new Liturgy, such as, in its view, might suit the wants of the Church, recommend-

ing, as already said, that the Eastern Synod should do the same thing in the revision of its Provisional Liturgy. It was expected that the former would have had its work ready for examination by the time the general body was to meet at Dayton. Its Committee, however, probably found it a more difficult undertaking than they had imagined, and at the specified time they were simply able to report progress. But they had developed, to some extent, their ideas of a liturgy, far enough to make it manifest that it differed materially from that underlying the Order of Worship, and it, therefore, soon became evident that there was to be a clash of ideas at the Dayton meeting, and preparations on a large scale were made for the coming event. It came, moreover, to be generally understood that it was not simply two liturgies or prayer-books that were to be brought into mortal combat, but two tendencies involving many questions in theology or conceptions of doctrines, that were to be discussed, if not finally settled. Ideas, in fact, probably had as much to do in this controversy as the mere matter of forms, new or old.

Under this view of the case there was no small amount of preparation for the coming conflict in the highest judicatory of the Church. We here describe briefly the prelude, making use of Dr. Nevin's own language in his "Vindication of the Revised Liturgy, Historical and Theological," published in 1867.

"The opposition," he said, "had been at work for some time, and it was now prepared to go to work and accomplish the destruction of the young child's life, as if it could be satisfied with nothing less. Although it had been declared all along that it was such an order of worship as the people did not want, and never could be brought to receive with any kind of favor, yet when it barely asked permission to live, and nothing more, it became evident that even such a boon would be regarded as unsafe. Who could tell what power might be slumbering in that gentle, peaceful form? And so the fiat went forth not altogether openly, but, as it were, in secret: 'Let the Liturgy die, before it is well-born; let it pass away as an untimely birth, and become thus as though it had never been.' Efforts were made in the East to persuade the Church in the West that all things were going wrong in the Eastern Synod, both theologically and ecclesiastically; and that the salvation of the German Reformed church in this country now depended on the rising star of empire in the Synod of Ohio and the Adjacent States. Those who had been worsted over and over again in their anti-liturgical conflicts in the East, claimed to be the reigning power among the

people, and it, therefore, afforded them great satisfaction now to think of joining hands with the Ultramontanese brethren at Dayton, in a swelling wave, once and forever to roll off from the Reformed Church the reproach now resting upon it from the liturgical movement. In these circumstances Dr. Bomberger and his friends acted vigorously and adroitly, if not wisely, and they spared no pains to win the game. His tract on the 'Ritualistic Movement' was got up with great speed after the Synod of York, and circulated far and wide before the great assembly met at Dayton. The western paper—the *Missionary*—set itself to work to sounding continuous alarms on the same theme. Dark, ominous, bad-sounding words, were made to fall on all sides upon the ears of the people. Appeals were addressed to their prejudices and fears rather than to their reason and common sense. All was done here, as at York in 1845, to influence the jury before it heard the evidence, so that the Order of Worship might be prejudged and condemned, before it was seen or read.

"We all felt this, when we got to Dayton. There was an element at work around us, that boded no good, but harm only to the New Liturgy or Order. The opposition to it was strong; and it was called to give account of itself at what was, in one sense at least, a foreign bar. The Western delegation was full: the delegation from the East, especially in the case of the Elders, was only partially present. It was painfully evident, moreover, that the Western delegation itself had no power, as matters stood in the West, to be entirely independent and free. Men could not vote in all cases as they might wish; but had to do it, in some cases at least, as they *must*."—The liturgical plant, that had commenced to bud at Neria, Michigan, in 1853, had been suppressed, and another had sprung up and taken its place. The Synod of Ohio was no longer under the conservative influence of the men of 1853.

In the regular order of business the Liturgical Question came up for consideration, whereupon it was referred to a committee of nine, fairly representing the different parts of the Church in their numerical strength. There was, as might be expected, a majority and a minority report. The former was brief, and simply recommended that the Western Synod, in conformity with its own wish, be authorized to continue its labors in preparing its own Liturgy; that the Revised Liturgy should be allowed to be used as a proper order of worship in the congregations and families of the Reformed Church; and that it should be understood that this action was not designed to interfere in any way with the freedom of ministers or

congregations who might not be prepared to use the Liturgy in whole or in part.—This report was based on the fact that the Western Synod had not yet finished its liturgical work, which, in the nature of the case, precluded the possibility of referring the subject to the Classes at the time; and it was moreover deemed desirable that the liturgical movement in the Reformed Church should be left to work out its legitimate results in a free and untrammelled way.

The minority report, on the other hand, was much more lengthy and suggestive. It stated the various objections to the Order of Worship in detail, which, as they had been advanced repeatedly in other places, and were brought to the Synod on something like a special train by an *avant-courier*, in the tract on the “Ritualistic Movement,” it will be proper here once for all to give them a place, —not omitting italics, without note or comment—and only slightly abbreviated. The report affirms that the Revised Liturgy amounted, in fact, to a *fundamental revolution* in the order of worship in the Reformed Church during the whole period of its existence in America :

That it is not in accordance with the *original character and genius* of the Reformed Church, according to the Palatinate and other Reformed Liturgies of the sixteenth century ;

That it is not in accord with the *historical tradition* of the Reformed Church ;

That it is not in accordance with the present circumstances and needs of the Reformed Church ;

That there is little prospect of its successful introduction into most of the churches, and that the persistent attempt to introduce it will only issue in failure in the end ;

That it will be the cause of loss, strife, division and *schism* in our congregations ;

That its tendency will be gradually to merge a large portion of the Church in another denomination ;

That it will tend to *unsettle* the foundations of the Church in regard to *church government* ;

That it will tend to unsettle our beloved Zion in respect to its established doctrines ;

That it is believed that it contains doctrines, which are decidedly not in accordance with the doctrines of our Confession of Faith, the Heidelberg Catechism ;

That it will ultimately, if not at once, infringe upon the Christian liberty of ministers and people ;

That it will separate us more and more from sister denominations, most closely allied to us, with whom we yearn for a closer union;

That it does not pay due respect to the German Reformed Church of the past, the "mother of us all;"

That the system of worship it seeks to introduce, however beautiful in itself, and well adapted, in some cases, to intelligent and educated congregations, is wholly unsuited to the great body of plain people;

And finally, that its influence upon ministers and people, on missions, on the increase of ministers, on church extension, on charity among ourselves, and the work of grace in the hearts of our people, will be of doubtful benefit.

After these accusations had been made—specifications duly filed—this minority report offered several resolutions: one to the effect that for reasons stated the Synod could not give the Order of Worship its approval; the other was that it, with the Western Liturgy, should be placed in the hands of a Committee as material for the construction of a new Liturgy that should be in harmony with the doctrinal and devotional principles of the Reformed Church, and that its *general basis* should be—most probably the general basis of the Western Liturgy,—so far as it had then arisen out of chaos.

This report being offered as a substitute for the report of the majority, the great debate, attracting vast crowds of people, began on Tuesday afternoon and continued until Thursday, ending at five o'clock p. m. In the evening, after half an hour spent in devotional services, consisting of singing and prayer, the Synod proceeded to vote by yeas and nays. The so-called amendment was lost and the report of the majority was carried by a majority of *seven* votes. All the ministers from the Eastern Synod voted with the majority except five or six, and the same was true of the Elders. The Western delegates, with few or no exceptions, voted in the negative. Had the delegates, Ministers and Elders from sleepy Pennsylvania been as wide awake as their brethren in the West, they would have carried the day by a much larger majority.

The discussion took a wide range, covering all the points included in the bill of impeachment of the Order of Worship, and more too, including earnest disquisitions on many vital points in theology; was listened to with profound attention by the Synod and crowds of outsiders; and to intelligent listeners, who could make allowance for the *Rabies Theologica*, which too often rages on

such occasions, it must have been instructive and edifying in the highest degree. In the circumstances of the case, Dr. Nevin became the central figure, as his fame had preceded him. His form was still as erect as when he stood up before a similar audience twenty-one years before, at York, Pa., his voice just as firm, his intellect, if anything, more vigorous, but his head was now covered with the winter of years, a venerable sage, whose presence in any assemblage, even the highest, would have arrested immediate attention. Those who differed from him in his churchly tendencies, and looked upon them with more or less suspicion, especially foreign born Germans, paid him involuntary reverence and respect. His argument, liturgical, historical, and theological, mostly defensive, occupying two sessions of the Synod, forenoon and afternoon, was exhaustive, covered the ground of a theological treatise, and was stimulating as well as suggestive to all who listened to it. A western member occasionally interrupted him by asking him annoying questions, and was answered so appropriately, that a distinguished military officer present, General McCook, whispered to a friend at his side, that "he had better retreat and get into his bomb-proof." He, and others like him, somewhat captious, did thus retreat, as the thunder of theological artillery exploded over their heads.

The result of the long discussion at Dayton was highly satisfactory to Dr. Nevin, for which he thanked God and took courage. Most probably it was now for the first time that he began to see that his own labor, with that of his colleagues on the Committee, was destined to bear positive fruit. It will be remembered that in 1850, he did not consider it expedient to go forward and make an attempt to prepare a new liturgy, and recommended a translation of the old Liturgy of the Palatinate for the use of the churches. At the Synod of Lancaster in 1851, he says in his Vindication, "the Committee had come to despair very much of their being able to produce any liturgy, that would prove generally and permanently satisfactory to the Church. This was especially my own feeling. I had not led the way at all in the movement; my heart was not in it with any special zeal; I was concerned with it only in obedience to the appointment of Synod; other interests appeared to me at the time to be of more serious account; and I had no faith in our being able to bring the work to any ultimate success. In these circumstances, I was not willing to stand charged with the responsibility of continuing Chairman of the Committee; and accordingly I asked the Synod to relieve me from this position on the Committee,

with the understanding that I would be willing to act with it still in a subordinate character. The request was granted, and Dr. Schaff was made Chairman in my place.

"Dr. Schaff went to work in earnest, and set the rest of us to work also, in preparing new forms. He had faith in the movement, but as for myself, I confess I had almost none. Still I tried to do my share of service, and spent hours in what was found to be generally a tedious and irksome task. The work necessarily involved liturgical studies; and these brought with them a growing liturgical culture, which required an enlargement of the range within which it was proposed, originally, to confine the course of the movement.

"Three years now passed, the Committee working, but not with any comfortable feeling of success. There was an accumulation of material which brought no light or order in the work of construction. Much that was done was afterwards felt to be unsatisfactory. One great difficulty was, that the work seemed continually to unsettle and destroy itself. What was done would not stay done, but all had to be done over again. The hard road of the Committee led them through a wreck of matter and a crush of forms, until their wonder was that they had left the green pastures of ignorance and the quiet waters of tradition, when they had first been put to the working out of their task."

In 1857, after the Provisional Liturgy was published, Dr. Nevin experienced a feeling of relief, but he was not much hopeful as to the success of the work. "I had no expectation myself," he says, "that the work would be generally adopted. It was not fitted for easy and smooth practice; it seemed to be too great a change for our churches; and the very fact of its being an experiment, stood in the way of any general serious effort to bring it into use. Still I did feel that the labors of the Committee had not been thrown away. The work had its literary value. It might do good service educationally. It was a relief, at all events, to feel that with it we had reached a decent end for our long, weary pilgrimage in search of a Liturgy; for there was no reason to think we could now reach our object in any other way. The Church might not be prepared at all for this new order of worship; but it was just as clear, that she could not now be satisfied with any such book of forms as was thought of in the beginning. We were beyond that. We had got into the wilderness together; and the best thing we could do, as it seemed, was to make up our minds now to stay there for forty years at least, leaving it for the next generation to get up their

own Liturgy, should they think proper, in a way to please themselves. That was about the feeling in which I had come to settle comfortably in regard to the whole matter; and it gave me anything but pleasure to be rudely jostled out of it, a few years later, by the cry that was made for a *Revision*."

The Liturgy of 1857 met with an extensive circulation, and, with the exception of the forms for the Lord's Supper, and the Lord's Day, was in general use among the ministers in the East. At the same time, moreover, "it was wonderful to see," as Dr. Nevin says, "how it worked as a silent influence among us, in favor of sound ideas on the subject of Christian worship. It wrought a change, far and wide, in the spirit and form of the sanctuary services. It served to deepen among us the power of the liturgical movement, which had given it birth. It became more and more apparent that this movement could not be turned back; could not be arrested, and made to stand still. Its only redemption and deliverance lay in going forward."

And yet when the Synod of Easton in 1861 placed the Liturgy in the hands of the original committee for revision, he preferred to remain in the "wilderness," and let the "next generation" come and enter the promised land. "Many will remember," he says, "how earnestly I tried, at this time, to have my own name, at least, dropped from this new commission. I told the Synod that I had no faith in the undertaking; that I did not think the Church was prepared to receive the Liturgy in any form we could give it; that I knew the proposed work would involve more than the slight changes some talked of; that I was sure the Committee would not be able to get forward now with full agreement; that there was no reason then to expect that the Church generally would be satisfied with what was done; that in these circumstances the service appeared to me a thankless waste of labor and time; that I had no heart for it, and could take no part in it with any animation or zeal; and that my want of spirit in this way would make me a dead weight only on the cause I was expected to serve. All this I urged; and fairly begged, over and over again, to be excused from the appointment. But the Synod would not hearken to my prayer. The old Committee must serve, and I *must* serve with it."—Of course this was earnest and sincere language; and it effectually precludes the idea, advanced in certain quarters, that Dr. Nevin, during either this period or subsequently, was acting a part in trying to foist a liturgy on the Church which it did not want. Here as elsewhere throughout his life, he was honest, truthful and straightforward. It was

indeed characteristic of him generally not to engage in any serious work for the Church except as he came in some sense to be *pressed* into it. Then he felt assured that he was guided and directed by the hand of Providence. He was slow to propose measures, or to appear as an ostensible leader, but when once impressed, as it were, into a service by the prayers of those whose judgment he felt bound to respect, he was sure to become the *actual* leader and to perform the hardest part of the work.

Disposed as he was at times from his natural constitution to look unduly at the dark side of things, the action of the Church at Dayton, in 1866, revived his courage, his faith and hope, and for the first time he began to see in the liturgical movement some rays of daylight—some prospect that the protracted labors of the Liturgical Committee were not destined to be in vain in the Lord. At an age when our military officers are regarded in this country as having already passed beyond their period of active service, he was now simply at the meridian of his intellectual strength and seemed to give indication of rejuvenescence.

“In the circumstances,” we quote again from his Vindication, “which have been described, it was a great victory that was wrought in favor of this cause at Dayton; far beyond all that it might appear to be to superficial observation. The vote in its favor meant a great deal more than the difference simply of the yeas and nays recorded in it; and the enemies of the Liturgy knew the same thing. The true significance of the vote lies in the fact, that it was a struggle of the East to save its own cause here, against an organized opposition which sought, by help of the West, to destroy it—a struggle, at the same time, which had to be maintained on Western ground. In this character, the stand made in favor of the Liturgy was powerfully felt in the West itself. There was a moral superiority gained by the argument in its behalf, which told upon the General Synod and upon the outside community with far wider and deeper effect than any counting of votes, which has been working for good ever since, and which will continue to work for good still, through a long time to come. But more than all this, was the way the conflict served to bring out the thought and feeling of the Eastern Synod in regard to the great interest which was here at stake, and to show clearly where it stood, and intended to stand, on the issue which had been raised concerning it.—It was properly an Eastern question that was to be decided. The Liturgy belonged properly to the Eastern Synod; was the child of the Eastern Synod; had its home in the Eastern Synod; and by the judgment of the East-

ern Synod it was destined finally to stand or fall. In this view, as all may easily see, the vote was an overwhelming decision in its favor.—Our Eastern Eldership, after all the attempts which had been made to alarm their fears, and set them in array against their ministers, went almost in a body in favor of the Liturgy. Shall we hear anything more of a want of sympathy and good understanding between the Synod and its Committee on this subject?

“What has just been said does not mean, of course, that the Revised Liturgy has been endorsed and ratified, in form, by what was done at Dayton. The vote there, we all know, was not intended to do anything of that sort. The time for anything of the kind had not come. The vote simply meant that the Liturgy should have fair play; that as a work of art, it should not be subjected to the vandalism of being made so much raw material merely for the manufacture of another—not of art; and that after having been brought, through long years of learned and laborious preparation, under the eye and ordering hand of the Synod, to the perfect working form it had now reached, it should not be kicked to the one side by such as knew nothing about it; but should have, at least, an opportunity of coming before the people, to be tried by them on its own merits. This was what the action at Dayton meant; nothing more. But this, in the circumstances, was much. Nobly has it served to redeem the honor of the Eastern Synod, and to vindicate the good name of its grossly slandered Liturgical Committee.

“So much for the historical defence of the Liturgy. How far the work itself, in the form in which it is now before the public, may prove satisfactory to the Church, remains yet to be seen. The Committee, with its friends generally, are quite willing to leave the settlement of that question where it properly belongs, with the people. Our appointed service is done; done faithfully, and to the best of our ability. We have got out, at last, what we believe to be a good Liturgy, in good working order; and room is now made for its being put to practical experiment among our Churches. If they find it to be what they want, and are willing to make use of it, either in whole or in part, it will be well. If they find it otherwise, and do not choose to adopt it, that will be all well too; nobody will have any reason to complain; the thing will have taken its right course, and come to its conclusion in a fair and right way. That is all that is wanted or wished.—If it cannot bear to have its merits fairly and honestly investigated in this way, it ought not to expect favor. It courts enlightened criticism.”—The moral victory

at Dayton was an important one, but like that at Antietam or Gettysburg it did not end the liturgical war, which must continue for some years more until the real strength of the liturgical sentiment could be brought out and tested on one more field of battle.

The Elders who supported the Liturgy, believing that the tract entitled "A History and Criticism of the Ritualistic Movement in the Reformed Church" was "one-sided and unfair, and calculated to do harm in the Church," unanimously united in a request that Dr. Nevin should furnish a history of the preparation and a critical review of the merits of the Revised Liturgy for publication. He complied with this request, and not long afterwards his "*Vindication of the Revised Liturgy,—Historical and Theological*," Pp. 93, made its appearance. The historical portion defended the moral integrity of the Committee against the charge that they had disobeyed the instructions of Synod in the preparation of the Liturgy; that by persevering efforts they had sought to work out a liturgy of their own rather than such a one as the Synod called for; and that by delays, from time to time, by management or their own manipulations, they had sought to secure its ultimate adoption. These charges were answered in the *Vindication* by the facts, already mentioned in these pages, in a racy style, glittering at times with a mixture of pleasantry and withering sarcasm, to which no one on the other side of the house could consistently make any objections.

The second part of the tract, occupied with something more substantial, was a vindication of the Christological,—Christo-centric—and churchly views which underlay the structure of the Liturgy, including a reply to the objections made against its doctrine of Ordination, Confession and Absolution, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and correlated points. The theology here developed over against what was designated an "Anti-Liturgical Theology" is substantially the same that has been set forth in other parts of this volume, and needs no repetition in this place.

The *Vindication* was published in the early part of the year 1867, and close on its heels, before the end of the Spring, appeared a "Reply," in a tract of 156 pages with the title, "Reformed, not Ritualistic," published at the request of two more elders than the number that called forth the "*Vindication*." It covered pretty much the same ground as the previous tract on the same subject, which some thought was a bomb-shell thrown into the Synod of Dayton; and the frequent occurrence of harsh words and phrases directed against the author of the "*Vindication*," showed that the character of this second attack on the Liturgy and its authors was in the main

the same as the first.—It may be proper to add that Dr. Nevin did not think it necessary to reply to this second thrust at the Liturgy in another vindication, as it was thought that he had already answered it sufficiently before its appearance.—For the next three years the liturgical conflict continued more or less in public or private, of which we can here give no particular account. It served to show, at least, the earnestness of the churchly, liturgical movement.

In the year 1869 the General Synod met in Philadelphia, and as it had been generally understood that the liturgical question was to come up once more for consideration or settlement, the meeting was unusually well attended. This time the Eastern Elders were all in their places, and those from the West out to Iowa did not lag much behind them.

The Western Liturgy had been published and a copy of it was presented to the Synod for examination. The committee, to whom this new work and other matters pertaining to the general subject were referred, reported through its chairman, Dr. Thomas G. Appel, that the two Synods of the West, English and German, be allowed to use their "Liturgy or Order of Worship," just published, according to their request, in the same way as the Synod in the East had been accorded this privilege at Dayton in 1866; that nothing could be gained by sending any Liturgy down to the Classes for confirmation or rejection in existing circumstances, as the Church was not prepared to unite on one or the other at the time; that the only possible course to be pursued was to allow, within certain limits, the question to work out its own results freely, and to put no trammels upon the matter in any way; and that it be commended to all the lower Church Courts; and especially to all the churches, the necessity and importance of moderation, prudence and charity, in reference to the differences that existed on the subject of liturgical worship, in order that all might in the end be brought to unity and peace. A substitute for this report was thereupon immediately proposed, recommending that the two Liturgies be submitted to the several Classes for approval or disapproval; that, in the meantime, the optional use of both be allowed in divine worship; and that neither should be employed in the churches without the formal consent of the consistory and the congregation.

The discussion then commenced and continued during three sessions. The audiences were large, intelligent and discriminating. The number of advisory members present from all parts of the Church in the East and the far West was nearly as large as that of

the regular delegates. Besides, many clergymen and laymen of different denominations were present as interested spectators. The subject was somewhat new to most outsiders, but the liturgical feeling had begun to awake in many minds in different directions, and all seemed anxious to hear what could be said on the subject. The substitute, although plausible at first view, had in it an inherent weakness, which soon became manifest. Had it prevailed, neither of the two Liturgies would have received the vote of two-thirds of the Classes,—thirty-two in all—which were necessary according to the Constitution of the Church for the adoption of a liturgy. The result would have been “confusion worse confounded,” and both Liturgies, the fruit of much labor and toil, would have been disgraced. Some probably would have been quite well satisfied with such a denouement, or cutting of the Gordian knot; this certainly would have been true of a reverend delegate, innocent of much historical development, who, in the midst of a warm discussion at a previous Synod, once got up and in a sort of panic or fright was led to cry out: “Mr. President, can’t we stop the Liturgy?”

But there were sober-minded, reflecting men in the Philadelphia Synod who would not suffer the Church to reduce itself to an absurdity. Dr. Nevin, at the close of a comparatively short speech, said that the substitute reminded him of the proposition of King Solomon, to thrust the sword through the living as well as the dead child. The proposal here might suit those who took no interest in any liturgy, or thought their own liturgy was a dead child, but must be rejected with horror by all those who believed that their liturgical child was a living one. The remark produced some merriment at first, but a very deep and profound sensation throughout the house in a moment afterward.—The substitute was defeated and the original report adopted by more than a two-thirds majority—117 yeas to 52 nays and 9 non-liquets, a considerable number of the western members voting with their eastern brethren. The forces of the opposition were shattered, and the last great moral battle was won. It resembled in some respects those waged around Appomattox Court-house, which had been fought a few years before. It ought to have been followed by a voluntary cessation of hostilities on fair and honorable terms, and an agreement to live together in peace and unity, but the time for that had not yet arrived.

The subject of the Liturgy, therefore, continued to be discussed in the papers of the Church from both stand-points, and at times by no means in a broad Christian spirit. The *Reformed Monthly*,

the organ of the opposition, based on the minority report at Dayton, and abounding, to say the least, with numerous non-sequiturs, paid its monthly visits to its patrons without adding much to their edification. In the year 1874, Dr. Schneck, borrowing largely from the *Monthly* just mentioned, with its errors of statement, published his "Mercersburg Theology, inconsistent with Protestant and Reformed Doctrine," which, without any intention on his part, by its title, struck at Dr. Schaff's theology no less than Dr. Nevin's. In a large degree it fell still-born from the press, and Dr. Nevin did not think it necessary to notice it or other literature of the same kind. He was, however, considerably interested in a Convention held at Myerstown, in Lebanon county, Pa., in 1867, mainly for the purpose of arresting the liturgical movement—of course with all that it involved. It was an appeal to the people, and there was no telling what it might come to. The meeting was largely attended by members of the churches whose ministers belonged to the anti-liturgical wing. It was pervaded with a considerable degree of enthusiasm, and the conclusion was to send up to the Synod a bill of complaints and to ask for redress. The Synod, however, did not regard the appeal as in ecclesiastical order, and told the brethren who attended the mass meeting, that thereafter they should bring up their complaints through the regular judicatories of the Church, which were the constituted channels for such purposes. Dr. Nevin, who was present at the Synod, advocated this as the proper course to be pursued, and the popular uprising against the Liturgy did not end in any serious harm, as he apprehended it might.

In the Committee appointed by the Synod to send forth a Pastoral Letter to the churches warning them against holding such popular meetings, he helped to intone its language so as to reflect upon the Myerstown Convention more sternly, perhaps, than was really necessary. It was composed of earnest and sincere men, who came together, as they believed, to save the Church from the long array of imaginary mischiefs that were sure to grow out of the Order of Worship according to the minority report at Dayton. As the evils were not likely to be realized, the Myerstown Convention was a harmless affair, "signifying nothing," and it was scarcely necessary for the Synod to make so much account of it.

The war continued for several years on a small scale, each side apparently watching the other so that neither might get the advantage, not even in any skirmish or foray into the territory of the other. The conflicts had been attended with many direful results,

as was often alleged, but for the most part they were supplemented by such as were positively useful. Classes, especially in the West, were divided and increased, so as to strengthen the representation at the General Synod for special emergencies; but that new departure helped to wake up the overgrown Classes in Pennsylvania to do the same thing; two of which were nearly or quite as strong in membership as the two western Synods combined. The vexed question of the Liturgy ever and anon popped up in consistories, classes or synods, and stirred up a breeze which did no great harm to sluggish Teutonic blood. Sometimes a congregation was split asunder by the undue zeal of the liturgicals or the anti-liturgicals, and the result was the formation of a new congregation, which in the end was a positive gain; because, if the swarm had not been disturbed, the bees would have remained in the old hive, and been too sluggish to swarm of their own accord. In more than one instance, polemics instead of the Gospel of the day was preached from the sacred desk, which was an unmitigated evil—

When pulpit drum ecclesiastic

Was beat with a fist instead of a stick.

But admitting the evils of the long campaign, the Church advanced in its inner life and its practical activity. Those who wished to pray by the book in the East were numerically the stronger, ruled in the Classes and the Synod, and accordingly felt their responsibility. They reorganized the missionary work of the Church, awakened new interest in practical church activity, and helped to give the anti-liturgicals something else to think about in the place of what had come to occupy an undue amount of their attention. On the whole the controversy did a vast amount of good to the Church in breaking up its spiritual slumbers and in bringing it to its proper self-consciousness, self-respect, and the conviction that it had a specific work of its own to perform with other branches of the Church of Christ in this country. Here the treasure committed to earthen vessels appeared only the more resplendent, because they seemed to be so earthy and fragile.

But Churches get tired of controversies—especially after they have run their course—and Christians engaged in them for a while long for peace and an era of good will. A reaction gradually set in soon after the great meeting in Philadelphia, and from that time onward the period of reconstruction may be said to have commenced, which only waited for an opportunity to manifest its strength. There were many indications of a deep undercurrent of feeling in favor of the restoration of peaceful relations in the

Church, and of an actual yearning among the brethren for more unity among themselves than for "a closer union with sister denominations."—An illustration of this is here given.

In the year 1877, one of the Professors at Lancaster was invited, by the Rev. Fredrick Strassner, to attend a General Convention of the Ohio Synod, which was to be held in his own church at Orrville, Wayne county, Ohio, and to deliver a public lecture sometime during its sessions. He cheerfully accepted the invitation, because he wished to see the country and learn how the churches were advancing. He thought he could cross the Ohio line without exciting remarks or suspicion, as he had been requested to lecture on some subject in science, at the meeting of the Synod. Such a topic surely would not touch on controverted points. His intercourse with the Western brethren was pleasant and fraternal. He was surprised to see that the old controversies seemed to be a thing of the past, and that the general feeling was in favor of the return of unity and peace throughout the Church; or, as Dr. Samuel B. Leiter expressed it with much emphasis and feeling, "a better understanding with the brethren in the East." The aged ministers, Dr. David Kæmmerer, Dr. David H. Winters, and Dr. Peter Herbruck, with deep emotion, gave utterance to the same wish, and the younger brethren, Williard, Reiter, Lake, Herman, Zahner, Mease, Kefauver, Kendig, Leberman and others, breathed the same spirit of unity and concord, which seemed to please pastor Strassner amazingly. On his return home he prepared an article for both Church papers, giving his impressions of the Church in the West; directing attention to the kindly feelings of the Western brethren toward the East, and their desire to "come to a better understanding." The paper, it is said, was read with interest and received with favor.—The unsophisticated Professor was not aware that he was in the hands of a son of Abraham, and that pastor Strassner was making use of him to initiate a peace movement, in his own way, until he told him all about it afterwards—a few years ago.

In 1878 the General Synod met at Lancaster, Pa., and at the first session there was every indication of an ecclesiastical wrangle or another theological tempest. The skies presented a leaden hue, and if the ocean did not exactly yawn, the winds at least rudely blew and seemed to toss the foundering bark. At first some brethren at Lancaster heartily wished that the Synod had met somewhere else. Some thought it would be better to yield to the inevitable, and to form two General Assemblies. But at the right time, and in the right place, at an evening session, an

Eastern member, Dr. Clement Z. Weiser, took the Synod by surprise, and in a series of well prepared resolutions proposed that Commissioners should be appointed by the different Synods—then four in the East and two in the West—who should prepare a Basis, upon which all parts of the Church could stand and work in harmony with each other. The proposition met with favor at once; animated speakers advocated it without regard to party lines; and the utmost good will pervaded the Synod, as well as the immense audience present. It was not long before the house was ready for the motion, but there was some demurring to the general wish; and it was urged that it would be the part of prudence to postpone the question until the next day. Motions to adjourn, however, one after another, were voted down, although it was growing late, until they became absolutely distasteful.

At length some practical Elders understanding the situation combined together and determined to keep “these preachers” in the church until the great question was decided—if they should have to stay all night in their seats. At a late hour Dr. Weiser’s resolutions were adopted—*nemine contradicente*. Every body was delighted, with few or no belligerent exceptions, and at the adjournment of the Synod the whole body arose, and prompted by Rev. Dr. N. Gehr, a German, united in singing the German choral:

Lobe den Herrn,

Den mächtigen König der Ehren,

concluding with the long metre doxology, sung together in the German and English languages at the same time. The brethren then asunder parted with happy feelings,—with the belief that this meeting had had a good effect.—Thus, after a thirty years’ war, the liturgical conflict ended; peace was declared in the city of Lancaster in one of the oldest congregations in the Church, and under the shadow of her oldest classical and theological institutions.

The limits set by these memoirs will not allow us to pursue the history of the labors of the Peace Commissioners to bring about a general pacification, which would form an interesting chapter in itself. The action of the General Synod at Lancaster was in itself the declaration of peace, and accordingly, with the best wishes of the entire Church, they were successful as wise peace-makers in giving expression to the general feeling. They united upon a satisfactory Doctrinal Basis and, according to their instructions, published a revision of the Order of Worship, eliminating certain objectionable passages, without changing essentially its form or contents, and

presented their report to the General Synod at Tiffin, Ohio, in 1881. The Directory of Worship, as this fourth liturgy was called, was referred to the Classes and met with their approval without any exception; and after this fact came to be officially announced to the same body in 1887, it became formally the authorized Liturgy of the Reformed Church in the United States. It has all the merits of the Order of Worship, with only slight modifications of its objectionable features.—Congregations can use it as a whole, in part, or not at all, as they may deem best.—The names of the Peace Commissioners were as follows: Ministers, Clement Z. Weiser, Thomas G. Appel, Franklin W. Kremer, Jeremiah H. Good, Lewis H. Kefauver, Herman J. Ruetenik, Peter Greding, John M. Titzel, Joseph H. Appel, Samuel N. Callender, G. William Welker, John Kuelling; and Elders, Daniel W. Gross, William H. Seibert, Rudolph F. Kelker, Andrew H. Baughman, Benjamin Kuhns, Frederick W. Scheele, Henry Tons, Christian M. Boush, Thomas J. Craig, Henry Wirt, Lewis H. Steiner, and William D. Gross.—Thus ended the famous Liturgical Movement extending over many years, which must have been something useful to the Church as a whole, because it “ended well.”

CHAPTER XLI

AS the old Grecian philosopher felt the necessity of returning to intellectual work after he had taught his neighbors how to cultivate olives, so Dr. Nevin found himself impelled to add intellectual to physical exercise. His pen gradually regained its activity, and he wrote for the *Mercersburg Review* some of his ablest and best articles. Occasionally he assisted in giving instructions to the college classes during the absence of one of the Professors. At the request of the Faculty he delivered an opening address at the beginning of the college term, and selected as his theme, "The Wonderful Nature of Man." We here give the address as it appeared in the July number of the *Mercersburg Review* for the year 1859.

Science, as it has to do with the world of Nature, unfolds to our view, in every direction, objects and scenes of surpassing interest. Each different province of knowledge is found to embrace a whole universe of wonders, in some sense, within its own separate bounds. Who shall pretend to set limits to the grand significance, in this way, of Astronomy, of Geology, of Chemistry, of Natural History in all its divisions and branches? Nay, who may pretend to exhaust the full sense of any single object or thing, included in these vast fields of scientific research? The relatively small here has its mysteries of wisdom, its miracles of power, no less than the relatively great. Vistas of overwhelming glory, stretching far away in boundless, interminable perspective, open upon us through the microscope and telescope alike. Every drop of water shows itself to be, in the end, an ocean without bottom or shore. The flowers of the field, the leaves of the forest, the worm that crawls upon the ground, the insect that sports its ephemeral life in the air, all, all are telling continually—in full unison with the everlasting mountains, with the rolling waves of the sea, with the starry firmament on high—the endless magnificence of God's creation; the music of earth rising up everywhere, like the sound of many waters, responsive to the music of the spheres, and echoing still forever, in universal triumphant chorus, *The hand that made us is divine*. In whatever direction our eyes are turned, under the guiding light of science, above, beneath, and around, we are met with occasions for adoring admiration, and may well be led to exclaim with the Psalm-

ist: "O Lord, how manifold are Thy works? In wisdom hast Thou made them all; the earth is full of Thy riches."

In the midst of all these wonders of Nature, however, it is easy to see that the central place belongs to *Man* himself. This indeed is plainly signified to us by the Mosaic account of the Creation, in the first chapter of Genesis; where the different parts of the world are represented as coming into existence in a certain order and course; each lower stage opening the way always for a higher, and one part of the process leading over continually to another; until all is made to end at last, on the sixth day, in the formation of Adam—as though the whole work previously had been concerned with the preparation simply of a fit platform or theatre, on which he, the last sense and crowning glory of all, was to be finally ushered into being. On this account, moreover, a new special solemnity is thrown around his advent, a sort of heavenly circumstance and pomp, showing forth sublimely the greatness of the occasion. All else being complete, and the preliminary arrangements of creation brought forward in order to this point, there follows as it were a pause in the process; and then the voice of God is heard once more: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." Man thus is declared to be something higher and greater than the whole world of nature besides. He is the head of the natural creation. All its mysteries and glories culminate at last in his person, and find here only their full significance, their proper conclusion and end.

The actual structure of the world, as it unfolds itself continually more and more to the observation of science, is found to be in striking agreement with this ancient representation of the Bible. It is plainly a single system throughout, subject everywhere to the presence of a common law, pervaded universally by the power of a common idea or thought, and reaching always, with inward restlessness, toward a common end. The inorganic is in order to the organic. The crystal is a prophecy of the coming plant. Rising continually from lower to higher and more perfect forms of existence, the whole vegetable world serves to foreshadow, in like manner, the sphere of animal life above it. This again is an upward movement throughout, an ever ascending series of types and forms, reaching always toward an ideal, which on to the last it has no power to actualize, but can faintly prefigure only as something far more exalted and far more glorious than itself. The organic order

comes to its rest ultimately in Man. He is the true ideal of the world's universal life, the last aim and scope, we may say, of the whole natural creation. He is the fulfilment of all its prophecies, the key to its mysteries, the exposition of its deepest and most hidden sense.

As being then, in such view, the last, full sense and meaning of the world, Man necessarily represents to us its main interest and glory, and must be more worthy of our regard than all it offers besides to our contemplation. It can be no extravagance to say, that his existence and presence in the system of nature set before us the greatest and strangest part of its wonderful constitution—a fact, which surpasses in significance, and transcends in interest, all its other phenomena and facts combined. Man is an object immeasurably more lofty and grand, in the universe of God's works, than the towering hills, the swelling seas, or the stars even, that look down upon him from their infinite distances in the calm, blue vault of heaven. He ranks higher in the scale of creation. He embraces in his being more stupendous realities, profounder mysteries, wider and far more enduring interests. Well might the Hebrew Singer cry out, overwhelmed as it were with the contemplation of his own nature: "I will praise Thee, O Lord; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are Thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well." Yes, of a truth, fearfully and wonderfully made. The declaration applies in full force to the entire being of Man. He is to be gazed upon with a sort of trembling admiration, first of all, in his simply physical nature; still more so, afterwards, in his intellectual nature; but most of all, finally, in his moral nature—where only, at the last, the full boundless significance of his life, and along with this, the whole terrible sublimity of it also, may be said to burst completely into view.

Look at him first in his simply physical nature. The human body offers itself to our consideration at once, as the greatest and most finished work of God in the outward world. When we compare it with other natural objects, there is none which can be said to be equal to it, or like to it, either in conception or in actual execution and effect.

So under a merely anatomical view. The more closely and carefully we study its conformation and structure, as they are laid open to our observation by the dissecting knife—its framework of bones, its muscles and tendons, its nerves, its curious apparatus of the senses, its organs of action and motion, its marvellous dispositions and arrangements of stomach, lungs, heart, brain, the perfection, in

one word, of all its parts, and their most admirable fitness for their several purposes and ends—the more deeply and thoroughly shall we be made to feel, that taken altogether, even in this dead mechanical light, there is indeed nothing so absolutely wonderful and complete, in the whole range of nature besides.

But the case becomes of course still stronger a great deal, when we pass from anatomy to physiology, and fix our attention not simply on the mechanism of the body in a state of rest, but on this same mechanism animated and set in motion everywhere by the powers and forces of life itself, working by it, and through it, for the accomplishment of their proper end. Such a sphere of wonders is here thrown open to our contemplation, as may be easily seen at once to leave far behind, in significance and interest, all that can be brought into comparison with it under any like physical form. Vast as the powers of nature may show themselves in other quarters, grand as the scale of their action may be, and however much of strange, amazing mystery may seem to enter into their processes, they bring after all no such results to pass anywhere, as can be said to match in any measure what is going forward continually in the living constitution of the human body.

What, for example, is the chemistry of nature, its dark mysterious processes going forward always in the deep places of the earth, its laboratory of wonders in the air and in the sky—where the winds are born—where the clouds come and go—where rain, snow, hail, lightning, and tempest issue continually from the same awful womb; what is all this, we say, in comparison with what is taking place every day in every such living body, by the process of digestion and assimilation; through which, all sorts of foreign material are received, in the shape of food, into the stomach, wrought silently into blood, and converted out of this finally into the very substance of all the different parts of the system—meeting thus its perpetual waste with perpetual renovation and supply.

What is the ocean, with its world-embracing circulation—its waters lifted into the air, borne in every direction by the clouds, made to descend in showers upon the earth, gathered into streams, and poured at last through mighty rivers back again into their original bed; what is “this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts,” where the ships go, and where leviathan is made to play; what is the whole of it at last, in all its greatness, over against that wonder of wonders, the human heart, with its tidal flow of blood kept up day and night, and year after year, through the arteries and the veins!

What is the action of the winds, which come no one can tell whence, and go no one can tell whither, now fanning the earth in gentle zephyrs, and now sweeping over the face of it in hurricanes and storms, penetrating all things, purifying all things, stirring all things into motion and life; what is the action of the winds, we ask again, in this outward view, compared with the proper breath of life in man, received through his nostrils, and made to fulfil its un-resting twofold ministry by the marvellous economy of his lungs?

Or the still more subtle forces of electricity and magnetism, as they are found to be constantly and powerfully at work everywhere, through the universal realm of nature, or as they are made to perform miracles, at the present day, in obedience to the will of science and art; what are they, under either view, in comparison with the brain of man, and its dependent system of nerves, extending with infinite ramification to all parts of the body, and causing the whole to be filled at every point, and through every instant of time, with the unity of a common life?

It is true indeed, that these physiological wonders themselves come before us, to a certain extent, on the outside of man's nature. They belong to the animal world in general. Here too the phenomena of sentient life, upheld and carried forward by organs and functions strangely adapted to its use, challenge in every direction our profound admiration. Bodily senses are here, vital activities, powers of digestion, secretion, and self-reparation, blood coursing through arteries and veins, the curious play of lungs, and the working more curious still of nerves and brain. Many animals seem even to surpass man, in particular aspects and features of their organization. He is excelled by some in strength; by others, in speed; by others again, in special forms of natural art and ingenuity. Some have a more quick and acute sense of hearing; others a far more keen and wide reaching vision. In all directions around him, they show themselves qualified and fitted for modes of existence, which are for him impossible altogether.

But all this detracts nothing in the end from the proper superiority of his being, even in that merely physical view with which only we are now concerned. For it is easy enough to see, that any points of advantage, which may seem to belong to other animal organizations, hold only in single subordinate particulars; going thus to show the comparatively partial and narrow order of their life; while in any world of order and beauty, it was after all an imperfect symbol only of what took place in a higher form, when "the Lord God formed Man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his

nostrils the breath of life," causing him to become thus, through his own inspiration, a rational and intelligent soul. It was as if the whole work of creation, in its previous form, had been suddenly flooded with fresh heavenly light, and kindled into new sense. For such in truth is the mysterious relation, which mind, as it lives and reigns in man, sustains through all time to the outward material world. In a profound sense, it may be said actually to make the world, imparting to it its whole form and meaning as it now stands. Not as if the system of nature had no existence, on the one side of man's intelligence and thought. It has a being of its own, we believe, apart from all such apprehension. But what that is, we can never either know or guess. It offers to our contemplation nothing better than thick, impenetrable darkness.

In such view, it is for us as though it did not exist at all. To become real for us, in any way, the world must not only *be*; it must come into us also in the way of knowledge; and the forms of this knowledge, in the nature of the case, can be imparted to it only by our own minds. It is for us, therefore, only what it is made to be through our intelligence itself, and nothing more. Not only so; but we must say the world itself is made for this mode of existence—what it comes to be by entering into the types and moulds of actual knowledge—as its only true and full perfection; so that, short of this, it must ever be a rude and unformed mass, carrying in it no right sense, and representing no proper reality whatever. Thus it is that the whole world is literally brought out of darkness into marvellous light, and reduced at the same time to full order and form, by the power of intelligence made to bear upon it through the mind of man. In the waking of consciousness, all nature may be said to wake together with him into new life. It takes shape everywhere in conformity with his perception and thought. It shines, and blooms, and sings, in obedience to the magical authority of his spirit. It lives, and has its being—such phenomenal being as we know it by—only in the orb of his mind.

We have seen before, that the physical creation centres in the human body; and that this may well be dignified with the title of *microcosm*, for this reason, as gathering up into itself finally all the forms and forces of nature in its larger view, and so representing in small compass its universal sense. But what is all this, in comparison with the centralization that is here exhibited to us, in the constitution of the human soul? By this emphatically it is, that man becomes in the fullest sense a living microcosm, taking up into himself the very being of the great and mighty world

around him, and so reflecting and showing forth the full sense of it, as it is not possible for it to be known in any other way. The vast, the manifold, the multitudinous in nature, is not simply reduced here to relatively small bounds, as in the other case; it is brought down to absolute unity, and so made to pass away entirely in another order of existence altogether. In such view, the microcosm is more than the macrocosm—the world intelligible than the world diffused and spread abroad in space; since it is wholly by the first alone, that the latter can ever be, at all, what it seems to be in any such outward form.

Here, therefore, mere physical bulk and force, set over against the being of man, shrink into still greater insignificance than before. Are not mountains and seas, bellowing thunders, roaring cataracts and storms, comprehended truly in his spirit, and made to pass through it, in order that they may be for him either outward or real? Why then should he stand aghast before *them*, and not feel rather in them, and by them, the yet more awful grandeur and overwhelming vastness of his own nature. Mind is infinitely greater than all that is not mind, enlarge the conception of this as we may. It towers above the whole material creation. It outshines the stars. It is a force more active and powerful by far, than that which bears along comets and planets in their course. The sun itself, in all its majestic splendor, is an object less high and glorious, than the soul even of an infant, carrying in it the latent power of thought, the undeveloped possibility of reason.

We have spoken of the physical action of the brain, as something greatly more wonderful than that of the most subtle forces in nature under any different form. But what is this in its turn, when we come to compare it with the activity of thinking itself, which, however it may depend upon the working of the brain, is yet not that simply, but another order of force and energy altogether? Thought is more free than air, more penetrating than fire, more irresistible and instantaneous in motion than lightning. It travels at a rate, which causes the velocity of light to appear sluggish and slow. It traverses the earth, and sweeps the heavens, at a single bound. In the twinkling of an eye, it passes to the planet Saturn, to the Sun, to the star Sirius, to the utmost bounds of the universe.

We have spoken of the circulation of the blood, as something more fearfully grand than the waters above the firmament, and the waters under the firmament revolving continually through the heart-resembling ministry of oceans and seas. But what is all this to the mystery of consciousness—that broad, unfathomable sea in

the human spirit, which serves to set in motion all its activities and powers, out of whose depths all knowledge proceeds, and into whose bosom again they continually return!

Every faculty of the mind is a subject for admiration, from mere sensation up to the use of reason in its purest and most perfect form. The images of conception, the reproductions of fancy, the new combinations and grand creative processes of the imagination, the operations of judgment, the intuitional apprehensions involved in the power of ideas—time would fail us to speak of them in any way of particular detail; but what realms of interest, what worlds of thrilling wonder, do they not all throw open to our view!

Let any one consider only for a moment what is continually going forward within us, in the familiar process which is known to us by the name of memory. Nothing so simple, it might seem, at first view; and yet, the moment we stop to think of it, nothing more profoundly mysterious and strange. Images and thoughts are continually entering the consciousness of the mind, and then disappearing from it again, as though they were entirely lost. But they are in fact only buried, and hidden away, in the secret depths of the mind itself, so as to be capable of being resuscitated, and called back again, whenever their presence may be required; and in this way they are in truth all the time coming and going, appearing and disappearing, in our ordinary thinking. What we hold in our intelligence thus is only in small part ever contained in our actual consciousness, at any given time. By far the most of it is in us always under a latent, slumbering form. And yet it all enters into our spiritual being, is truly part of ourselves, and goes to make up continually the proper contents of our personality.

But what a marvel this is; that so much of our knowledge should be in the mind and yet out of mind, at the same time; that our sense of self should hold joined with it in this way such a vast multitude of conceptions, thoughts, and ideas, such a whole world of past experiences and affections, which nevertheless are in general as much unperceived as though they did not exist at all, and only come into view occasionally and transiently, ever rising and ever sinking, ever entering and ever departing—an endless succession of vanishing forms, in what remains throughout after all the indivisible, unbroken unity of one and the same consciousness. To stand on the shore of such an ocean, to look forth on its broad, boundless expanse—to send the imagination down among the secrets that lie buried, far out of sight, in its dark and silent depths—may indeed well produce in any thoughtful mind an overwhelm-

ing sentiment both of astonishment and awe. There is neither height nor depth, nor show of vastness and sublimity under any other form, in the simply physical world that may bear to be placed in comparison with it for a single moment.

The case swells upon us into its full significance, only when we come to ask, Can that which has once been in the mind, so as to be part and parcel of its consciousness, ever so pass out of it again as to sink into everlasting oblivion? Some thoughts, we know, return upon us readily and easily in our ordinary experience, lying as it were near at hand to us all the time; others are recalled with more difficulty, as having got farther out of reach; while others again, the largest class of all, seem to have sunk like lead in the mighty waters, to be remembered by us no more forever.

But who will pretend to distinguish here, between what is still within the reach of memory, and what has become for it thus as though it had never been? Who will undertake to say at what point of time, or under what terms and conditions otherwise, that which has once been the property of the spirit, in the way of thought, shall be so sundered and alienated from it as to pass irrecoverably and entirely out of its possession? The grand wonder is, how the past should return at all, and become thus the matter of present consciousness and knowledge—a thing past and yet present at the same time; that it should do so after a short interval, or do so after a long one, would seem to be in the case a distinction of no material account. If the power of memory may bridge in this way the chasm of an hour, why not with equal ease, the oblivion of a year or the dark void of a thousand years? We know in fact, that what has thus slumbered in us through long periods of time does often wake up within our consciousness at last, in the most surprising manner.

In old age especially, nothing is more common than such a resurrection of long buried images and thoughts. In many cases, the circumstances and experiences of childhood and early youth, after being forgotten for scores of years, are so restored to memory again as to seem only of recent date. Persons recovered from drowning have said, that in the middle state, to which they were brought between life and death, a whole world of such buried recollections seemed to pass before them in panoramic vision. We have been told of others, who, in circumstances of extreme danger, falling from a precipice for instance, or exposed to the jaws of death in some like violent way, have had their whole past lives, as it appeared, brought back upon them with a sort of instantaneous rush.

Who, in view of such cases, may presume to limit the possibilities of memory? And who that thinks of it may not well be filled with amazement, rising even to terror itself, in considering what is involved for himself, in the awful abyss, which is found thus yawning before him continually in the depths of his own soul?

But it is in his moral nature most of all, that Man comes before us finally in the full terrible sublimity of his being—"fearfully and wonderfully made," beyond all the wonders of creation under any different form.

There is a close, necessary connection, of course, between the moral and the intellectual. Reason and Will, thought and action, flow together, and as it were interpenetrate each other continually, in the constitution of the mind. There can be no act of intelligence without volition; and there can be no exercise of volition without intelligence. Still thinking and willing are not the same thing; and there is full room, therefore, for distinguishing between the intellectual nature of man as based upon his reason, and the moral nature of man, as based upon his will. It is easy enough to see, moreover, that the relation is of such a kind as to place the moral nature, in point of dignity and worth, above the intellectual. If it be asked, where the economy of the mind is to be regarded as coming to its main end, its grand ultimate purpose and meaning, the answer must be, in that part of it which is represented to us by the idea of the will. Thought is rightly in order to action; knowledge in order to freedom. The practical reason is greater than the speculative reason. Truth in the understanding must become truth in the will also, if it is ever to be either spirit or life.

We have seen already, that the human mind is in fact the revelation in the world of a new order of existence altogether; a result, which serves to satisfy and fulfil the universal sense of the physical creature, struggling up to it through all its realms of existence, and that might seem to be thus, in one view, the last product of this process itself; while it is yet plain, that in reaching it nature is actually carried beyond itself, and met, as it were, in its own sphere by the power of a higher life, descending into it from above. Considered as the mere passive counterpart of nature under a spiritual view—the mirror simply of its multitudinous forms, the echo only of its manifold voices and sounds—such a manifestation is indeed wonderful in the highest degree. But the full force of the wonder comes into view, only when we look beyond this, and see the mind to be at the same time a fountain of power, a principle of free spontaneous action, in its own nature, not only open to impressions re-

ceptively from the world around, but capable also of working back upon the world again, and as it were over against it, in the most original and independent way. This is the idea of the *Will*.

There is no power or force like it, under any other form, in the system of creation. Physically considered, the world is a constitution carried forward in the way of inward, settled and fixed law, causes producing effects continually, and effects following causes, with a certainty which admits of no variation or exception. The whole process, in such view, is necessary, blind and unfree. So in the sphere of mere lifeless matter; so in the sphere of vegetation; and so in the sphere also of animal life. The actions of animals are determined absolutely by influences exerted upon them from without, through their natural appetites and instincts. Neither is the case different with the animal nature of man, in itself considered. This likewise stands connected with the physical world by organic relations, which involve the same kind of subjection to its laws that is found to prevail in lower spheres. Appetite, desire, inclination, passion, in man, are in this view, so far as their original form is concerned, responses simply to other forces in the system of nature, and as such include in themselves neither light nor freedom.

The difference here, however, is the conjunction in which these forms of merely natural life are set with a power above nature in man, which may indeed lend itself to their service in a base, passive way, but whose rightful prerogative it is rather to rule them always in subserviency to its own ends. This power, the practical reason—the will in its proper form—is no agency that serves merely to carry into effect what has been made necessary by the working of causes going before. If that were the case, it would at once lose its distinctive character, and be nothing more at last than the continuation of nature itself, under a new sublimated and refined form. But the very conception of will implies and involves the contrary of this. It is, by its very constitution, a self-determining power.

It is no blind, necessary force, like the laws of nature, but a free, spontaneous activity, which knows itself, and moves itself optionally its own way; giving rise thus to a whole universe of relations, interests, actions and systems of action, which but for such origination could have no existence whatever, and which, however it may be joined with the constitution of nature, and made to rest upon it in some sense as a basis, is nevertheless in fact a new world altogether of far higher and far more glorious character.

Let it be considered only, for a moment, what this *hyper-physical*

economy—the moral world as distinguished from the world of nature—is found to comprehend and contain. It comprises in itself all the powers, functions, and operations of mind; the thinking of men; their purposes and aims; their affections, emotions, and passions; their acts of whatever kind, whether inward only or extending out into the surrounding world; the full unfolding and putting forth, in one word, of all that is involved in their spiritual being. In it are embraced, at the same time, the idea of society, the order of the family, the constitution of the State, the organization finally of the Church; all social, political, and religious relations; all virtues and opposing vices; all human privileges, duties, and rights.

It is the sphere emphatically, thus, of whatever is comprehended in the conception of education and history; being made up mainly in fact, not so much of present experiences simply at any given time, as of a whole world rather of past experiences, consolidated together, and handed forward continually from one generation to another. What a mass of material, accumulated in this way through ages, goes to form the proper ethical life of civilized nations—the historical substance, we may call it, of their nationality—strangely treasured up in their language, their institutions and laws, their manners and customs, their traditions and hereditary memories of the ancient past! Among animals there is no education, and no history. The ideas are purely and exclusively human. They belong only to the world of intelligence and freedom.

We have spoken of the self-moving nature of the will, its independence of all outward constraint, its power to originate action in its own way. This freedom, however, forms only one side of its marvellous constitution. Under another view, it is just as much bound by the force of necessary law as the constitution of matter itself. The only difference in the two cases is, that in nature the law carries itself into effect as it were by its own force, while in the moral world it cannot go into effect at all, unless by the free choice and consent of the will itself which it thus necessitates and binds. The necessity, to prevail at all, must pass into the form of freedom. But this does not detract in the least from the idea of its authority and force. The distinction serves only, in truth, to clothe it with greater dignity and glory.

In this view, the law of nature, in all its generality and constancy, is but the type, in a lower sphere, of the universal and unchangeable character of the law, as it exists for freedom in a higher sphere. The first mystically adumbrates, for all thoughtful minds, the wonderful presence of the second. Some such thought seems

to have been in the mind of the ancient Psalmist, when he was led to exclaim: "Forever, O Lord, Thy word is settled in heaven! Thy faithfulness is unto all generations; Thou hast established the earth, and it abideth." How many have been made to feel at times, in the same way, the sense of God's glorious moral government mirrored upon them from the contemplation of the natural world.

"There are two things," the celebrated philosopher Kant was accustomed to say, "which I can never sufficiently wonder at and admire—the starry heavens above me, and the moral law within me." The thought is at once beautiful and profound; for there can be no more fitting image, in truth, of the grandeur and sublimity of this inward law, than that which is offered to our gaze in the silent, tranquil, ever during majesty of the stars.

Along with the presence of the law again, in this department of our being, comes into view what is, in some respects, the most wonderful part of our whole nature, the power with which we are so familiar under the name of conscience. As a necessary and binding rule for freedom, it lies in the very conception of the moral law, that it should be able to assert its presence, and make its authority felt, in the mind itself, and not be brought near to it merely in the character of an outward and foreign force. And thus it is in truth, that the will is found to be actually autonomic, affirming and laying down in one direction the very rule, which it feels itself called upon to obey in another. Not as if it could be supposed actually to originate the law in this way, according to its own pleasure. That would be a monstrous imagination, subverting the whole idea of morality.

The will does not make the law; but still it is through it alone, that the law comes to any positive legislation in the soul. In no other way, can the full force of the categorical imperative, *Thou shalt*, be brought fairly home to its consciousness. What a strange spectacle, then, we have exhibited to us here. Two forces in the same mind, transacting with one another in such solemn personal way. Here the will commands; while there again the very same will is required to obey. Nor is that all. The power that legislates in the case, goes on also to sit in judgment on its own conduct, and then to execute sentence upon itself according to the result of such trial. Obedience brings at once self-approbation, and is followed with peace. Disobedience leads just as certainly to self-condemnation and self-inflicted pain. Such is the terrific mystery of conscience—the knowing of God brought into man's knowing

of himself, and made to be thus an inseparable part of his proper spiritual being and life.

We conclude the whole subject with the obvious reflection, that the richest and most interesting field of science for man is that which is offered to him in the constitution of his own person, and especially in the constitution of his person under its ethical or moral view. The world may be worthy of our thoughts and studies, in its other aspects; but it can be properly so, at all times, only as it is studied, under such aspects, with full regard to what must ever be considered its last central interest in the form now stated. No wonders of the simply outward creation, no mysteries of mere nature, can ever signify as much for us, as the world we carry about with us continually in our own being.

CHAPTER XLII

DURING this period the mind of Dr. Nevin, to a certain extent, ran in the same direction as that of Dr. Horace Bushnell, of Hartford, Conn., and he accordingly gave his works a careful study and examination. He noticed his recent book on "Nature and the Supernatural, as together constituting the One System of God," in the April number of the *Mercersburg Review* for 1859, in an elaborate article on "The Natural and the Supernatural," of which only the more important paragraphs can here be given.

A truly interesting work, as may be easily presumed at once from its authorship and title. No subject could well be more important, especially for the present time, than that which is here brought into view; and there are few men better fitted than Dr. Bushnell to discuss any theme of the sort in an earnest, vigorous, and manly way. We welcome the book, with all our heart, as a most valuable accession to the theological literature of the age, and trust that it may exert a large and wide influence in the service of truth. It is no hasty production, but the carefully studied and well digested treatment of a great question, which has been before the mind of the author for years, and on which plainly he has bestowed the whole force of his ripest and best thoughts. The book, therefore, is one which requires study also on the part of the reader. It is not just of the *current* literature sort, formed for the easy entertainment of the passing hour. It grapples with what the writer holds to be the religious life-questions of the age; its course is everywhere, more or less, through inquiries which are felt to be both intricate and profound. And yet with all this, the work is never either heavy or dull. On the contrary, it may be said to overflow with genial life. Dr. Bushnell has contrived to throw into it the full vivacity and freshness of his own nature. It is rich throughout with thoughts that breathe, and words that glow and burn. A sort of poetical charm is made to suffuse the entire progress of its argument, relieving the severity of the discussion and clothing it oftentimes with graphic interest and force. Altogether the book is one which deserves to live, and that may be expected to take its place, we think, among the enduring works of the age. It is of an order, in this view, with Hugh Miller's *Testimony of the Rocks*; and as an argu-

ment for the truth of the Christian religion, may compare favorably with Reinhard's *Plan of the Founder of Christianity*.

So much we may say, without pretending to endorse in full the course of thought presented in Dr. Bushnell's book. The worth and importance of such a work are not to be measured simply by what may be considered the validity of its opinions at particular points. We may find reason to question many of *its* propositions—we may feel ourselves constrained to pause doubtfully in the presence of much to which it challenges our assent—and yet be fairly and rightly bound, notwithstanding, to own and honor its superiority, as shown in the profound significance of its general thesis, the reigning scope of its discussion, the reach and grasp of its argument taken as a whole. The claim to such respectful homage, in the case before us, is one in regard to which there can be no dispute.

We agree fully with Dr. Bushnell, in believing the tendency of the present time to be fearfully strong toward Rationalism—that form of infidelity, which seeks to destroy Christianity, not so much in the way of direct opposition to its claims, as by endeavoring to drag it down from its own proper supernatural sphere into the sphere of mere nature, making it thus to be nothing more in the end than a particular phase simply of natural religion itself. On both sides of the Atlantic, we find a large amount of intelligence enlisted openly in the defence of this view; seeking, with no small measure of learning and ingenuity, to resolve all the higher aspects of the Gospel into poetry and myth, and pretending to bring out the full sense of it at last in the experiences of a purely humanitarian culture.

But it would be a most inadequate view of the case, to suppose the evil of such unbelief confined to any formal demonstrations of this sort. As a silent tendency—a power secretly at work to sap the foundations of faith and piety—the rationalistic spirit in question takes in a vastly wider range of action. Multitudes, as Dr. Bushnell observes, are involved in it virtually as a system of thought, without being themselves aware of the fact. They profess to honor Christianity as a divine revelation, take its language familiarly upon their lips, persuade themselves, it may be, that they continue strictly loyal to its heavenly authority; and yet all the time they are false in fact to its claims, casting it down from its proper excellency, and substituting for it in their minds another order of thought altogether. In this way, we are surrounded on all sides with a nominal Christianity, which is little better in truth than a

sort of baptized Paganism, putting us off continually with heathenish ideas expressed in Christian terms.

Our public life is full of such essential infidelity. It reigns in our politics. It has infected our universal literature. The periodical press floods the land with it every week. It makes a merit generally indeed of being friendly to religion; but it is plain enough to see, that what it takes to be religion is something widely different from the old faith of the Gospel in its strictly supernatural form. It is, when all is done, naturalism only, of the poorest kind, dressed up in evangelical modes of speech. That it should be able to pass current for anything better—that the public at large, the so-called Christian public, should show itself so widely willing to accept any such authority as having any sort of force in matters of religion—is only itself a most painful sign of that general weakening of faith, of which we are now speaking as the great moral malady of the times. Already too the disease has entered deep into our systems of education; and there is but too much reason to fear, that its worst fruit on this ground is yet to come.

We feel the full force of what Dr. Bushnell says on this subject. As an argument for the supernatural truth of Christianity against the naturalistic tendencies of the age, his book is altogether timely. The evil enters into all spheres and departments of our modern life. It needs to be met in a bold and strong way. "We undertake the argument," says the distinguished author, "from a solemn conviction of its necessity, and because we see that the more direct arguments and appeals of religion are losing their power over the public mind and conscience. This is true especially of the young, who pass into life under the combined action of so many causes, conspiring to infuse a distrust of whatever is supernatural in religion. Persons farther on in life are out of the reach of these new influences, and, unless their attention is specially called to the fact, have little suspicion of what is going on in the mind of the rising classes of the world—more and more saturated every day with this insidious form of unbelief. And yet we all, with perhaps the exception of a few who are too far on to suffer from it, are more or less infected with the same tendency. Like an atmosphere, it begins to envelop the common mind of the world. We frequently detect its influence in the practical difficulties of the young members of the churches, who do not even suspect the true cause themselves. Indeed, there is nothing more common than to hear arguments advanced, and illustrations offered by the most evangelical preachers, that have no force or meaning, save what they get from the current

naturalism of the day. We have even heard a distinguished and carefully orthodox preacher deliver a discourse, the very doctrine of which was inevitable, unqualified naturalism. Logically taken, and carried out to its proper result, Christianity could have had no ground of standing left,—so little did the preacher himself understand the true scope of his doctrine, or the mischief that was beginning to infect his conceptions of the Christian truth.”

Dr. Bushnell's argument for the supernatural is made to rest centrally upon the person of Jesus Christ. This constitutes its main beauty and force. It forms the best distinction, and greatest merit, of the later modern theology generally, so far as it shows itself to be possessed of power and life, that it seeks more and more to make Christ in this way the principle of all faith and knowledge; taking up thus anew, as it were, the grand Christological views of the Nicene age, and laboring to carry them out in full order and harmony to their last results. Great praise is due here to the mighty genius of Schleiermacher; who, however defective his own views of the person of Christ were, may be said to have inaugurated a new era of theology in Germany, by forcing attention to this point as the true beginning of all reality and certainty in religion. Under the inspiration of this thought, all theological studies there might seem to have started again into fresh vigorous life, rising from the tomb into which they had been cast by the melancholy reign of Rationalism in previous times. A new interest was felt to be infused into all the facts and doctrines of revelation, by the light which was shed upon them from the acknowledged centre of the Christian system. They acquired a deeper significance, and became in this way subjects for more earnest inquiry and profound study. Christological thinking—that which, instead of looking primarily to the things taught and done by Christ, fixes its whole gaze at once on the mystery of His person, the glorious fact of the Incarnation, and uses this as a commentary and key for the right understanding of all things besides—has come to pervade and rule more or less all spheres of religious science.

The method is so plainly founded in the very nature of Christianity, and grows forth so immediately from the apprehension of its supernatural character, that it must prevail more and more, not only in Germany, but in all other countries also, wherever it may be felt necessary to deal earnestly with the mysteries of religion, over against the growing naturalism of the age. If these are to be upheld successfully as objects of faith, transcending the constitution of nature, it can only be by falling back upon their ulti-

mate ground in Christ, and asserting, in the first place, the absolute verity of His person, as the principle and source of what is thus to be regarded as a new creation altogether. Not only our systematic divinity, but our homiletic teaching also, needs to be fortified in this way against the downward tendency of the times, by being brought back to what is substantially the method of the old Apostles' Creed—that most simple, but at the same time most grand and sublime confession, into which, as a mould, the faith of the universal Church was cast in the beginning.

The position of Christ, His relations to the world, all the aspects of His character, all His works and all His pretensions, are brought into view everywhere as being in full unison and harmony with His bold claim to a heavenly and divine origin. His birth is by the Holy Ghost; on which account He is called the Son of God. Angels herald His advent into the world. The powers of heaven descend upon Him at His baptism. He is no prophet simply among men, closing the Old Testament line, but the bearer of truth and grace in His own person. A new order of existence opens upon the world, in the mystery of His being. In Him was life—life in its original, fontal form—and the life became the light of men. It was not His office, therefore, primarily, to publish the truth as something different from Himself, to mediate between earth and heaven, man and God, in any mere outward way. His own *being* constituted the deepest and last sense of the Gospel, the burden of its overwhelming mystery. “I am the Way,” we hear Him saying, “the Truth, and the Life”—not the index simply to these things, but the actual presence and power of the things themselves. “I am the Resurrection and the Life”—not the promise and pledge only of such glorious boon, but the full realization of it as a fact now actually at hand in my person. For “he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.” Again, “He that believeth in me hath everlasting life—Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.” God was in Him, reconciling the world unto Himself. He is the propitiation for our sins—our righteousness—our peace—the organism of our redemption—the everlasting theatre of our salvation. He stands in the world a vast stupendous miracle—the miracle of a new creation. He is greater than all the powers, higher than all the glories of the natural world. Nay, He is before all things, and by Him, and in Him, all things consist. His life, therefore, included in itself, from the beginning, even under its human form, the prin-

ciple of full victory over all the vanity and misery which are in the world through sin; so that when He went down into the grave, and descended into hades, it was only that He might return again, leading captivity captive, and ascend up on high, to inaugurate His kingdom, in its proper spiritual form, as a new immortal constitution, against which the gates of hell should have no power to prevail to the end of time.

So lofty, so wide, so every way large, beyond all the measures of man's merely natural life, or simply human history, are the terms and representations in which the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in wonderful, unfaltering consistency with itself throughout, bears witness to its own origin, character, and power. If it be not in the fullest sense—first in the person of Christ Himself, and then in the outworkings and ongoings of His grace and power in the system of Christianity as a whole—the presence of a new supernatural life in the world, an order of existence which was not in it before, and which is not in it still beyond the reach and range of this fact; if it be not this, we say, and nothing short of this, then must it be denounced at once as being the most daring and wicked imposture ever practiced upon the credulity of the human race.

But let any one pause now, to consider what an amount of peril is involved in so vast and broad a claim, and to what an ordeal Christianity has necessarily subjected itself, in presuming to take this lofty position, and thus binding itself to satisfy in full the terms and conditions of its own world-embracing problem. A consistent fiction is hard in any case, where it has to do with concrete realities under a known form, and is allowed to extend itself at all to specific details; but it becomes, of course, more and more difficult, and at last is found to be utterly impracticable, in proportion precisely as the points to be met and answered in this way become more and more significant, multitudinous, and complex. Suppose Christianity then to be such an *invention*—a bold hypothesis merely, got up to solve the inmost meaning of the world's life, and to play off in spectral style a supernatural economy of salvation, commensurate with all the wants and aspirations of our fallen race—and how certainly may it not be expected to break down, by its own incongruities and contradictions, almost immediately at every point? Never did a scheme of religion, surely, offer itself of its own accord to a more searching trial of its merits and claims.

For the supernatural here is no transient phenomenon merely, no fantastic avatar, no theophany only in the Old Testament style;

much less a doctrine simply, or theosophic speculation. It is made to challenge our faith and homage, as an abiding fact, linking itself organically with the general life of the world, and carrying it out historically to its highest and last sense. It must then be supremely natural, as well as overwhelmingly supernatural; no product of nature plainly, and yet in such harmony with it, that it shall seem to be at the same time its full outbursting glory and necessary perfection. The relation between God's first creation, and that which claims to be in this way God's second creation, may not be conceived of as contradictory, violent, or abrupt. The divine economy which embraces both—proceeding, as it does, from the mind of Him to whom all his works are known from the beginning—must be a single system at last, in absolute harmony with itself throughout.

The whole constitution of the world, therefore, both physical and moral, must be found to come to its proper conclusion in Christ, showing him to be in very deed the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, of all God's works.

The physical must show itself every where the mirror of the spiritual and heavenly, as these come out fully at last only in the form of Christianity, not as having any power to make them known by its own light originally; but as answering to them, in the way of universal parable, when it comes to be shone upon from their higher sphere; even as to the mind of Christ Himself, the birds of the air, and the flowers of the field, become types and symbols of righteousness at once, the moment they are needed for any such purpose.

In its whole organization again, the physical, as being plainly a progressive order of things reaching towards the unity of some common end, must put on the character of a ground preparation and prophecy, from first to last, looking continually to the Advent of Christ as the only sufficient fulfilment of its sense. This it will be found to do, if it have no power to stop in its own order or to come to an end in itself, but be forced and driven, as it were, upward and forward always, from one stage and level of existence to another—each lower range foreshadowing still the necessary approach of a higher—till it gains its full summit finally in man; and so transcends itself, if we may use such an expression, in the presence of a new *moral* world, which afterwards again shows itself in its own turn unable in like manner to come to any pause or rest, till it is filled out and made complete by the supernatural grace of the Gospel.

It will be then, more especially, as tried by the actual conditions

of this moral world—the circumstances and necessities of our general human life—that the Christian system, in the view now under consideration, must pass through its severest ordeal. Its theory of humanity must be such as to fall in plainly with the actual condition of humanity in the world ; while all the lines of history, and all the deeper forces of man's life, shall be found everywhere struggling toward it, and either consciously or unconsciously bearing witness to its claims.

The general fact of man's sin and misery must be such, as to agree with the hypothesis of a strictly supernatural redemption. If the evil were found to be of a superficial character only, neither deeper nor broader in fact than the measure of our life in its ordinary natural form—and in such view capable, accordingly, of being surmounted in some way by the powers and possibilities of this life in its own sphere,—the idea of a redemption descending into it from above, in the form of a new creation brought to pass by the mystery of the Incarnation, would be convicted at once of being unreasonable and false. To justify any such mystery, it must appear that sin is a disorder which underlies the universal nature of man as it now stands ; that it is itself a sort of supernatural fall or lapse in his life ; that the whole present order of his existence is subjected to vanity and death by reason of it ; that all other remedial agencies brought to bear upon the case, philosophical, educational, political, socialistic, and such like, have proved themselves thus far, and must prove themselves, utterly inadequate to its demands, coming, as it were, infinitely short of the last ground and seat of the evil ; that it can be conquered, therefore, and rolled back in its consequences, if conquered ever at all, only by a force deeper and more comprehensive than the whole order of the world in its natural view, which, as such, shall show itself sufficient at the same time to break through this order altogether, and to rise above it, abolishing death itself, and bringing life and immortality to light. The New Testament doctrine of Christ involved necessarily a corresponding doctrine of man. No Pelagian Anthropology, denying or slurring over the fact of Original Sin, can move hand in hand, in one and the same line, with a strictly theanthropic Christology.

It must appear still farther, if Christianity be true, that the religious life of the world generally, under what may be denominated its merely natural form, looks toward it, calls for it, reaches after it in all manner of ways, and finds the burden of its dark riddle fully solved at last only in its august presence. Rooted as they

are in the same ground, the constitution of human nature itself, all religions must have to some extent a common character, must be concerned with the same problems, must work themselves out into more or less analogous results. The relation then of the absolutely true religion to religions that are false, can not be regarded as one of abrupt and total difference; it should be taken rather to resemble the relation that holds between man in the natural creation and the manifold forms of animal life in the world below him—which, however far they may fall short of his perfection, carry in themselves, notwithstanding, though it may be in very distorted and fantastic style, some portion still of the idea which is finally disclosed in his person, and thus join in foreshadowing this darkly from all sides as their own last end and only proper meaning. False religions, in such view, should open a wide field of analogical comparison, serving to establish the idea of religion in its true form; not as leading over to it in their own order, not as being on the same plane with it in any sense; but as bringing into view wants, aspirations, questions, problems, soul-mysteries in every shape, which only the true religion at last is able fully to satisfy and solve. Should the grand supernatural facts and doctrines of Christianity seem to be met in this way with dull echoes and wild visionary caricatures of their heavenly sense, in the mythologies of the heathen world, the fact would form certainly no ground of objection to its claims, but only a powerful argument in their favor. Heathenism *ought* to be, in such manner, through its whole wide empire of darkness and sin, an unconscious prophecy of Him, who proclaims Himself the desire of all nations and the light of the world.

All History again must come to its proper unity in Christ, if He be indeed what he is made to be in the Gospel. Here, as in the constitution of Nature, God must have a plan in harmony with itself throughout; and this plan can not possibly go aside from His main thought and purpose in the government of the world. It must centre in the Incarnation.

Then after all this, what a range of comparison and trial for the Christian system is presented to us in the general economy of Revelation itself! For this is no single or narrow fact simply; nor yet a multitude of separate, disjointed facts; but a vast and mighty organization of facts rather, involving the most manifold relations, and reaching through long ages back to the very beginning of the world. Religion in this form is exhibited to us under different dispensations, and yet as being always the same, from the first obscure promise in the garden of Eden down to the fulness of time, when

the Word became Flesh and tabernacled among men in the person of Jesus Christ. "God," we are told, "who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds." All these voices of old then—in paradise, before the flood and after the flood, through the patriarchs, in the giving of the law, and by the whole long line of the prophets from Moses down to the ministry of John the Baptist—must come together at last in Christ as their only full sense and necessary end. The correspondence cannot limit itself to a few predictions and types, put forward here and there in an abstract outward way; it must enter into the universal structure of the entire revelation. The Old Testament throughout must be, not only in full harmony with itself, but in full organic union at the same time with the central idea of the New Testament; so that everywhere, in all its oracles, histories, and institutions, it shall be found prefiguring this, reaching toward it, and laboring as it were to find in it its own true rest and glorious consummation.

The main weight of the argument for the supernatural, in Dr. Bushnell's book, is made to rest on Christ, as being the grand first principle of proof in this order of existence—an order which completes itself fully at last only in the fact of the Incarnation. "The character and doctrine of Jesus," we are told, "are the sun that holds all the minor orbs of revelation to their places, and pours a sovereign self-evidencing light into all religious knowledge." Still, before coming to this, the first part of the work is very properly occupied with the subject under a more general view; the purpose being to show that the supernatural itself is not something absolutely foreign and strange to the constitution of the world in its natural form, but an order rather which is anticipated and called for by this, and that comes out at last, therefore, in full harmony with its deepest wants, in full explication, we may say, of its inmost meaning and sense.

Here we find a great deal, of course, that is entitled to our admiring interest and attention, as going to establish, in the way of analogical and presumptive reasoning, both the possibility and the necessity of the supernatural, considered as being the proper complement or filling out of the natural—both joining to constitute what the book denominates "the one system of God." The argument, however, as conducted by Dr. Bushnell, is made to involve and assert some things which it seems to us not easy to allow.

In the first place, we demur to his line of distinction between the natural and the supernatural. Nature he defines to be the simply physical order of the world, made up of causes and effects flowing in constant succession, by a necessity that comes from within the scheme itself; in which view, we are told, "that is supernatural, whatever it be, that is either not in the chain of natural cause and effect, or which acts on the chain of cause and effect in nature, from without the chain." In this way, the supernatural is brought to assume at once a most familiar every day character, by entering into the very conception of our own personality; for this, as involving intelligence and will, is not under the law of cause and effect in the manner of the simply physical world, but carries in itself the power of acting on the course of this law from without, in a free self-determining way, so as to produce results, that nature of itself, as here defined, could not bring to pass.

Now it is perfectly fair to make use of this relation of mind to matter in the world, as an analogical argument for the possibility of an intervention, that shall be found descending into the world miraculously from a higher sphere. But it is pushing the matter too far, we think, to make the first relation of one order, and parallel in full, with the second. That is not the common view of the case certainly; and the interest of the supernatural is likely to lose by it in the end, it strikes us, much more than it may seem at first sight to gain. As distinguished from the supernatural, in the old theological sense—which is at the same time here also the popular sense—the natural includes in its conception a great deal more than the simply material and physical. The term is often used indeed to express the idea of difference from the moral; but never so as to refer this last to the supernatural. When *that* distinction is to be expressed, the moral itself is made to fall at once, along with the physical, into the economy of nature. This includes in its constitution mind as well as matter, self-determining forces or powers as well as simply passive chains of cause and effect.

Man belongs primarily to the present world; he is incorporated into it organically from his birth; his relations to it are part of its proper system, quite as much as the conditions and laws of things below him. True, he possesses in himself, at the same time, the capacity of a higher life, original and constitutional relations to an order of existence far more glorious than the present world, the powers of which must be brought to bear upon him in a most real way, if he is to fulfil at last the great purpose of his creation. But this does not of itself lift him out of the order of nature. It shows

only how truly he is in it, as needing thus the power of the supernatural, under an objective form, to perfect his existence in that higher view.

We are by no means satisfied, in the next place, with Dr. Bushnell's theory of the origin of evil. Sin, if we understand him rightly, is not only a bad possibility in any such world as ours, but a tremendous necessity. He holds indeed that our first parents were created in a state of "constituent perfection," having an inward fitness and disposition for good, that served to carry them toward it spontaneously without or before deliberation. But holiness in such form can have no sufficient strength or security. "Deliberation, when it comes, as come it must, will be the inevitable fall of it; and then when the side of counsel in them is sufficiently instructed by that fall and the bitter sorrow it yields, and the holy freedom is restored, it may be or become an eternally enduring principle. Spontaneity in good, without counsel, is weak; counsel and deliberative choice, without spontaneity, are only a character begun; issued in spontaneity, they are the solid reality of everlasting good." It does not help the case materially, to say that there was no positive ground or cause for sin in man's nature; and that our first parents fell by their own free choice. The difficulty is, that their free choice is supposed here to be so circumstanced, in the way of "privative conditions," as to be absolutely shut up to this conclusion and no other. "The *certainty* of their sin," we are told, "is originally involved in their spiritual training as powers." Their condition privative was such as to involve "their *certain* lapse into evil."

Sin is made to be thus a necessary transitional stage, in the process of full moral development. The condition of man in Paradise was not, and could not be, a direct onward movement in its own form to confirmed holiness, and so to glory, honor, and eternal life. It was necessary that he should taste evil, in order to become afterwards intelligently and resolutely good. His innocence could be strengthened into its full ripe virtue, only by being required to descend into the rough arena of the world through the fall, for the purpose of needful discipline and probation. This is not a new thought by any means. We recognize in it the familiar face of a speculation, which in one form or another has made itself altogether common in much of the thinking of modern Germany. But we do not consider it for this reason any the less wrong. It agrees not with the old doctrine of the Church on the subject; and the natural sense of the Bible is against it. It turns the Garden of

Eden into a mere allegory or myth. It seats the necessity of sin in the very constitution of the world itself; a view, which goes at once to overthrow its character as sin, making it indeed the fruit of man's freedom in form, but so conditioning this freedom, that it is found to be only another name at last for what is in fact inevitable fate.

Dr. Bushnell carries his view of the certainty of man's fall so far, as to hold that the entire natural constitution of the world was ordered and established by God from the beginning with reference to that terrible fact; which in such view, therefore, could be no doubtful or uncertain contingency in any sense, but must be considered rather as forming from the very start the fixed central pivot and hinge, we may say, on which the whole plan of the world was made to turn. Sin thus has its disordering consequences in the natural creation, not simply as they are found coming *after* it in time; but also, on a much broader scale it would seem, as they have been made in God's plan to go before it, in the form of dispositions and arrangements contrived prospectively to anticipate its advent, and to lead over to it finally as the full interpretation of their own sense.

Even the long geologic ages, stretching away back of the Adamic creation, are taken to be prelude throughout in this way of the surely coming fact of sin. "This whole tossing, rending, recomposing process, that we call geology," our author tells us, "symbolizes evidently, as in highest reason it should, the grand spiritual catastrophe and the Christian new creation of man; which, both together, comprehend the problem of mind, and so the final causes or last ends of all God's works. What we see, is the beginning conversing with the end, and Eternal Forethought reaching across the tottering mountains and boiling seas, to unite beginning and end together. So that we may hear the grinding layers of the rocks singing harshly:

*Of man's first disobedience and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree—*

and all the long eras of desolation, and refitted bloom and beauty, represented in the registers of the world, are but the epic in stone of man's great history, before the time."

On all this, we venture here no particular criticism. The subject, in the hands of Dr. Bushnell, is full of imagination and poetry, while it is made to overflow at the same time with rich suggestive thought. Our great embarrassment with it is, that, by making the universal order of the world dependent centrally upon the fall of

man, and the introduction of sin, it makes this no less necessary than the geologic cataclysms, that owe their existence to it anticipatively so many ages before. Calvin's supralapsarianism, and the pantheistic world-progress of Hegel, seem to us always to run out here to the same conclusion, a Manichean notion of sin on the one hand, and as the necessary counterpart of this, a Gnostic conception of redemption on the other.

Through whatever stages of imperfection and disorder our world may have passed previously to the Mosaic creation described in the first chapter of Genesis, we know that it was then at least pronounced by God himself to be in all respects "very good." There can be no doubt, too, that this goodness, in the view of the sacred narrative, was held to consist in its full correspondence with the nature of man as he stood before the fall. The world was good, not in the light of a penitentiary prepared beforehand to suit the circumstances of his case in a state of sin, but as a fit theatre for the free harmonious development of his life in a state of innocence. How the fall wrought to disturb this original order, is of course a great mystery. It may have been largely by changes and privations induced upon the nature of man himself, causing the world to be in its relations to him something wholly different from what it would be, if he were not thus hurled down from his first estate, and making it impossible for him even to conceive now of what might be comprehended for him in any such normal order. One thing is certain; had he continued sinless, the law of death, as it prevails in nature, could not have extended itself to his person; and how much of superiority this might have involved, in other respects, to the constitutional vanity and misery of the world as we now find it, no one may pretend surely to say.

Dr. Bushnell's idea of the necessity of sin extends logically to all worlds. Even the good angels, spoken of in the Scriptures, he tells us, "for aught that appears, have all been passed through and brought up out of a fall, as the redeemed of mankind will be." The celebrated Christian philosopher, Richard Rothe—one of the profoundest thinkers of the age—adopts the same thought, we remember, in his *Theological Ethics*. We let it pass here without further remark.

We have been somewhat surprised to find Dr. Bushnell denying also the proper personality of Satan. He allows the existence of evil spirits; but is not willing to admit the idea of their organization under any single head. Satan, he tells us, is a collective term simply, designating "the all or total of bad minds and powers."

This is neither biblical, we think, nor ecclesiastical—though it be supported, curiously enough, by the authority of *Davenport*, “the ablest theologian of all the New England Fathers.” It detracts also seriously, in our opinion, from the objective realness, and full historical significance, of the work of redemption, regarded as an actual supernatural conflict between the powers of light and the powers of darkness.

A real personal Satan seems necessary to bring out in full relief the idea of a real personal Christ. And so far as the danger of any Manichean dualism is concerned, we do not see that we are brought so nigh to it by any means in this way, as by the hypothesis of our respected author himself; which, as we have seen, makes sin to be a necessary thing—a fact *sure* to come to pass—in the very constitution of the world itself? It carries indeed to our ear, we must confess, a very Zoroastrish sound, when we are told up and down, that evil is “a bad possibility that environs God from eternity, waiting to become a fact, and certain to become a fact, whenever the opportunity is given;” so that, “the moment God creates a realm of powers, the bad possibility as certainly becomes a bad actuality—an outbreking evil, or empire of evil, in created spirits, according to their order.”

We have said that the great merit of Dr. Bushnell’s book, as a plea for the supernatural, is its Christological character. Its argument centres in Jesus Christ; whose whole personality, as we have it portrayed in the Gospel, is shown with great beauty and force to be an altogether superhuman fact, and such a self-evidencing miracle in its own nature, as may well be considered sufficient to flood with the light of heavenly demonstration the universal *kosmos* of the new creation. And yet we do not feel after all, that enough is made still of the significance in this view of the great “mystery of godliness,” as related to the supernatural on the one side and to the world of nature on the other.

The revelation of the supernatural in and by Christ is not of one kind with the revelation of it in any other way. Nature in its own order needs the supernatural, reaches after it, and through the human spirit aspires toward it continually as the necessary outlet and complement of its last wants. This aspiration, however, is in itself something negative merely, which as such can have no power of course ever to grasp the supernatural or to bring it down to its own sphere; for what nature might so fetch into itself by powers of its own would be no longer *super-natural*; the negative want or *nisus* here must be met by a positive self-representation of its ob-

jeet from the other side. In these circumstances there is room for imaginary or false relations to thrust themselves in as substitutes for the true. Men may invest their own speculative fancies and dreams—the shadowy projections of their spiritual nature itself reaching forth toward the dark void—with a sort of spurious objectivity; thus creating for themselves whole worlds of religion, that shall be found to mimic and caricature the truth in its proper form.

Again, the powers of the invisible world may play into the economy of nature in an irregular, abnormal way, through Satanic inlets, offering themselves to the inward craving of the human spirit, as the very presence and sense of the supernatural which it needs for its perfection, and so hurrying it away, by the force of its religious instincts themselves, into a still more gloomy region of horrible unrealities and lies. To this sphere belongs the sorcery, magic, and witchcraft of all ages, as well as the oracles and wonders of the heathen world generally, as far as it may be necessary to admit their more than natural character; and we have no hesitation, in referring—as Dr. Bushnell likewise does—to the so-called “spiritual manifestations” of our own day, on the supposition of their being what they pretend to be and not mere tricks of jugglery; a question which it is not necessary here to discuss. The world, however, God be praised, has not been left hopelessly to the dominion of these phantoms and lies, growing out of such false relations to the supernatural. The truth has descended into it, under its own proper form. This is the idea of Revelation.

In one view, nature itself is a divine revelation. A supernatural presence underlies it, and works through it, at every point. But still as man now is, he has no power to come by this to any right knowledge of God, and much less to any firm and steady apprehension of a higher order of life in His presence. Hence an actual coming down of God into the world, under a wholly new form, becomes the proper full sense of the supernatural as required now to meet our wants. Revelation, so understood, is a single fact; announcing its own advent by heavenly oracles and signs, making room for itself more and more by preliminary heaven-appointed dispensations, from the time of Adam down to the time of John the Baptist; but bursting forth at last, in its whole reality and glory, only in the ever-adorable mystery of the Incarnation.

The supernatural in Christ thus is not in one line simply with the supernatural exhibited in previous divine revelations, a fact ranking high and conclusive among other facts of like superhuman

order; it is the organic root rather of all true revelation from the beginning of the world; the one absolute truth in this form, which, coming in the fulness of time, makes good finally the sense of all previous oracles and outshinings from behind the veil, disclosing the real ground of them in its own presence. And being so related to what went before in the way of prophetic word and type, with still more certainty must the mystery be organically joined with all that comes after it, in the progressive unfolding of the Christian salvation. The Incarnation constitutes the Gospel—being in its very nature a new revelation of God in the world, by which the life of heaven is made to unite itself with the life of earth, in a real abiding way, so as to bring the supernatural home to men in a form fully answerable to their inmost wants. In such view, it is the beginning of a new order of existence, the principle of a new creation, which in the nature of the case must hold under an objective, historical character, as something different from the world in its simply natural constitution, on to the end of time. This is the old Patristic idea of the Holy Catholic Church; and it is not difficult surely to see how, in the light of the subject as thus explained, so much account should have been made of it from the first, as being absolutely necessary for the full carrying out of the Christian mystery to its proper end.

We have the feeling, as we have said, that Dr. Bushnell's system of the supernatural, with all its Christological merit, fails somehow after all to lay hold of the full significance of the Incarnation, in the broad organic view now mentioned. In such way, we mean, as to make this, not merely the greatest of all arguments for the supernatural in a general view, but the absolute whole revelation of it, in the only form in which it can ever be truly and steadily objective to faith, and practically efficient for the purposes of redemption; so that all relations to it, all communications with it, on the outside of this great Mystery of Godliness, can never be anything better than relative only, dream-like, apparitional, or it may be absolutely magical, demoniacal, and false. For Rationalism, it should ever be borne in mind, has two sides, two opposite poles of unbelief, that are forever playing into each other with wonderful readiness and ease; an abstract naturalism on the one hand, that owns no reality higher than the present world; and then an abstract spiritualism on the other hand, by which the sense of the supernatural is not allowed to come to any real union with the sense of the natural in the way of faith, but is made to float over it fantastically in the way of mere Gnostic imagination. The one

absolute Truth, according to St. John, as against both these anti-christian extremes, is the real coming of Christ in the flesh (1 John 4: 1-3); in making earnest with which under such view, it is not easy to see how faith should not feel itself constrained to make like earnest also with the old doctrine of the Church.

This doctrine, we are sorry to say, struggles in vain throughout Dr. Bushnell's book to come to its proper clear and full expression; and the want of it, in our view, is a serious defect in his otherwise admirable Christological argument. He shows indeed, at various points, the power of churchly ideas—for all profound thinking on the historical significance of Christ's person *must* run more or less that way; he is ready enough too, of course, to acknowledge the existence of the Church in the general New England sense; but the conception of the Church, as it is made to be an article of faith, a first principle or ground element of Christianity, in the Apostles' Creed, and in all the ancient Creeds, has seemingly no place in his system whatever.

Thus the Gospel seems to be regarded by him too commonly, in the light of a constitution or fact qualifying the natural condition of the world generally in a supernatural way, and setting it in new relations to God within its old order of life; in virtue of which, it may be supposed capable then of coming at once, on its own level, within the range and scope of the powers of redemption, flowing around it spiritually at all times like the air of heaven. Whereas the mystery of the new creation in Christ would appear plainly to require, that we should conceive of it, not as any such system of heavenly possibilities added to the world in its general natural character, but as an objective constitution rather, having place in the world under a wholly different form, and carrying in itself relations and powers altogether peculiar, and not to be found anywhere beyond its own limits; an order of supernatural grace, into which men must be introduced first of all, (the old ecclesiastical idea of re-birth through the sacrament of baptism) by an outward "obedience of faith," in order that they may come into the full use afterwards of its quickening and saving help. Any such view must necessarily exclude Dr. Bushnell's suggestion, that a regenerate life may be capable of passing, like the corruption of the race, by natural propagation, "under the well known laws of physiology," from parents to children; as it demands also a material qualification of a good deal that he says besides, on the subject of Christian experience, the work of the Spirit, and the new creation in Christ Jesus.

It is owing to this want of ecclesiastical feeling, no doubt, that Dr. Bushnell falls in so readily with the stereotyped Puritanic way of thinking in regard to the historical Church of past ages, by which it is made to be from the beginning, a systematic falling away from the proper sense of the Gospel, in all its points of difference from the prevalent spiritualism of modern times. In one of his chapters, we have an argument to show, that "the world is governed supernaturally in the interest of Christianity;" which, carried out in any sort of consistency with itself, would seem to involve necessarily a powerful presumption in favor of the old Catholic Church—the only form, in which, by general acknowledgment now, the truth of Christianity was maintained, through long ages, against all manner of infidelities and heresies seeking its destruction.

But our author's theory will not allow the argument in any such way as that—he contrives to find here a wheel within a wheel, an esoteric *under-sense*, by which the outward complexion and first impression of God's providence are made to be one thing, and its hidden ulterior meaning another thing altogether. We are gravely told, accordingly, that Christianity *must* "go into a grand process of corruption at first," to make room for its own regeneration finally to a higher and better life. And so if the course of events, century after century, fall in concurrently with the march of Christianity in this false shape, verifying apparently in the fortunes of the Catholic Church the symbol of the bush that burned with fire and yet was not consumed, we are not to be moved by it at all as proving anything in favor of the Church, but to read in it on the contrary only a profound ordering of God's providence, designed to open the way for its ultimate confusion and defeat. Need we say that the providential, or historical argument for Christianity, in any such form as this, is shorn of all force, and turned into a mere arbitrary conceit, which is capable of being used ingeniously with as much effect one way as another?

We have been pleased to find, that Dr. Bushnell does not shrink from confessing the continuation of the power of miracles in the Church, making them to be on fit occasions both possible and actual, from the first century down to the present time. We have long felt, that the popular notion on the subject, which supposes them to have continued for about three centuries after Christ, and then to have ceased entirely, is both against reason and without any sort of proper support in history. The proof for miracles *after* the third century is altogether more full and clear, than the proof

for miracles in the second and third centuries themselves. The real possibility of them, moreover, would seem to lie in the very conception of Christianity, considered as an order of supernatural powers enduringly present in the world to the end of time; so that one is at a loss to understand, what kind of faith in it *they* can have, who make a merit of mocking and scouting every miraculous pretension in its name, as being at once, and of itself, the surest evidence of gross imposture or blind superstition. With such irrational and irreligious skepticism our Hartford divine has no sympathy. He believes in the continuation of the power of miracles in the Church, down even to our own day; and more than that, he brings forward quite a number of what he considers well authenticated examples of the miraculous in modern times, which have fallen in some measure under his own observation. It is curious to read his chapter on this subject.

Here again, however, we are struck with the *unchurchly* spirit of his thinking. The old ecclesiastical miracles are not wholly to his taste; their ecclesiasticism at least seems to be counted a hindrance to their credibility, more than a help. His faith in such things appears to breathe most free, when it passes out of that order, and is allowed to expatiate at large among wonders more or less extra-ecclesiastical in their form and character. We shall not pretend, of course, to enter here into any examination of his cases. We must say, however, that Church miracles in the proper sense—miracles, we mean, as mediated by the idea of the Church in the old Augustinian view—are vastly more respectable, in our eyes, than any such class of examples under a different and more general type. We question, indeed, if it be possible to make earnest with the belief of miracles at all, except in connection with some believing apprehension of the mystery of the Church, in the sense of the Apostles' Creed. Out of that order, the supernatural as related to the present world, would seem to carry with it always, even under its best and most reliable manifestations, a certain character of Gnostic unreality, making it to be no proper object for steady Christian faith.

Verily, it *is* a great thing to have faith, even as a grain of mustard seed; to be able to own and embrace, not merely the thought of the supernatural in a natural way, but the real presence of it in its own order; to hold the proper verity of the Gospel, not in the form of doctrine only, or supposed inward experiences, but in the form of full objective, historical fact. To be able to say the Creed, in its own meaning and sense; to stand before the Man Jesus, and con-

fess, with more than natural knowledge, as Peter did: "*Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;*" to believe that "*Christ is come in the flesh,*" with all the necessary antecedents, concomitants, and consequents of such a revelation—His birth of the Virgin, full of grace, and blessed among women; His miracles in the days of his flesh; His resurrection and ascension; His new presence in the world by the Spirit; the supernatural order of the Church, set over against the order of nature, and comprehending in itself the powers of His resurrection life to the end of time—this, we say, is the Gospel, as we find it preached everywhere in the Acts of the Apostles—as it underlies all the New Testament Epistles—as it animated the spirit of martyrs and confessors in the first Christian ages; and the power of believing it, we repeat, is indeed so great a thing, that all worldly advantages, in comparison, may well seem to be both poor and mean.

Such faith, from the very nature of the case, must be itself supernatural—the power of passing beyond nature, so as to lay hold of things heavenly and divine in their own higher order and sphere. It must come into the soul then in and through the constitution of grace itself, under its character of objective distinction from the constitution of man's merely natural life. There may be actings of the organ or faculty, indeed, on the outside of this; but these will be always in a more or less Gnostic and unreal way; forms of believing, we may say, filled as yet with no proper contents of the faith or virtue that comes to its full exercise in the bosom of the Christian mystery alone. And what now, if the standing form of this mystery in the world be still the Church, as it was held to be in the beginning? Could faith do its office, in that case, while denying, despising, ignoring, or overlooking its claims?

One use of his argument for the supernatural Dr. Bushnell finds in this, that it provides a place and a plea for the "positive institutions of religion," as he calls them—meaning by these, church organization, the sacraments, the Sabbath, the Bible, the office of the ministry, &c.—which are allowed to be "falling rapidly into disrespect, as if destined finally to be quite lost or sunk in oblivion." This fact itself he ascribes to the growth and pervading influence of naturalism. But may we not reverse the order, and make the loss of belief—we will not say in the positive institutions of Christianity—but in the Christian Church itself, one large cause of the reigning decay of faith in a wider view? To restore the supernatural to its general rights, then, nothing would be needed so much, first of all, as a resuscitation of faith in the Church. Then, also,

any argument for the supernatural, any plea for the Christological in its sound and right form, to be of full force and effect in the end, must be at the same time ecclesiastical also; or, in other words, an argument for the old doctrine of the Church, as it stands enshrined in the early Creeds. Is it too much to hope, that Dr. Bushnell's earnest and active mind may yet be turned to the subject, under this profoundly interesting view?

CHAPTER XLIII

AFTER Dr. Nevin had published his polemical articles on Early Christianity and Cyprian in the year 1852, he, in a great measure, laid aside the Church Question and occupied his mind theoretically in the higher region of Christology, and practically in the promotion of the Liturgical movement. But the Church and the Creed, as living realities flowing from the person of Christ, could not be dismissed from his heart or mind and accordingly, whilst he was still building his house at Lancaster, from his retreat at Windsor Place he began to give utterance to his "Thoughts on the Church," which he concluded in a second article from his new home at Lancaster. The two articles occupied seventy-three pages of the *Mercersburg Review* (see April and July numbers), of which our limits will allow us here to furnish only a portion of the more positive character.—They were his *pia desideria* in his seclusion.

The Question of the Church is in its ground and principle *One*. To a superficial thinker this may not be at once apparent. In first view, there might seem to be rather a number of church questions meeting in no common ground. At one time, the matter in dispute is Episcopacy; at another time, it is the power of the Sacraments; then again, it may be the use of a Liturgy, the observance of the Church Year, or the stress which it is proper to lay on the forms and ceremonies generally of religious Worship. It soon becomes evident, however, on serious consideration, that all these points, different as they may seem, involve here in some way the presence of a thought or idea more general than themselves, through the power of which they come together at last in the form of a single great question. These are after all subordinate and secondary issues only, the whole significance of which lies in the sense of a far deeper and more comprehensive issue that continually conditions them from behind. The sense of this may be indeed more an instinct than any clear apprehension; still it is always at hand, where any true interest is taken in these subordinate questions.

Hence it is never difficult to know, how the parties on any one such question will form themselves, when the subject for consideration comes to be considered. The lines are still drawn always as between the same churchly and unchurchly tendencies; and no one is at a

loss to anticipate in each case beforehand in what way the distinction must fall. This distinction, therefore, is not made by any of these subordinate issues, nor yet by all of them taken together; but it forms the rule and measure rather by which *they* come to exist. It is not a particular view of the sacraments that makes a man to be churchly or unchurchly; but it is his sense of the Church, on the contrary, that gives complexion and character to the view he may have of the sacraments. The church feeling thus is older and deeper in the order of nature than the sacramental, or the liturgical, or any other of like partial kind and form. The partial interest in each case refers itself spontaneously to the general interest in which it is comprehended, and bears witness in doing so to the unity of the whole subject. There is, accordingly, on all sides, a sort of intuitional sense of such ultimate unity or oneness reaching through the various questions that are agitated in regard to the Church, which may be said to go much beyond what is generally clear for the understanding. All these questions are felt to resolve themselves finally into one, which is the *Church Question*, in the full and proper sense of the term.

Some proper sense of the true character of the Church Question in the view now stated, some power to perceive and acknowledge in a fair manner its claims to respect, must be considered to be an indispensable preliminary condition to any right inquiry or just judgment concerning its merits one way or another. The want of such appreciation, the absence of such positive insight into the reality and magnitude and true religious earnestness of the problem to be here solved and settled, is an argument at once, wherever found, of full disqualification for the task of taking it in hand; and goes with good reason, we may add, to create a presumption of wrong against the cause in whose service it appears. For in the nature of the case, the disqualification must be *moral*, and not simply natural.

Not to be able to see at all the solemn interest of the subject, is necessarily in some degree also not to be willing to see it. There is a measure of insincerity and affectation always, we have reason to believe, in any such assumed posture of indifference or contempt towards what all feel notwithstanding to be of the deepest meaning for Christianity. Children feel it; it enters as an instinctive sentiment into all unsophisticated piety; the sense of it reveals itself, as we have already seen, even in those who pretend to make light of it, by the intemperate spirit with which they are sure to meet

the subject wherever it comes in their way. There is that in their interior consciousness here, which gives the lie palpably to what they say with their lips and try to think in their hearts. Such being the case, we repeat, they are not qualified to sit in judgment on what they undertake thus magisterially to condemn. They lack the conditions of the hearing ear and the seeing eye. We have a right to distrust their cause, for the very reason that it allows, and seems to favor, a spiritual posture which we may easily know to be so dishonest and false.

Paganism, in its first conflict with Christianity, affected in this way an entire superiority to the whole question which this last offered for its consideration. It could not condescend to meet it in any earnest and serious style. The story of the Gospel was treated as a Jewish dream, too foolish and absurd to deserve the least respectful attention; and the religion of those who embraced it was held to be a fair occasion for unbounded mockery and scorn, as being fit only for such as had taken leave of their senses. So Paganism talked; and so, no doubt, Paganism tried also to believe, persuading itself that its view of things was the fruit of actual knowledge and conviction. But it is easy to see now that this was not the case; and that for a thoughtful mind even then there might have been found a strong presumption for the Christian cause in the very posture and spirit of the unbelieving power by which it was thus superciliously opposed. For Paganism had no power to sustain itself quietly and steadily in this affectation of contempt towards Christianity; as it might surely have been able to do, if the new religion had been in fact so worthy of being laughed at as it pretended to think. There was that in its own consciousness, which after all gave the lie to its professed indifference, and compelled it in spite of itself to feel that it was at issue in this case with a force which threatened nothing less than its own destruction.

However particular points of the Christian controversy might seem to offer easy and fair opportunity for caricature and overwhelming explosion, for biting wit or triumphant sneer, there was still an evident feeling all the time that the subject did not end in any such points, that all these particular questions resolved themselves mysteriously into the presence of a deeper general question lying behind, and that this had to do in truth with the universal life of the world as it then stood. Paganism knew in this blind way at least, in the midst of all its levity, that Christianity was a

great power, an earnest power, a power that had a right to challenge its solemn apprehension and dread. It was the sense of this precisely, which made it impossible for it to treat Christianity in the way it could treat other religions. They might be tolerated, even where they were despised. But for Christianity there could be no toleration. Over against its claims, there was no room for equanimity or patience.

Hence the strange spectacle of that which was ridiculed as the most unmeaning of all religions, being the most ready object nevertheless of wrath and persecution on the part of those who made themselves superior to it in such style. No one can consider such a relation, without perceiving at once that it implied weakness and wrong on the side of Paganism, and a lack of power to cope fairly with the strength of the interest it sought to crush. Its want of ability to meet the claims of Christianity in an earnest and serious manner, its superficial levity in a case whose profound interest at the same time it was compelled to confess in the secret depths of its own mind, made it certain in the circumstances that it could do no justice to the Christian argument, and that any judgment it might pronounce upon it was far more likely to be wrong than right.

And so in any case, where a deep moral interest is involved; where a question of momentous practical bearings is to be settled, there must be some proper sense of the true earnestness of the subject, some sympathy with it, and some power to perceive and appreciate its claims to respect, before there can be any fitness or right to sit in judgment upon it; and no verdict or conclusion reached in regard to it, without such previous qualification, can ever deserve to be held of any account.

The presumption against all such easy and wholesale judgment becomes still stronger, when it is considered that the views, which are thus summarily charged with madness and folly, have exercised in fact the widest and most powerful influence in the Christian world through all ages. One would suppose it might serve to tame somewhat the confident tone of those who allow themselves to think and talk in this way, only to know that by far the largest part of Christendom at the present time is ruled, both practically and theoretically, by the authority of just that system of ideas in regard to the Church, which they are accustomed to revile and deride as resting on no ground of reason whatever. But the case becomes a great deal stronger, when it is remembered that the same

system of thought has in fact prevailed, with overwhelming authority, in every age of the Church from the beginning. There is no mistake with regard to this point. It is just as plain as it is possible for it to be made by the evidence of history. We read the full proof of it in all the movements of Christian antiquity.

Right or wrong, reasonable or unreasonable, the very idea of the Church, which is now denounced in the quarter of which we are speaking as no better than a silly dream, is that precisely which is found to pervade the reigning mind of the Church catholic from the century of the Apostles down to the century of the Reformation. It meets us in the old Creeds; it speaks to us from every page of the Christian Fathers; it breathes through all the ancient Liturgies; it enters into the universal scheme of the early Christian Faith. The very points in it which strike the party in question as most grossly obnoxious to vilification and reproach, were admitted and proclaimed without the least feeling of reserve. Points, for example, that such a man as Mr. Spurgeon, the popular juvenile preacher of London, can find no terms too strong to stigmatize as the perfection of brainless puerility, had power notwithstanding to command the reverence of entire ecumenical synods, and were received everywhere with unquestioning faith by the wisest and best men. What is with him a subject only for heart-felt mockery, was a solemn heavenly mystery to the mind of an Augustine or a Chrysostom. He finds it easy to wade, where an Origen or a Jerome found ample room to swim.

It requires indeed only some proper communion with the subject in our own spirits, to perceive the truth of the general thought which we have now in hand. It is wonderful with what power church ideas make their appeal to the soul, when it is brought into the right posture and habit for perceiving their force. And this habit is anything but such as it might be supposed to be, on the theory of those who seek to resolve all sentiments of the sort into worldly and unspiritual motives. It does not come of logic. It is no fruit of the mere understanding. It owns no sympathy with the noise and rush of material interests, the common outward life of the present world. It is a habit rather, in which the mind is brought to fall back upon the depths of its own nature, and to converse with the spiritual things, not so much in the way of outward reflection, as in the way of inward intuition.

In some such style it is, that the unperverted thoughts of childhood are accustomed to go out towards the realities of the world

unseen and eternal; and children, as we have had occasion to say before, have a natural receptivity for all churchly ideas; a truth which any one can easily verify, by remembering the experience of his own childhood, or by observing the childhood of others. What true child ever had any difficulty in admitting the idea of baptismal grace, or in acknowledging the mystical force of the Lord's Supper? So at every point children are peculiarly open to just those views and sentiments in religion, which enter into what may be termed the objective churchly side of Christianity, as we have it developed in the Old Catholic Church. The only true order of faith for them is always the Apostles' Creed. No symbol, no catechism, ever speaks to them like that. They are disposed to believe in saints, and to hold in reverence the memory of confessors and martyrs. They have an active sense for the liturgical in religion, for the mystical, for the priestly and sacramental. It costs no trouble to bend their first religious thoughts this way. Their earliest piety will not flow smoothly in any other channel.

And thus it is through life, where the child is allowed to remain still "father to the man," in any right sense, and where opportunity is still found for the religious sensibilities to work in their proper primitive form. The "testimony of the soul," on which Tertullian lays so much stress, as being on the side of all religion, and as bearing witness in particular to the claims of Christianity the absolutely true religion, goes unquestionably in favor also of Christianity under the churchly view, and lends countenance to the whole circle of thoughts and feelings, in which this view may be said to have its natural and proper home. There is that in the inmost depths of our religious being, which echoes responsively to the voice of this special form of the Christian faith, wherever there is room for it to be rightly and fairly heard. Is it not here, in truth, we reach the ground and foundation of all religious art? All such art is churchly by its very constitution, and ceases to be intelligible where some sense of the Church comes not in as a key to explain its meaning. Puritanic ideas are for the understanding; Catholic ideas speak more directly to the heart.

The true sense of the Church Question, in this view, that which forms its proper nerve and gist, is not found really in those points around which the controversy is most commonly made to revolve. The first matter needing to be settled is not the right of any outward historical organization to be considered the Church or a part of the Church, but what the Church itself must be held to be in

theory or idea; not the force and value of any institution or usage or order which may be set forward in any quarter as evidencing the presence of the Church, but what this presence in any case must be taken actually to involve and mean. If men have no common notion or conception of the Church, some taking it to mean much and others taking it to mean very little or almost nothing at all, it can never be more than a waste of time for them to dispute concerning the modes of its being or the proper methods of its action.

Only when the *idea* of the Church has been first brought to some clear determination, can the way be said to be at all open for discussing either intelligibly or profitably such questions as relate only to the manner in which the idea should be, or actually may be anywhere, carried out in practice. That is always a most heartless sort of controversy about Church points, where the parties at issue agree at bottom in disowning, or not perceiving what forms in fact the true core of the subject in debate, and thus show themselves to be contending for an empty form and nothing more; as when the Baptist insists on the obligation of the sacraments against the Quaker, or the Congregationalist defends the baptism of infants against the Baptist, without any faith on either side in the old doctrine of sacramental grace; or as when the Episcopalian is violent for bishops, or for the use of a liturgy, against the Presbyterian, while for both alike all resolves itself into a question of mere outward appointment, and neither the Christian ministry nor Christian worship mean a particle more for the one than they mean for the other.

Such questions, belonging to the periphery of the Church system, are of course important; but only as they are viewed in connection with the centre of the sphere in which they have their place. Disjoined from this in thought, they cease to have any meaning or force. What earnest mind can make much account of the question of infant baptism, if the whole sacrament be considered an outward sign merely without any sort of objective force? To what can the question of Episcopacy amount for any such mind, where the ministry is not held to be of strictly divine right, and the necessary channel of God's grace in the Church? It may be something relatively churchly to uphold the authority of the sacraments in opposition to the Quakers, to be in favor of infant baptism in contradiction to the Baptists, to go for Presbyterianism instead of Independency and Congregationalism, to press the distinguishing points of Anglican or American Episcopacy against all other denominations; but no such distinctions are sufficient of themselves to bring into view

the absolute sense of the quality which is applied to them by the term churchly. To reach this, we must go farther back. The fundamental question is not of the sacraments, nor of a liturgy, nor of the Church Year, nor of ordination and apostolical succession, nor of presbyters, bishops, or popes; but, as we have said, of the nature of the Church itself, considered in its ideal character, and as an object of thought anterior to every such revelation of its presence in an outward way.

What is the Church? What is the true idea or conception of it, in the economy of the Christian salvation? Does it belong to the essence of Christianity; or is it something accidental only to its proper being, a constitution made to inclose it in an outward way, and capable of being separated from it without serious damage to its life?

This, we say, is the true *Church Question*, the root of that great controversy concerning the Church, whose ramifications reach so far, and whose multitudinous bearings are found to cover at last the entire field both of Christian doctrine and Christian practice. Here is the fountain head of the difference, which like some mighty stream divides throughout the churchly system of religion from the unchurchly. Here is the beginning of the great gulf fixed between them, which serves to place them as it were in two opposite worlds. No other issue, within the Christian sphere itself, descends so deep or reaches so far. It enters into the very idea of faith, affects the sense of all worship, conditions the universal scheme of theology, and moulds and shapes the religious life at every point. It gives rise to two phases of Christianity, which are so different as to seem at last indeed, in their full development, more like two Christianities than one.

If there could be any doubt concerning the proper sense of the Creed here separately considered, it must disappear immediately in view of what may easily be known in other ways to have been the general faith of the early Church on this subject. As all the variations of the Creed proceed in one and the same strain, so also is this found to be in full harmony at the same time with the universal religious thinking of the time to which they belong. No one who has taken the least serious pains to qualify himself for an intelligent opinion in the case, can make any question in regard to this point. The idea of the Church which meets us in the Epistles of Ignatius, is the same that rules the polemics of Irenaeus, ani-

mates the zeal of Cyprian, and comes to its full systematic development at last in the theology of the great Augustine. It is the idea, by which all institutions and arrangements, all offices and sacraments, all forms and rubrics, belonging to the Church, are made to be something subordinate to the living constitution of the Church itself, in virtue of which only they can be supposed to carry with them either grace or power.

Faith in the Church, with these Fathers, was not just faith in bishops, or in an altar, or in the use of a liturgy; for bishops, and altars, and liturgies, were common among such as were held notwithstanding to have neither part nor lot in the true commonwealth of Christ. It terminated on what the Church was supposed to be as a divine mystery, back of episcopacy, and behind all sacraments, symbols, and forms, the force of which must turn necessarily at last on its own nature. The peculiarity of this old church faith is, that it goes right to the heart of the true Church Question, where many are altogether unwilling to follow it, who still affect to make great account of it for other points; infant baptism, for instance, baptismal grace, the mystical power of the Lord's Supper, or the three orders of the ministry; without perceiving that such points in fact mean nothing, save in union with the central life of the system to which they belong. The old faith went hand in hand with the Creed; saw in the Church the presence of a new order of life in the world, flowing from Christ's exaltation and the sending of the Holy Ghost; owned it for the body of Christ, and the home of the Spirit; ascribed to it for this reason heavenly prerogatives and powers; and found no difficulty accordingly in speaking of it as the ark of salvation, in whose bosom alone men might hope to outride safely the perils of their present life, and to be borne finally into the haven of eternal rest.

The doctrine of the Church, we have seen, is not in the Creed in any merely outward and mechanical way. It appears there as a necessary part of the general mystery of faith, being absolutely required, just where it comes into view, to carry forward the significance and power of the Christian salvation, from what goes before to what follows after; being nothing less in truth than the connecting link between the mission of the Holy Ghost, and the full course of grace subsequently in the experience of believers. In this view, the article could not be dropped from the system, nor transposed in it to any different place, without marring its organic completeness throughout; as on the other hand the article itself, so torn

from its connections, could no longer retain its own proper meaning as an object of faith. So it is indeed with all the articles of the Creed. The symbol is not so much a number of separate acts of faith brought together in a common confession, as one single act rather compassing at once the whole range of the new creation from its commencement to its close. It has to do with its successive points, not as disjointed notions merely, but as concrete forces belonging to the constitution of a common living whole. Its articles are bound together thus, with indissoluble connection, from beginning to end. To believe any one part of it in its own sense, is implicitly at least to believe every other part; for the truth of every part stands in its relation to the whole system in which it is comprehended, and if it be not apprehended in these relations it cannot be said to be apprehended and believed in its own proper sense at all.

In this way it is, that the article of the Church in the Creed is conditioned by the sense of the formulary at other points; as these other points are conditioned also by it again in their turn. There can be no true faith in the resurrection and glorification of Christ, and none in the consequent sending of the Holy Ghost, where it is not felt necessary to follow out still farther the objective progress of the mystery, and say: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church;" and so, on the other hand, there can be no true faith in the Church, where it is not perceived to be the necessary outbirth in this way of these glorious antecedents, leading on to it, and making room for it in the world. It is not any and every way of owning the Church that can be said to satisfy the requirement of the Creed; as it is not enough for it either to own in any and every way the mission of the Holy Ghost.

As the Creed is constructed within itself, in the way now stated, on a theological scheme which is peculiarly its own, and which determines the true sense of it at every point, requiring all its articles to be understood in one manner only and not in another; so it is easy to see, how it must in this way also draw after it a corresponding construction of all Christian doctrine beyond itself, imparting to it in like manner the power of its own principle and life. By its very conception, the formulary is archetypal and regulative for the whole world of Christian truth. It does not pretend to exhaust the necessary topics of divinity; it leaves room for a broad field of confessionalism beyond itself. But still, if it be indeed what it claims to be, a true scheme of what are to be considered the first

principles of the oracles of God, it must necessarily rule the order and shape of all such additional belief throughout; in such way that no doctrine or article of faith shall deserve to be counted orthodox, except as it may stand in the bosom of the same scheme, growing forth from it, and carrying out the scope of it in a natural and regular way. All later confessionalism, to be genuine and valid, must have its genesis or birth from the Apostles' Creed, must refer itself to this as the real matrix of its growth and development.

There must ever be a wide difference thus between a system of thought in which this order of faith is acknowledged and observed, and a system of thought in which it is disowned and disregarded; the theological system of the Creed and a theological system made to rest on any other basis; theology in the churchly and theology in the unchurchly form; a difference not confined to the immediate topics of the Creed itself, but extending through these to all topics; a difference not so much turning on single outward propositions, (though on this also to some extent,) as it is to be measured rather by the inward life of such propositions, the way in which they are understood, their spirit, their general purpose and aim. No Christian doctrine can be held under exactly the same form, within the system of the Creed, and on the outside of this system. Thus it is, that the authority of the symbol reaches out to all points of faith, and pervades with its presence the whole range of evangelical truth, making it necessary for every theological article to be held in full conformity with this fundamental rule, in order that it may have a right to be considered orthodox and true.

It is not enough, for example, to acknowledge the prophetic, priestly, and kingly offices of Christ, if they be set in no union with the true apprehension of his Mediatorial Person. It is not enough to maintain infant baptism, if we refuse to own at the same time the relation which the sacrament is made to bear in the Creed to the remission of sins. It is not enough to confess the inspiration of the Scriptures, if it be not with faith first in the Church; as though without such an apprehension of the Christian mystery as leads immediately on from Christ's glorification, and the sending of the Holy Ghost, to this great fact, it might be possible for any one, leaping over it as it were and having no sense of its presence, to come in some other way altogether to firm faith in the Bible, as God's infallible word, and so through this afterwards to a full and complete scheme of evangelical religion.

The Bible, great as it is in the scheme of Christianity, could not

be substituted for the Church, in the place assigned to it as an article of faith, in the Creed, without violence to the whole order and sense of the Creed. In the view of this archetypal symbol, it comes rightly for all real faith not before the Church, but after it. It is not the principle or beginning of Christianity, though it be truly its rule. It shines as a light from heaven *in the Church*, and was never intended to be a sufficient and final light for the world, as such, on the outside of the Church. Rationalism, Naturalism, Humanitarianism, of all shapes and types, taking it in such wrong view, however much stress they may affect to lay on its authority, never receive it truly as God's word, have no power to understand it, and in their use of it make it for themselves, as a matter of course, a mere *ignis fatuus*, all the world over, all "blind leaders of the blind." It would be an appalling spectacle, only to see in fact what an amount of actual infidelity—disobedience to the faith—is sheltered in our time beneath the specious plea of honoring the Bible in this false way.

In view of such a generic difference holding between the two systems, the churchly scheme of Christianity and the unchurchly, the theology of the Creed and its opposite—a difference which lies so deep and reaches so far—it becomes a matter of peculiar interest to determine precisely what its whole character signifies and means. In one case, as we have seen, the Church is taken to be an essential constituent of the mystery of godliness, while in the other it is considered an arrangement belonging to it only in an outward, adventitious way. Here we get back to the last sense of the Church Question; which is found to be at the same time strangely implicated with the right construction of the Creed, conditioning in truth the way in which all its articles are to be understood. For not only does the Creed affirm the doctrine of the Church, making it a necessary part of Christianity, and so a necessary object of faith; but it throws the entire scheme of Christianity into such a shape and form, from first to last, as imperatively requires the doctrine in this sense, and cannot be satisfied without it. The Creed is constructed throughout, both in its antecedent and consequent articles, on that view of Christianity which involves the idea of the Church in the form now stated, and makes it necessary for it to come into view just where it does in the onward flow of that good confession. This does not imply, however, that the Creed starts from the idea of the Church as its own proper principle. That which is the first question in regard

to the doctrine of the Church itself, namely, what place is to be ascribed to it in the conception of Christianity, is not just the first question in regard to the theological system in which it is comprehended as a necessary article of faith.

When we have said, therefore, that the Church is made in the Creed to be of the essence of Christianity, and that all the articles of the symbol are so framed as to shut faith up to this conclusion, and that it leads on thus to an entire theology of answerable form and complexion throughout—it remains still to ask: What then is that peculiarity of doctrine in the Creed, that distinguishing quality of faith, back of its doctrine of the Church, which calls this forth in its order, gives to it all its force, and imparts what we call a churchly character to the universal scheme of religion into which it enters as an organic part? What is the root or beginning of the broad difference, which reigns between the Catholic Christianity of the first ages and the Puritanic Christianity of modern times, between the theology which breathes the spirit of the Creed and the theology which breathes a different spirit, between the churchly construction of the Gospel and the unchurchly? It is not easy to conceive of a theological inquiry more interesting than this, or more worthy of being followed out with right study to a right answer.

Were we called upon to give in a word the distinguishing peculiarity of the Creed, in the view suggested by the inquiry, we should place it in the *historical* character it assigns to the Christian salvation, regarded as a supernatural process of grace, in opposition to every scheme which resolves it into a matter of mere speculative thought. Its doctrine of the Church falls back on its doctrine of Christ; and this is made to include, from first to last, the conception of a real union between the divine and the human, the life of God and the life of man, in the person of the Mediator, carrying along with it the work of redemption, as the process of a new creation in the bosom of the old, onward to the end of time.

In the Creed, as in the New Testament, Christianity has its last ground in the mystery of the Ever Blessed and Glorious Trinity; which is exhibited as an object for faith, however, not so much in the light of a doctrine, as in the light of a fact, opening the way for the revelation which God has been pleased to make of himself through the mystery of the Incarnation. This forms, accordingly, an act of self-manifestation on the part of God, by which he is to be regarded as coming into the world in a sense in which he had not been in it before, for the purpose of redeeming and saving men

from their sins. The Word became Flesh. That is the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and power to own and confess it, not as a dogma merely, but as a simple historical fact, is the beginning of all faith in the proper evangelical sense of the term. The beginning of all heresy, on the other hand, lies in the open or virtual denial of this great mystery. Hence St. John's memorable touch-stone for distinguishing true Christianity from that which is spurious and false. "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh," he tells us, "is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world."

The spirit of antichrist, in this way, is the rationalistic temper of the natural mind, which substitutes for the mystery of the Incarnation in its proper form a mere notional construction of Christ's person, in which, after all, no real historical union of the divine nature with the human is allowed to have place; setting up thus in opposition to the true Christ a false shadowy image, a mere spiritualistic phantom, which is made to counterfeit his name and usurp his place. Over against all such rationalistic spiritualism, the Creed makes full earnest with the criterion of St. John. It takes up and carries out in its own simple, historical way, that notable confession of Peter: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God;" in reference to which our Saviour said: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven."

The merit of Peter's faith stood in its power to break over the natural order of the world, so as to see and acknowledge in the person of Christ, there actually before him, the presence of a new and higher form of existence, joining the nature of God with the nature of man in a way transcending all common understanding and thought. Thou, Jesus of Nazareth, it could say—whom we know to be in all respects a real man like ourselves, and no spirit merely in human show—Thou, the Son of Mary, art at the same time the Son of the Most High God, and as such the Messiah, the true Saviour of the world. Such precisely is the confession, which forms the burden of the Apostles' Creed. Its theme may be said to be throughout, "Christ come in the flesh." In that fact, the objective mystery of godliness (1 Tim. 3: 16), it sees the whole fullness of salvation, the entire economy of redemption; and it lays itself out, accordingly, to set it forth in its necessary conditions and consequences, under a purely historical view, as the proper

substance of Christianity, the one grand object of all true Christian faith.

So apprehended, the Gospel is in no sense theoretical, but supremely practical. It is the presence of a supernatural fact in the world, confronting men under an outward form, carrying in itself objectively the powers of the world to come, and challenging actual submission to its claims in such view as the only way in which it is possible to be saved. Faith has to do in the case, first of all, not with any doctrines which may be supposed to flow from the fact, but with the fact itself as a simple matter of history; the history being, however, at the same time, supernatural, out of the whole ordinary course of things in the world, and requiring, therefore, a very different kind of belief from that which is needed to take up the facts of history in its common human form. It is a great thing—too great for the reach of mere natural thought—to believe truly that Christ has come in the flesh; that Jesus was no mere man attended by the extraordinary inspiration of the Almighty, according to the old Ebionitic view; and yet no mere shadow either, according to any of the old Gnostic theories; but that in him the Word became actually and enduringly incarnate for us men and for our salvation.

On this supernatural fact the Creed fastens its whole attention, referring it to its necessary origin, and following it out steadily to its necessary results, all in the way of simple historical apprehension and conception. Christ, the Son of God, we are required to believe, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man. He suffered, died, descended into hades. But it was not possible that he should be held under the power of death. He rose again; He ascended on high, leading captivity captive, and having all power given unto Him in heaven and in earth. All this served only to prepare the way for His kingdom in the world, through the mission of the Holy Ghost, His great ascension gift, and the constitution of the Church, which is declared by St. Paul to be His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all, and with which He has himself promised to be present always to the end of time. In the Church, accordingly, as distinguished from the natural constitution of the world, the new order of grace brought to pass by the victory of Christ over sin, death, and hell, runs its course from age to age, in the salvation of all true believers. "We confess one baptism for the remission of sins; we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come."

CHAPTER XLIV

DR. NEVIN was born and educated in a Calvinistic Church, and in his younger days it is not probable that he ever presumed to question the doctrine of divine predestination as taught in the Westminster Confession of Faith. When he became professor of theology at Mercersburg he still held it in a moderate sense, but seldom, if ever, preached on the subject. After stating the doctrine cautiously in its different phases to his classes, he was accustomed to close his remarks by saying that the whole subject was "a deep, unfathomable mystery." In the progress of his theological thinking he came to feel that it could not in all respects be made to harmonize with Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and he allowed his view of the decrees to be considerably modified. He was also led to believe that it could not be reconciled with Scriptural views of the Church. This conflict he sought to point out in the *Mercersburg Review*, in the April and July numbers, in a review of Dr. Hodge's Commentary on the Ephesians. The two articles fill out ninety-two pages, of which we here supply the reader with the leading paragraphs, containing the main argument.

The distinguished character and high position of the author of this work, taken in connection with the wide significance of its subject, must be allowed on all hands to clothe it with more than ordinary claims to attention. The Epistle to the Ephesians is of cardinal authority, in particular for the doctrine of the Church; and it forms in such view the key, we may say, for the right understanding of all St. Paul's Epistles generally, which must serve of course also, at the same time, to open the true sense of all the other Epistles of the New Testament. Knowing this, we could not be indifferent to the view that might be taken of it by such a man as Dr. Hodge. His theory of the Church, as it has been presented to the world in various ways, is commonly understood to be very low; so low indeed, that it has given serious dissatisfaction to many in his own communion. It has been a matter of interest with us to see how such a theory would be applied in his hands to the interpretation of the Epistle to the Ephesians. We have, accordingly, examined the new Commentary with respectful consideration and care; and having done so, we propose now to make it the oc-

casation for some earnest criticism and discussion, in our present article.

It is hardly necessary to say, that this Commentary of Dr. Hodge is constructed upon a general theory of the nature of Christianity, thus previously established and fixed in his own mind. If it were not so, the work would be entitled to but small regard. We find no fault with it merely on this ground. Only let the fact be fairly understood and kept in sight; that we may make due account of it, in examining the work itself. It is not an attempt to explain the Epistle to the Ephesians purely and exclusively from its own text, and without any sort of theological preconception or bias. It can hardly be said, indeed, to pretend to such independence. However it may suit the view of some to make light of all authority in this form, and to look upon tradition of every kind as an embarrassment to the right use of the Scriptures more than a help, we meet with no such pedantry in Dr. Hodge. He has his theological system, his ecclesiastical tradition, that serves him continually as a medium through which to study the features and proportions of the inspired text. Neither is it difficult at all to determine the character of this system. It is well defined, openly acknowledged, and for the most part, though not always, consistently maintained. We may see at once, in such circumstance, how necessary it is that we should try the merits of the system, in order to estimate aright the merits of the Commentary.

No one can have read the Epistles of the New Testament with any sort of attention, without being made sensible in his own mind of a certain difficulty in them, standing not so much in particular passages as in the whole hypothesis which is made to underlie their construction. Two seemingly opposite views are embraced in this, which it is found exceedingly hard to reconcile or hold in steady union. Let us endeavor to exemplify and explain.

Nothing can be more clear, in the first place, than that these Epistles are not addressed to the world at large in its natural character and state. For the world in such view, the Gospel universally has but one form of address. It calls on all men everywhere to "repent and believe," to submit themselves to Christ, to be "converted," to be "baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins," as the absolutely indispensable condition of holiness and salvation. "He that believeth and is baptized," the proclamation runs, "shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." All depends on this obedience of faith. All begins here. Without this preliminary act of submission to Christ's authority,

the opportunities and possibilities of grace in any farther view are not regarded as being at hand for the use of men at all. The Gospel never offers its grace for the purposes of sanctification, to those who refuse to place themselves by such preliminary obedience, within the range and scope of its supernatural provisions; and it never allows itself, therefore, to waste upon such its lessons of piety or its motives to a holy life. So with these New Testament Epistles. They are full of doctrine, instruction in righteousness, warnings, admonitions, promises, encouragements to Christian duty; but all this for a certain class of persons only, and not for the race of mankind indiscriminately.

This is at once evident from their inscriptions and salutations. They are addressed not to countries or towns as such, but to particular bodies of people in them separated and distinguished in some way from the world in general. St. Jude writes, "To them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called." St. Peter, in one place, "To them that have obtained like precious faith with us, through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ;" in another, to dispersed strangers of Pontus, Galatia, &c., who are regarded, at the same time, as gathered together and elect "according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ." So in every Epistle of St. Paul. One is: "To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints;" another: "Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints;" a third: "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia;" a fourth: "Unto the churches of Galatia;" a fifth: "To the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus;" and in similar style throughout. And the restriction thus made in the first address is always carefully observed in every Epistle on to the end. The writers do not allow themselves to fall away from the conception with which they start, by gliding into any more loose and general view. They have before their mind always, not men at large, but the particular class or description of persons to whom they address themselves in the beginning. Their instructions and exhortations are everywhere for the "Church," for the "Called," for those who are known as the "Faithful in Christ Jesus."

All this, we say, forms one general aspect, under which the conception of Christianity is continually presented to us in the New

Testament Epistles. Along with this, however, in the second place, there runs throughout another view, which seems at first to look in quite a different direction, and to place the whole subject in a new and different light. It may be denominated, with propriety perhaps, the human side of the case, as distinguished from its divine side.

We are confronted with it at once in all those representations, which require us to descend from the idea of the lofty privileges of believers, to the thought of the manifold infirmities with which they are still compassed about in their present state. Who has not experienced at times some sense of incongruity, in passing directly from the wonderful terms in which these privileges are described by St. Peter or St. Paul, to the topics of ordinary morality they are made to enforce? It sounds strangely, to hear those who are spoken of as sitting in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, exhorted, at the same time, to avoid the most common sins, such as lying and stealing, and warned against "fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness" among the heathen, including things done by them in secret, of which it was a "shame even to speak." It sounds strangely, when the power of the Spirit and the power of the flesh, the life of grace and the life of nature, are brought before us in such close proximity as we find ascribed to them in the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. "Walk in the Spirit," it is there said, "and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would. But if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, etc." The occasion for admiration here is, not that such sins are condemned as contrary to Christianity, but that those who are addressed should be supposed to be at all liable to the power of them in the immediate and near way that seems to be implied by such a style of exhortation.

Here then is a peculiar and different problem to be solved, in the interpretation of these Epistles. How are we to bring together the two sides that enter thus into their general hypothesis of Christianity, seemingly incongruous as they are, in such a way that we shall have a result doing full justice to both, and uniting them in real logical harmony for our thoughts? It is plain, that no scheme of exegesis which fails to do this, however much it may have to recommend it on other grounds, can be entitled to confidence; since

it must be constructed on a view of the Gospel different from that which pervades the Epistles themselves, and can never serve, therefore, as a sufficient key to unlock their sense.

Now there are two general ways in which a theory of interpretation may wrong the New Testament conception of Christianity, as we have just had it under consideration. It may not do justice to the first side of the hypothesis, or it may not do justice to the second. In the one case, we shall have the idea of nature overwhelmed in a certain sense by a false sublimation of the idea of grace; in the other case, the order will be reversed, and we shall have the idea of grace merged and lost in the idea of nature. For the sake of distinction, we may call one the Calvinistic and the other the Arminian tendency.

The Arminian view proceeds on the supposition, that there is no essential difference between the order of nature and the order of grace. It acknowledges, of course, the existence of grace, regarded as a supernatural power exerted upon the minds of men; but this is not felt to depend on any other order or constitution than that of the world under a simply natural view, considered in the general relation which it sustains to God. Man in his natural character is possessed of intellectual and spiritual faculties, which carry his thoughts above and beyond the present world, and qualify him for entering into communication with the realities of a higher life in the way of religion; and the idea here is, that in order to do so, he needs no other help than what is comprehended in the notion of a common divine influence exercised upon his powers for this purpose. The whole conception of grace thus resolves itself into this, that God, by his Spirit, is supposed to act on the minds of men, just as they are, directly and indirectly, without any intervention whatever; and it is supposed also to depend upon themselves, in the use of their natural ability, whether such gracious influence shall be of avail or not for the purposes of salvation. Such a view, of course, leaves no room for the idea of the Church, as a real economy or constitution different from the world.

How completely this system of thought fails to do justice to the Epistles of the New Testament, we need not spend time now in endeavoring to show. Our business at present is more immediately with the opposite form of one-sided thinking presented to us by the Calvinistic tendency; for this it is that governs throughout the New Testament exegesis of Dr. Hodge, as it comes before us in his Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians.

Here we have a false sublimation of the idea of grace, by which

in the end serious wrong is done to the proper human side of the Christian salvation. All is made to resolve itself into divine agency, under such a form as fairly lifts the process of redemption out of the sphere of man's proper life, and causes it to go forward in another and different sphere altogether. The doctrine of election, turning on the notion of an absolute unconditional decree in the mind of God, is made to be the principle, and only really efficient cause, we may say, of the whole work. God having of his mere good pleasure determined, from all eternity, to save a certain fixed number of persons belonging to the human family, and not to save any besides, is supposed then to have ordered the entire plan of redemption in subordination to this purpose. All the provisions of His grace, including the fact of the Incarnation itself, the atonement made by Christ's death, the benefits of His resurrection, the mission of the Holy Ghost, the establishment of the Church, the Bible, the ministry of reconciliation, and the holy sacraments, are conditioned and limited, according to this view, by the settled and foregone conclusion which it is proposed to reach by their means; becoming, under such aspect, a sort of outward mechanical apparatus merely in its service.

The result is an ultra spiritualistic, shadowy idea of redemption, in which no real union is allowed after all to have place between the powers of heaven and the necessities of earth; and in full correspondence with this, a complete dualism is brought into the conception of the Christian life also, regarded as the subjective or experimental appropriation, on the part of believers, of the grace thus objectively provided on their behalf. The human and divine factors are indeed both acknowledged, as entering in some way together into the process of conversion and sanctification; but no room is found for their free and harmonious co-operation. God becomes all, and man practically nothing; the consequence of which here again is, that religion becomes a scheme of mere abstract spiritualism, which, carried out consistently, can hardly fail to turn it at last into a cloud-like phantom or hollow shadow, the counterpart in full of its own profoundly kindred error, the christological dream of the ancient Gnostics.

For the application of this system to the exposition of the New Testament, we could have no better example than Dr. Hodge's Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. It proceeds upon the Calvinistic hypothesis, as now described, from beginning to end. So far as we can see, too, he does not shrink from acknowledging this hypothesis in its only fully consistent form, the su-

pralapsarian conception, we mean, as held by Calvin himself, though not generally by his followers. According to that conception, as is well known, the decree of election, issuing in the salvation of the elect as the last end of God's works, so far as man is concerned, is taken to precede and govern in the order of being, not simply the idea of redemption, but the idea also of the fall itself; the amount of which is, that God, having in mind his own glorification in the salvation of the elect and perdition of the non-elect, determined first the creation of the race, and then its fall, in order to make room for what was his ulterior purpose in that other form. Dr. Hodge does not, indeed, in so many words, adopt this supralapsarian theory; but it is the only view, we think, that suits what he says of the predestination of a fixed number of human beings, from all eternity, to everlasting life. It is certain, at all events, that this decree is made by him to be the *principium* of everything that is comprehended in the scheme of redemption itself, and that all its arrangements and provisions, accordingly, are considered as being circumscribed and limited by it in their force. They are universally for the elect only, and no part of the fallen world besides. Their scope and efficiency are absolutely bounded by the range of this narrow circle, unalterably settled in the Divine mind from all eternity, and cannot be said to extend beyond this really in any direction whatever.

Predestination in this sense, and no other, is the "primal fountain," we are told, "of all spiritual blessings," as involving for the saints their "election to holiness before the foundation of the world." The mystery of the Incarnation thus took place only for the elect, whom it was determined beforehand thus to save. Aside from them, it would not have occurred at all; and for the rest of the world it has in fact no saving purpose or power of any sort. The rest of the world is not in a salvable state; for the economy of the Gospel is such, that the principle of its grace, considered here as an absolute decree in the Divine mind, cannot be said to reach even potentially those who stand outside the circumference of this decree. Salvation, as a possibility only, has just as little significance for them, as it would have if they belonged to another world entirely. Power to become the sons of God, the great privilege and prerogative of as many as receive Christ (John 1: 12), belong, exclusively, to the elect. All others are doomed to hopeless impenitency and unbelief. Alas, what *should* they believe, if this view of the Gospel be itself the very truth of God which they are bound, under pain of damnation, to receive? For any of the

non-elect to believe that Christ died for *them*, or that he is willing now to save them, must be, according to Dr. Hodge's scheme, to believe what is absolutely and eternally untrue. To agree at all with the actual truth of things, *their* faith must own and confess precisely the reverse.

All this, we know, sounds monstrous enough. But we hold it to be a perfectly fair, unvarnished representation of the theology, which Dr. Hodge has brought with him as the compass and polestar of his observations on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. The doctrine of election, as he holds it, involves beyond the possibility of logical escape, the notion of a corresponding partiality and limitation in all the arrangements of grace. Make such a decree the principle of salvation, and it must necessarily reduce the means of salvation throughout to the measure of its own action and intention. It will be no longer true, that Christ died for all men, made atonement for all, triumphed over death for all, and now reigns head over all things to the Church for all, having sent forth His ministers to preach repentance and faith to all, that they might be saved. Regarded as a merely external administration indeed, Christianity may claim and appear also to possess such universality of character. But looking to its proper spiritual economy, we find all to be different. In God's mind, it is a plan to save the elect only; the agency of his Spirit goes along with it, to make it certainly efficacious for this end; beyond this, it carries in it neither purpose nor power of grace for any of the children of men.

How exceedingly arbitrary all this is, and how little it agrees with the plain text of St. Paul himself, it is not our business just now to show. We bring it forward simply to exemplify the view which Dr. Hodge takes of the Church, from one end of his Commentary to the other. It agrees in full with his conception of the nature of Christianity, as being essentially a scheme of pure abstract spiritualism, starting in the election of certain individuals to salvation, and having no real significance or force beyond the carrying out of this purpose, which, at the same time, it cannot fail infallibly to reach. Under no such aspect can the Church be regarded as an outward and visible organization, carrying in it as such the powers of a higher world. Indeed it can be no *organization* at all; except in the character of a mental notion merely employed to generalize what are held to be the common attributes of its constituent members, as they are known certainly to God, though with no certainty to the world or to one another. It answers only to the invisible process of redemption, as it lies behind the dramatic show with

which it is made to play its part in the outward world, and not at all to this show itself. These two conceptions fall asunder completely. There is no inward connection between them. The invisible fact and the visible fact come to no organic union whatever. They do not meet together in the idea of any single constitution, but present to our contemplation always what must be regarded as two Churches, in truth, instead of one. The scheme in this view is grossly dualistic.

Such dualism subverts really the old doctrine of the Church, as it entered into the faith of the first ages, and continues to challenge the faith of the world still in the Apostles' Creed. It converts its whole being into a shadow, which, while it seems to promise much, means at last literally nothing for the process of man's salvation. Neither the true Church, in the sense of Dr. Hodge's distinction, nor the Church which is such in name only and outward show, can be said to add anything really to the "mystery of godliness," as otherwise ordered and made sure for its own ends. Neither the visible nor the invisible Church can be regarded in the light of a constitution, intervening with any real force between heaven and earth, and serving as the necessary form of all actual correspondence between them in the way of grace.

But the invisible Church of this dualistic theory is no more suited than its notion of the visible Church, for the office here in question; and just as little account is made of it in fact under any such view. It adds nothing to the conception of Christianity, as apprehended without it. It *is* in truth nothing more than this conception itself, thus previously full and complete. It is at best the comprehension only of the "elect," whose salvation is a fact already secured under quite another aspect and view, and who thus bring with them in their character of saints all that is made to belong to them in its communion.

What has been now said may serve sufficiently to show the general nature of the Calvinistic hypothesis, on which Dr. Hodge relies so confidently for the right interpretation of the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is sufficient also to show, we think, how unequal his Commentary must necessarily be to the task of meeting and solving what we have already seen to be the fundamental exegetical problem brought to view in the structure of the Epistle itself. The hypothesis does not answer at all to the terms and conditions of this problem, as it has been already stated and described. It does not even seek to reconcile and unite the two apparently discrepant views of Christianity that run through the Epistle. It

throws itself upon one of these views in a great measure exclusively of the other; and in this way violently breaks the knot which it has no power to unloose.

It does well in asserting over against Arminianism the claims of grace as forming in the work of redemption an order of life and power, distinct from nature and above it; but doing this in such a way as practically to sunder the two spheres altogether, it falls into a like one-sidedness in the opposite direction, making so much of God's agency as to turn the activity of man in fact into mere dumb show. With such a character, how can it possibly do justice to the text of the New Testament, or serve as a mirror to reflect the mind of St. Paul? Looking at the theory then as it is in itself, and comparing it with the plain demands of the case, we have the most perfect right to anticipate not any more particular investigation, and to say beforehand that the Commentary before us cannot possibly give us the true scope and sense of the Epistle it pretends to expound. The difficulty is not with the learning or ability of its distinguished author. These may be all that could be expected or desired. It lies in the preconceived scheme of thought which he feels himself bound to apply to the text, as the necessary norm of its meaning; but which is found to be in truth so foreign from the genius of the text itself, that no amount of learning can ever be able to interpret this faithfully and fairly by its means.

If this general *a priori* judgment in regard to the work at large be at all correct, we may take it for granted that it cannot fail to be corroborated and confirmed by an examination of it in its details. It is only what might be anticipated, therefore, when we look into it, and find its actual course of exposition attended with embarrassment and contradiction from the very start.

Take first of all the topic of election, which is found to be of such cardinal significance for the interpretation of the whole Epistle. With the merits of the doctrine itself in its Calvinistic form, as held by Dr. Hodge, we are not here immediately concerned. We have nothing to do with it now as a question of metaphysics or of general theology. What we have before us is a simple point of exegesis, which is not to be settled by any such speculation one way or the other. We ask not, whether the Calvinistic dogma, in itself considered, be right or wrong; but whether it be really and truly what was in the mind of St. Paul in writing this Epistle to the Ephesians, so as to be still the proper key to the actual sense of the Epistle itself. That is now the only question; and it is one which we find ourselves at no loss whatever to answer. The elec-

tion of grace on which so much stress is laid by St. Paul, and which is made by him here and elsewhere to underlie the whole conception of the Christian Church, is *not* just of one and the same order with the "absolute decree" of Calvinism, regarded as determining the destination of every man to glory or perdition from all eternity. To settle this point, it is not necessary that we should be able to explain in full the relation of the two forms of thinking to each other; nor even that we should have it in our power to comprehend precisely the actual view of the Apostle at all points. It is enough to see, that the suppositions and assumptions which are involved in the one hypothesis, cannot be brought by any strain of logic to agree with what is plainly postulated and required by the other. No rule can be more sure or easy of application than this; and we need no other, for fully deciding the question here in hand.

The Calvinistic theory of election, presented to us in the Commentary, connects the beginning of salvation for all who are predestinated to life indissolubly with its end. There is no room to conceive of it coming short of its ultimate purpose in a single case. In addressing then "the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus" at Ephesus, St. Paul is to be regarded, according to this view, as having in his mind's eye directly those in whom this absolute decree had already begun to work surely towards its own end, and no others. None besides may be thought of as having any true denizenship in the kingdom of God. The conception of that kingdom is held to be necessarily of one and the same measure, with the actual operation of this absolute decree in those who are its subjects. They alone have part really in the "vocation" of the Gospel; and for them this heavenly calling is itself the guaranty and pledge, most surely, of everlasting life.

But now it must be plain, we think, for any unsophisticated reader, looking into the Epistle itself, that its theory of distinguishing grace, whatever it may be, is something widely different from this, something which refuses to coalesce with it altogether, and that demands absolutely quite another construction of Christianity. The "elect," whom St. Paul addresses, whom he describes as "called to be saints" and as "sitting in heavenly places in Christ Jesus," and who form for him the idea of the Church which is "the body of Christ, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all," are *not* at once, to his mind, such as have been predestinated by an absolute decree, from all eternity, to everlasting salvation, and are now regarded as moving forward by the power of it, with unerring certainty, to this pre-ordained result.

We have plain evidence of the contrary in every part of the Epistle. The difficulties it offers in the way of Dr. Hodge's scheme are of the most unyielding kind; and they come up in every chapter, we had almost said in every paragraph and verse; so that recourse must be had everywhere to arbitrary and unnatural suppositions, to set them aside. The Epistle goes throughout on the supposition (common, we may add, to the entire New Testament), that those whom it addresses as Christians, chosen and called of God to the high and glorious privileges of the Church, might still fail to "make their calling and election sure." This single fact, too plain to be disputed by any honest and unprejudiced mind, is sufficient to settle the question under consideration. It shows conclusively that the "elect," in the sense of St. Paul, are not the same with the "elect" in Calvin's sense; and that the New Testament conception of the Church is something much wider than any theological view, by which it is made to be the invisible comprehension simply of that favored class whom God has predestinated to everlasting life, and in whose case thus the work of salvation once begun has no power ever to fail.

And so with the Epistles of the New Testament in general. They look, in all their communications, directly and exclusively to the Church as distinguished from the world, to the congregation of those who are denominated saints, and described as the chosen and called of God in Christ Jesus. They keep themselves continually to this rule. They have to do only with "them that are within" (1 Cor. 5: 12), and not at all with "them that are without." With them that are within, moreover, they have to do plainly in their collective character. It is not to a part only they speak, a still narrower circle mentally described within the limits of this first outward distinction. They speak to bodies of men, separated from the rest of the world in a visible, external way; and to these, as such, they refer without hesitation the lofty titles, the high privileges, the heavenly immunities and prerogatives of the Christian Church. Yet of those who are regarded as partaking of this glorious distinction, in such general view, do they again go on with just as little hesitation, to predicate, at the same time, directly and indirectly, the real possibility of sin, in forms involving an entire forfeiture of every advantage they had come to possess. However it may be with the Calvinistic doctrine of election, it is certain that the election and vocation here brought into view carry with them no sort of guaranty whatever for the final salvation of their subjects.

We repeat then what we have said before. The doctrine of election in the common sense of the New Testament, and as we have it proclaimed alike by St. Peter and St. Paul, is not the doctrine of election which is set before us in the theology of John Calvin. This is our thesis; and for the present (let it be well kept in mind), nothing more than this. Our business now, as has been already said, is not with the merits of the Calvinistic dogma absolutely considered. The argument for it in its philosophico-theological form, as set forth for example by Schleiermacher, is one certainly which it can never be easy to meet. But the question now before us is not one of philosophy or general theology. It is a question purely of exegesis. What we deny, is not the truth of metaphysical Calvinism as such, but its identity with the idea of election as it is found to underlie the conception of the Church in the sense of the New Testament. The two forms of thought, we say with the greatest confidence, are not the same. We hold it, therefore, for a fundamental fault in this Commentary of Dr. Hodge, that the difference between them is altogether overlooked, that St. Paul's doctrine of the "election of grace" is arbitrarily taken to be precisely of one measure with the doctrine of predestination to eternal life as held by Calvin, and that this last is then used as a key throughout, instead of the first, to open and expound the deep meaning of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

The consequences of so radical a mistake cannot fail, of course, to extend very far. They must affect the complexion of the entire Commentary, and may be expected seriously to vitiate the value of its expositions at every point. Our limits, however, will not allow us to pursue the subject any farther at the present time. We hope to take it up again hereafter, in another article. This will give us an opportunity of examining more fully the true import and bearing of St. Paul's idea of election; as it will make it necessary for us also to go somewhat particularly into the consideration of his doctrine of the Church; the proper parallel of that other idea, by the help of which alone it is possible to satisfy the opposing conditions of the great exegetical problem which runs, as we have already seen, through all his Epistles, so as to bring into their exposition the feeling of order, harmony and light. The true doctrine of the Church here is for the Calvinistic and Arminian theories, what the true doctrine of Christ's person was in the first centuries for the dreams of the Gnostic on the one side and the dreams of the Ebionite on the other, the glorious everlasting synthesis under a real form of what they have no power to unite except in the way of shadow.

Those whom St. Paul addresses collectively as saints, chosen of God to be holy, partakers of the heavenly calling and heirs of eternal salvation, are not regarded by him certainly as the possessors of a merely nominal and imaginary distinction, over against the world at large with which their state is thus broadly contrasted and compared. It is not in the way of compliment only or conventional form, most clearly, that he can be supposed to speak of it in such lofty terms. Nothing can be more plain, than that for his mind the difference between their condition and that of the world around them was most substantial and real, and of a kind to warrant in full all the strength of language he was accustomed to use in regard to it. His sense of difficulty, in setting forth the significance of the distinction, is not that his terms are too high for his subject, but only that they come not up to the proper greatness of it, as he finds it overwhelming his own thoughts. It is no simply outward separation alone, no merely nominal peculiarity of position, which in the view of the Apostle goes to make up the true idea of the Christian profession, the state into which men are brought by entering the hallowed precincts of the Church. This state, as he looks upon it, sets all who are in it, whether the privilege be properly improved or not, in a relation to God which cannot be said to exist at all for others.

The possibility of salvation here is made to assume a far higher form, than all it is ever found to be in the world at large. It is no longer the mere capability of being saved, but in a most material sense salvation already begun. The difference of relation to the powers of redemption is not merely in degree, but actually and truly in kind. A new order of life has been entered, the order of grace as distinguished from the order of mere nature. In this respect, the state includes a strictly supernatural character. Those who are in it stand, by virtue of their position, in correspondence with the powers of a higher world, the mysterious forces of the new creation in Christ Jesus, in a way not possible to men in any other condition. They are brought within the range and sweep of that victorious dispensation, which having run its course first in the person of the Saviour himself, is now revealing its presence in the world, through the Spirit, for the final and complete salvation of his people. To this salvation they have already a full title. It is theirs by covenant and promise, and they have full opportunity to come at last into its possession.

Such clearly is the conception of the Christian state, in its distinction from the general condition of the world, as it dwells in the

mind of St. Paul. And this conception forms for him precisely the idea of the *Church*; the sense of which enters so largely into all his Epistles, but most of all we may say into this Epistle to the Ephesians; underlying as it does here the universal course of his thought, and forming in truth the key note around which it seems to proceed throughout, as a grand and magnificent anthem, belonging not so much to earth as to the skies.

Answering to the view now described, the Church is regarded by St. Paul as a real constitution, of supernatural origin and force, existing in the world under an outward historical form, and comprehending in it the opportunity and possibility of salvation as they are to be found nowhere else. It finds its symbol or type in the Ark, which served in the days of Noah to save those who sought refuge in it from the waters of the deluge. So far as it lay in the power of the unbelieving and disobedient generally, at that time, to give heed to the Divine warning and betake themselves to the hope which was set before them in this form, it might be said that there was a possibility for them to be saved. But the possibility of salvation for those who had already entered the Ark, as we can see at once, was of a very different kind. It was not such indeed, in its own nature, as to make it absolutely necessary for them to be saved. There was no room, it is true, for any question in regard to the full sufficiency of the Ark for this purpose. But it was possible for those who were in it, to frustrate for themselves its merciful purpose and design. They might forsake it through unbelief; or staying in it, they might neglect the needful conditions of life, so as to come short finally of the proper end of their probation.

Notwithstanding all this, however, their state was already one of glorious miraculous privilege, as compared with the condition of the world at large. It placed them in a new order of existence, and brought them into living actual communication with the scheme of grace which God had been pleased to provide for the deliverance of His people. It was in such view this deliverance itself, already in sure progress towards its appointed end. In these circumstances, those who were in the Ark might be spoken of easily enough as possessing from the first the full and entire salvation which was really comprehended in its constitution for their benefit; although this was not yet reached, and might possibly never be reached by all of them in fact; since that must depend, in the nature of the case, on their own persevering use of the means they enjoyed for this purpose. Still all might be said to be theirs, as

soon as they passed from the sphere of nature here into the sphere of grace. They were rescued from the general condemnation of the world. They were made secure from its impending destruction. They were prepared to outride the flood. They might be said even to have a present footing on the shores of the new earth, which they were called to seek through its waters.

So apprehended, the Church is found to be, in a most important sense, the necessary medium of salvation for men. How should it be otherwise, if it be indeed the constitution of grace itself, the only form in which the powers of the new creation are at work in the world; while all beyond resolves itself into that mere life of nature, from the weakness and curse of which it is the object of the Gospel to set men free? To say that no such intervention is needed, to make room for the course of the Christian salvation, is virtually to deny and reject the truth of all that has now been said concerning the difference between the order of nature and the order of grace, and to hold that men may be saved absolutely in the order of nature itself without any order of grace at all; which is such an error again, as necessarily involves at last, when carried out to its legitimate end, the denial and rejection of the whole mystery of the Incarnation. If the grace by which salvation is made possible be in the world only as a supernatural system, flowing from Christ, and if this system be itself the Church, related to Him as the body to the head, it follows forthwith that there can be no ordinary salvation out of the Church; that it is the first duty of all to seek refuge in its bosom from the wrath to come; and that those who do so are at once made to have part in such full power and possibility of being saved as may be said to be in fact salvation already begun. So much, accordingly, is involved everywhere for St. Paul, in his established idea of the Church. He has no difficulty whatever in assuming continually, that it sustains to the world a relation corresponding in full with all that the Ark was, in the days of Noah, to the men of his generation.

Apprehended as it is by St. Paul again, the Church has necessarily an objective organic life. It is in this respect a system or constitution parallel in full with the constitution of the world, under its simply natural form. It is made up of manifold forces and powers, working with a vast array of outward historical results, through successive ages, which are yet all bound together as one general movement, and capable of being referred to a common principle or source. That principle is Christ. The Church starts from Him, and stands in Him always, as its perennial undy-

ing root. Whatever of grace, power, opportunity and possibility, there may be in it, as distinguished from the universal range of man's life on the outside of it, all proceeds from the new order of existence which was introduced into the world by His Incarnation, and in virtue of which He now reigns at the right hand of God. It is a sphere of being, which refers itself back organically to the principle of the new creation in such view, even as the sphere of nature, with all its powers and possibilities, refers itself back organically also to the principle of the old creation, advanced to its highest form in the "living soul" of Adam.

Such in general is St. Paul's conception of the Church. It unites in itself at once the two sides of the peculiar and truly enigmatical hypothesis, on which we have found all his Epistles to be constructed; doing full justice to both, and causing their seeming contradictoriness to disappear; for which very reason also it offers to us the only satisfactory solution of their sense, the only key by which it is possible to expound them in any full and harmonious way.

It is easy to see, that no like idea of the Church is at all attainable for either of the onesided tendencies, which allow themselves, as we have seen before, to turn the true synthesis of the Christian mystery into a false antithesis, by separating its factors, and then exalting one at the sore cost and sacrifice of the other. It is very certain, on the contrary, that these schemes must lead necessarily, each in its own way, to a different notion of the Church altogether; and it is very certain, moreover, beforehand, that no such different notion can ever be made to square exegetically with the true meaning of St. Paul's Epistles, but must serve rather to involve the exposition of them in endless and hopeless embarrassment.

Neither the Arminian nor the Calvinistic extremes can make true earnest with the proper objective and historical character of the Church, regarded as a constitution of grace in distinction from the constitution of nature. Neither of them can do justice to the idea of its organic nature, the unity and continuity of its being, considered as the power of a new creation in Christ Jesus. With neither of them can it ever come to a true acknowledgment of the position which properly belongs to it in the supernatural economy of salvation, as a part of the "mystery of godliness," itself a mystery, and in such view fairly and of right an object of faith, as it is made to be in the Apostles' Creed. For neither of them is the Church, in any sense, what the Ark was in the time of Noah, the bearer actually of the redemption which it offers to those who are

invited into its bosom, the very organ and medium of grace, the home of the Spirit, the sphere of celestial powers, through whose intervention alone the blessings of the Gospel are made to be available and possible truly for any of the children of men. Both schemes are careful in fact to denounce the idea of all such interposition and mediation in any form, as interfering with what they take to be the proper freeness and directness of Divine grace, and as tending in their apprehension to rob religion of that character of inwardness and spirituality, which forms its highest distinction, and which it is held to admit only in the form of an immediate personal transaction between every man and his Maker.

Looking at the Abrahamic constitution in its true light, we have before us here, in fact, two altogether different forms of election. We may distinguish them as mechanical and organic. The scheme set before us by Dr. Hodge is strictly of the first character; the reigning Biblical scheme is altogether of the last. The difference between the two conceptions is so important, that we may well be at some pains to have it clearly in mind.

If a man should suppose a law in nature to be of one measure exactly with its phenomenal results, the numerical comprehension of these and nothing more, a mere term to express and set forth the general truth of their existence as so many separate facts, it would be an example of a mechanical notion coming short entirely of the real nature of its object. The case calls for an organic conception. Such a law is not the product merely of its own results (a contradiction in terms), nor yet an instrument simply for bringing them to pass; but the very power itself of their existence.

To bring the matter nearer to the case in hand, take now the common relation of a tree to its branches, blossoms and fruit. If these should be supposed to exist in any certain quantity and form aside from the tree itself, and there to be joined to it in an outward way, causing it to appear as the instrumental bond and bearer of their collective life, the conception would be again purely mechanical; whereas the actually existing relation itself, as all may easily see, is organic; the tree being in fact the true ground and foundation of all the life that is comprehended in its branches, blossoms, and fruit; to such extent, that they cannot exist at all, nor be so much as conceived even to exist, except through its presence and power.

Make such a case, in the next place, the object of God's decree; which must be considered in truth to extend to all His works; and we may readily see how there is room here again for the same differ-

ence of conception, accordingly as the decree may be taken to agree with one or the other of these views. What the tree is really, it must be considered in any right view to be ideally also in God's eternal purpose and plan. The order of its being, in both modes, must be intrinsically the same. The decree looks to the branches, blossoms, and fruit, only through the tree, which forms the whole ground of their being and life. They are viewed as being in fact a single constitution. To will their existence, is to will, not secondarily but primarily, the existence of the tree itself. In such sense only, may they be said to be chosen in it to what is at last their actual destination. The election, by which this is secured, is organic. Dr. Hodge, however, to be consistent with his own theological theory, would need to reverse the order of the conception altogether. The branches, the blossoms, the fruit, are to be considered as all predetermined to their existence in time, in the first place, just so many, neither more nor less; and then, next in order, and for the purpose of bringing this to pass, must be supposed to follow the preordination of the tree, fitted and contrived to serve as an instrumental medium for reaching the end in view. This is the mechanical notion of election. The two schemes, in this case, may be distinguished without any great difficulty; and it is by no means hard to say, which of them is entitled to the most respect.

All proceeds from God's eternal purpose or decree; and we may say of men universally, that they have been chosen in Adam before the foundation of the world, to become what they are actually afterwards in time. It makes all the difference in the world, however, in what sense this election may be taken. Conceive of it under the mechanical character which Dr. Hodge assigns to the corresponding election of grace, and it must be held to mean, that the decree starts with the purpose of calling into actual existence, under a human form, a distinctly settled number of possible beings, irrespectively altogether of any intervening condition, and then falls upon the expedient or device of making the whole process centre in Adam, as it does now in fact; a view that is not likely to be entertained seriously here, we think, even by Dr. Hodge himself. The organic conception alone falls in rationally with the demands of the case. So apprehended, the decree coincides with what we are irresistibly constrained to regard as the world's actual constitution. The relation of Adam to men generally is seen to be an organic law; through the presence and power of which alone they come to be what they are; and aside from which, therefore, there is no room really to conceive of their existence at all. To be the object of

God's purpose then in any way whatever, they must be regarded by it from eternity in this form and no other. The Divine decree terminates on the whole race immediately and at once, as a constitution derived from Adam, and holding in him continually as its natural root.

In the first place, this metaphysical view of foreordination, as it may be supposed to lie back of all organization, deciding and fixing in every case its precise contents and results, is not the view of St. Paul presented to us in the Epistle to the Ephesians. We do not say that it is one which he was not prepared to understand or acknowledge, in its proper place. That is another question. What we mean is, that it was not in his mind at all, not present to his thoughts in any way, in writing this Epistle; and that it cannot be used, therefore, as a true key to its sense.

In the next place, the conception in question does not offer itself as one that is peculiar in any way to the sphere of religion. It looks to the universal constitution of the world. So far as it goes, the order of grace is viewed as being the real counterpart and parallel of the order of nature. That is just what it is made to be in the thinking of St. Paul. The one is to him, as really as the other, an objective constitution, having in itself its own laws and powers, and working organically for the accomplishment of its own ends. With what may be supposed to lie behind all this in either case, the metaphysical conception of the Divine decree, he does not allow his mind to concern itself in any way whatever.

In the last place, it makes a vast difference, whether this metaphysical conception be allowed to form directly one notion of election as in the mechanical scheme, or be simply thrown as an impenetrable mystery behind it, according to the organic view. In the first case, it becomes absolutely unconditional, having regard to no conceivable relations or qualities whatever; as being itself necessarily the ground and reason of all such distinction; in which view, we can think of nothing more perfectly abstract. In the other case, it is at once conditional; eyeing all existences from eternity as they actually are in time; seeing the whole always in its parts, and the parts in their whole, as well as in the relations they bear mutually among themselves; determining and fixing things concretely; the only way that can be said to answer truly at last to their being; the only way, indeed, in which they can ever be really and truly the object of either purpose or thought at all.

Such is St. Paul's idea of election, we repeat, as applied to the economy of the Christian Church. It is not mechanical, but or-

ganic; not abstract, but concrete. It has to do with men, not in the general view simply of their common natural humanity, but under the conception of their being Christians, such as have come to stand, through the obedience of faith, in the bosom of the new order of life which is revealed in the Church; without any reference immediately to the way in which this may be supposed to have come to pass. What the Apostle has immediately in his eye, is not so much the election of men into Christ, as their election *in Him*; the heavenly prerogatives, the glorious privileges, possibilities, opportunities and powers, that are comprehended in the new creation of which He is the Alpha and Omega, and to which they are chosen in fact by being embraced in its organic sphere. Just as, by being in the vine, its branches may be said to be elected and chosen in it to all the fruitfulness, which is made possible for them in this way, and in this way alone.

The grand object of the whole purpose is primarily and fundamentally the Lord Jesus Christ himself. All else is seen as having place only in Him and by Him. What fills the soul of the Apostle with adoring admiration, is the thought of the glorious constitution of grace in His person, considered as present to the mind of God from all eternity, and as forming in truth the ultimate scope of all His counsels and dispensations towards the human race, though in the unsearchable depths of His wisdom it was not allowed for ages to come fully into view. Through all the graces of nature, made subject to vanity by reason of sin, its gloomy forebodings, and wild utterances of despair; through the long night of expectation that went before the Flood and followed after it; through the clouds and darkness, which shrouded the mysterious presence of Jehovah during the whole period of the Old Testament; this was the end, towards whose revelation, in the fulness of time, the universal plan of the world had been directed from the beginning, and in the advent of which alone was to be reached finally the full resolution of its inmost sense. All looked in this way to the new constitution which was to be ushered into the world by the glorious fact of the Incarnation, carrying with it redemption and victory over the powers of sin and hell, for all who should come into its bosom, and use faithfully its grace. And now God's eternal purpose was fulfilled. The mystery of ages was no longer hid, but open. Christ had come in the flesh; and by His death and resurrection room was made for the Church, which now stood among men, accordingly, and was destined to do so to the end of time, as the comprehension of the unutterable blessings which had been procured for the world by His mediation.

The two schemes before us, as they involve totally different conceptions of the Church, lead also to materially different notions of faith. With St. Paul, the Church, regarded as a real constitution of grace in the world, through which only the resources of Christ's resurrection life are made available for the purposes of man's "deliverance from this present evil world" (Gal. 1: 4), is of course at once an object for faith, as really as Christ's resurrection itself. It is a constituent part of Christianity, answering truly to the position which is assigned to it under such view in the primitive Creeds. It is no abstraction, no mere generalization, resolving itself at last into the mental notion by which it is apprehended; but in some form the objective presence of a true concrete fact, whose authority men are required to own in an outward practical way, as well as with the inward homage of the spirit. This practical acknowledgment forms thus an important part of the true idea of the Christian faith; nay, we may say, it is the very form in which all such faith necessarily begins. For if there *be* any constitution of this sort really in the world, the first duty of all men must be plainly to acknowledge its supernatural claims, and to place themselves within its bosom, in order that they may be saved; and it can never be anything better than folly for them to talk of believing and obeying the Gospel at other points, while they refuse to comply here with that requirement, which in the very nature of the case must be taken to underlie and condition all requirements besides, as offering the only way in which it is possible for them to be fulfilled; just as it would have been the folly of madness itself, for any in the time of the Flood to have professed faith in the Ark, and firm trust in its offers of grace, whilst they continued obstinately to stay on the outside of its walls. In this light, the sense of the Apostolical commission becomes plain.

Many thoughts, well worthy of attention, offer themselves here for consideration, growing out of the general subject of our discussion, and bearing on the doctrine of the Church, which, however, it would carry us altogether too far to notice now in any sort of detail. If we have succeeded at all, in bringing into view the form in which this great doctrine was held by St. Paul, and the place it occupies in his writings, it must be at once plain that it is not easy to lay too much stress upon the significance which properly belongs to it in the Christian system. It is found to take its position at once very near the centre, and not simply in the outward circumference, of the general scheme of salvation; in a way which answers exactly to the order of the Creed, and serves to jus-

tify in full also the method or plan of its construction. The very first object of faith, following the mission of the Holy Ghost, must be in the nature of the case (if Christianity be no mere abstraction, and no modification simply of the life of nature, but really and truly a new order of existence in the sense of St. Paul), just what it is made to be in the Creed. Not the Bible, but the Church; not any particular doctrine, such as human depravity, for instance, or the atonement, but the fundamental fact of Christianity itself, on the ground of which only it is possible to hold any doctrine whatever with true Christian faith. The argument for the Church, in this view, is very broad. It lies in the organic structure of Christianity itself. Once fairly apprehended, as we have it in the Creed, this is found to involve the article as a necessary part of its general conception or scheme.

We may say, indeed, that the article of the Church forms the very keystone of the grand and glorious arch, with which the mystery of the new creation is represented in the Creed to span the chasm, otherwise impassable, which separates between earth and heaven, creating thus a way for the ransomed of the Lord to pass over. Only to suppose it gone, is to turn the arch itself into a Gnostic vision. The argument for the Church, we say, is comprehended mainly in the organic constitution of Christianity itself; and this is the form precisely, in which it is made to challenge our faith, and our obedient regard in the New Testament. The doctrine of the Church is in the New Testament just as the other articles of the Christian faith are there; not so much in the way of single naked texts, as under the general and broader view of necessary comprehension in the Christian system regarded as a whole.

That is a most lean use of the Scriptures at best, which affects to keep itself in any case to isolated texts, and overlooks the vastly more important significance of what lies in the organic relations of the facts themselves, with which the whole revelation is concerned. What are the few testimonies which assert in an immediate and direct way the doctrine of the Trinity, or the doctrine of the Saviour's Divinity, in comparison with the vast body of evidence for both, which is involved in the representations and assumptions of the Gospel in its universal view? They underlie in fact the whole thinking of the New Testament, the entire universe of its gracious revelations, just as they are made to bear up the whole structure of the Creed.

And so it is with this article of the Church. There are single and separate texts which may be quoted, in proof of its being, its

attributes, and its claims to regard; more than we are able to produce in such form for the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; more than we have for the inspiration and divine authority of the Sacred Scriptures. But it would be a great mistake to think that the Scriptural argument for the article lies wholly, or mainly, in any such passages. The true force of this argument comes into view, only when we are brought to see how the truth of the article is everywhere assumed and taken for granted in the New Testament, as something necessarily involved in the very constitution of Christianity, and as little to be separated from the conception of the mystery in any case, as form from substance, or body from soul. Of this we have a broad and striking example in this Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians. Strong testimonies occur in it for the doctrine of the Church, in the direct textual form; testimonies that may well embarrass the Puritan mind, so utterly foreign are they from its whole habit of thought. But these texts are, after all, only a small fraction of the evidence, which is really contained in the Epistle for the doctrine in question. That is found, not so much in what the Apostle directly asserts on the subject, as in what he presumes to be true of it, from the salutation with which his Epistle begins to the benediction that brings it to a close.

The idea of the Church runs as a silent hypothesis, or underlying assumption, through all his teachings and exhortations. It may be said to be fairly woven into his whole scheme of religion. All that he says is conditioned and ruled continually by the thought, that those whom he addresses stood not in the general world, but in the bosom of the Church; and that their position in this view served to place them actually, and not by figure of speech only, in correspondence with the powers of a higher world, under such form as was not possible elsewhere, while it was sufficient here to justify in full the strongest language he employs in regard to their privileges and hopes. This is in fact a constant practical recognition of the article in question, as it stands in the Creed; and a recognition of it also under the same general view, as being not simply an arrangement added to Christianity from without, but a true organic part of its actual substance and proper heavenly constitution, making it to be fairly and of right an object, not of opinion merely but of faith, for all men in all ages of the world.

XI—AT LANCASTER FROM 1861-1876

Æt. 58-73

CHAPTER XLV

AFTER Dr. Nevin had lived eight years more or less in retirement from official duties, his seclusion seemed to become somewhat irksome to him, and his faithful companion seemed to understand what he needed better than he perhaps did himself. He had spent many years in academic life, and that was something in his case as conducive and necessary to health as physical exercise on the farm. The College was near by, and why should his talent for instructing young men not be called into requisition in the institution as in former years?—One of the College professors met Mrs. Nevin one morning at market, and inquired of her how the Doctor was getting along on the farm. She said not very well; there seemed to be something the matter with him; but thought that, if he could have some regular intellectual work to perform, it would be better for him, inquiring whether room might not be made for him to teach for a part of his time in the College. She was assured that such an arrangement was quite possible, and that the Faculty would no doubt be glad to welcome him back again as one of their colleagues. So it turned out, and the Faculty soon afterwards requested him to take part in the instructions of the College, more particularly in the department of history; and the Trustees at their annual meeting in 1862 approved of the arrangement. He held this position of Lecturer from 1861 to 1866. Professor Kæppen had just been compelled to withdraw from his post as Professor of History, because the funds in the Treasury were not adequate to pay him his salary any longer; and the friends of the College agreed to contribute a nominal salary for Dr. Nevin for several years if necessary, in order that he might make up for the loss in the vacant professorship. History had been receiving increased attention in the College, but it was felt that it embraced something more than what is usually taught in the text-books. To supplement the course of historical study, therefore, Dr. Nevin concluded to deliver several lectures weekly, on the Philosophy or Science of

History, for which he was eminently qualified. These were enlarged from year to year, and from the notes of these lectures, taken down by one of the students, we here give their substance or general drift.

History has for its object the process of the general life of man. It belongs to the sphere of humanity, which is the sphere of reason. Intelligence, Reason, and Freedom are activities that spring from themselves and not from blind instinct. This free action we find first in the case of the individual and then in that of the race. This is something strictly human. The movements of history differ from those of nature in that they do not return to their own beginnings; they always tend upwards, while those of nature recur in a regular cycle. The animal never rises above its own order, but in the case of the moral and historical world the progress is always from a lower to a higher stadium. We cannot say, therefore, that there is any history in the lives of animals or plants, and the term *Natural History* is a term that can be properly used only in the way of accommodation. History proper implies the progress of natural life or its record, and in that view has a law and end of its own, as a life above and beyond nature, or the limitations set to mere animal or vegetable life.

History manifests itself in the progress of the individual, of the nation, and of the race as a whole. Biography is the narrowest view that can be taken of history. But the life of any single man can never be isolated nor be truthfully described unless the existing state of society is also taken into consideration. To understand him properly, therefore, we must understand the history of society in the times in which he lived. In general, therefore, it is the representative men of the epochs in the history of the world, who are held up as studies for the biographer. As a single individual may thus stand for the history of his age, this kind of a biography is called a monograph. Such we have of Luther, Mohammed and Napoleon, with whose lives the history of their times are so intimately connected that the one cannot be written without embracing the other. Thus, biography becomes truly historical; but when thus considered, it becomes a very difficult species of composition.

The life of a nation is different from that of individuals. Common nationality is a mode of existence, distinctive from personal existence. Under this view, it is a body of people bound together by common interest and a movement towards a common end. The foundation of its life is a physical substratum, depending upon the

influences of geographical features, such as climate, atmosphere and so on. But the development of man is a moral as well as a physical growth, and his moral and invisible substance or substratum is of more importance than all the external improvement which a nation receives from external influences. Now the idea of national history is presented to us in this national life, which is a movement that rises and extends itself through its individual members. Like the history of the individual, it has a beginning, a middle and an end, but unlike the natural world it does not repeat itself in a cycle. No nation can repeat the life of another; each has a life of its own and its own problem to solve; but both the individual and the national life come to an end; both rise, progress, exhaust themselves, decay, fall, and in their turn pass away. History, however, presents itself to us also in a complete or universal sense.

To do justice to individual or national history, both must be regarded as connected with *universal* or *world* history. This is not the sum of the one or the other, or of the two combined. It has also a life of its own, in which the others are comprehended as the individual and particular in the universal.—There are two kinds of universality. One of these we reach by bringing individuals together and employing a single thought to comprehend them in a single or common term, which constitutes a generality that is abstract. The other does not depend upon individual things, for when we come to penetrate them by thought, we find that they stand for something that lies beneath and back of them. Thus the universal ever meets us as our minds penetrate through tangible objects to that which lies behind. This is the true idea of universality, a concretion as opposed to an abstraction. The sense of this joined to the abstract sense is part and parcel of the general thing or reality itself as perceived by the mind. Hence we call it a combined generality in distinction from one that is abstract. The difference here between the two generalities is that the one is abstract and the other organic.

History thus coming before us as a whole or a totality is Universal or World History. In this character it is not the sum or mere aggregation of individual history, but a totality including a movement which has in it a law, tending towards a particular end. So all history as being the representation of the life of man is organic. This implies that there is a vital principle active in it from beginning to end. The development must, therefore, be subject to some law, which binds all the parts together into a single whole, always tending towards some definite end or result. There must therefore be unity here as in all other organisms. The apparent

discords and disorder in history do not necessarily contradict what is thus affirmed. We must believe that there is order here amidst what seems to be endless confusion, or deny that man possesses rationality. To suppose that there is order in nature, and yet to doubt that it obtains in history, is infidel and foolish.

The idea of World History as no barren abstraction must be regarded as a postulate, which we are obliged to admit to our reason. As such the world as a whole has a meaning, a rise, a progress and an end, controlled throughout by the presence of law. Hence when we speak of the Science of History we mean Universal History.

It has been a question whether we should begin at World History and then descend to that of nations and individuals, or pursue the reverse course. Both of these methods have been adopted. The latter is abstract and fails to bring the mind to a proper conception of an organism; the former, however, may lead to such a determination. Hegel and others begin at the whole and thus attempt to construct a philosophy of history. This is an ideal scheme, in accordance with which history is required to proceed and then descend to that of nations and individuals. But we cannot separate the universal from the particular. The true idea of science requires generally that the two should be united and proceed together. And so it should be in the treatment of history.

In speaking of history thus far, the word has been used in its most general sense, as denoting the movement of humanity in the life of man. When, however, we have to do with it as a science, we must accustom ourselves to the distinction which is involved in its name as a science. It is used without the distinction of matter and form in our own minds. History is objective in one view—*Res gestæ*—and subjective in another—written history. In the one case it is the actual progress or movement of humanity as a whole, as something objective to the human mind; in the other case, it is to be understood as the knowledge of this movement, or the image of it as it is reflected upon our minds. This latter, subjective history exists of course only in the knowledge or thought of man, and as such is written out, and becomes, as it were, the tradition of history, sometimes called historiography. Thus history in the one case is confined to the sense of the movement, whilst in the other it is the representation or record of it as handed down from one generation to another.

History is thus general, particular and individual, but before it is studied under any one of these aspects, certain propositions must

be previously admitted as true, else it is void of light and presents an insolvable riddle. It must be a system complete in itself; it must include order, law, unity and an ultimate sense or meaning; it cannot be the result of chance, or be regarded as chaotic in any sense; it is a system that has a rational constitution; we have in it the presence of intelligence, which does away with the idea of a blind necessity; and, in studying history, we must consequently believe in the presence of law and order working towards a rational end. In a word, we must believe that God is in history as well as man and the devil. Such ideas are not reached by induction, but come from the moral world, which is the world of mind.

Whilst history or humanity in an historical form is thus a unity, it is not by any means absolutely simple, but presents itself in a complex character or variety of phases, that call for classification or distinction. The action which results from this complex character of human life is divided into two parts, chronologically, and synchronistically or simultaneous action. Under the latter view every individual man in proportion to his contents includes in himself different spheres, such as science, art or religion; and so likewise in the case of national life there are spheres common to a nation as a whole, which progress together. The same is true of humanity as a whole; it in like manner breaks up into different spheres, which, although separate, nevertheless hold together. These are not stationary, but have a movement corresponding with the more general movement that is constantly going forward. Each sphere may thus be made the subject of an individual history as in the divine counsel of redemption, in the life of Christ as given in the Creed, or the history of Christianity. In this view history, which rests on the manifold spheres of life, becomes very complex; but it must be remembered that these spheres are bound to each other synchronistically, and cannot be studied with advantage independently of each other. Each sphere forms as it were a stream; each stream is confined to its channel; all rest upon a fundamental movement or law; and this gives rise to the Philosophy of History, or the Science of the Idea as it underlies the movement of the life of the individual, of the nation and of the world, penetrating as it does every single or individual sphere. This idea of course is not stationary, but moves and changes its character from time to time, and with it these spheres also move. Accordingly, while we see and acknowledge a movement in each sphere, we must also see that they cannot move otherwise than as they are determined by their fundamental idea, or that which underlies the history of the world itself.

They belong to their own individual nations and times, and as they pass away it is impossible to resuscitate them. That which is past is past and cannot be recalled.

There is, however, another view of the movement of human life, and this is the chronological. Here it is not a cycle, but a progress going forward age after age. It is, of course, not uniform, but may be broken up into parts. The division of the study of history into spheres may be compared to parallel lines, whilst that which is simply chronological consists of stages of progression in the general direction of a straight line. The movement, however, is not always continuous. It resembles that of a human being from childhood to youth, from youth to manhood, and from manhood to old age. There may be in it at times abrupt interruptions, like a stream falling from one level to another, but with this difference, that whilst the stream *falls* from one stage to another, history, on the other hand, *rises* from one plane to another.—Life is thus divided into stages, and what is true of individual history is also true of what is national. There are changes which arise that seem to shake or change the destinies of nations. These are called revolutions, which elevate the national life from one level to another. Thus, too, the history of the world does not always proceed in a uniform course; it alters its general plane, but always tending upwards from one to another, in which each one is higher than the preceding. But with this change of base there is also a change of theatre on which the movement proceeds.

In the individual or national life, the movement proceeding on the same theatre, solves only the problem whose solution leads to the solution of another and higher one. When this is accomplished in the case of a nation, it is dropped or disappears almost, if not entirely, from the general solution of the world's problem. It has acted its part and then passes behind the curtain. Beginning in the Orient the progress advanced westward. Greek and Roman civilization, the migration of nations, the rise of German civilization, France, Italy, England and America, are but the stages in the solution of one and the same great question. In all this we observe simply successive stages in the same grand march of history.

The convulsions attending this onward movement are properly denominated crises, because they decide some point at issue where, for a time, destructive and conservative forces meet each other in fierce conflict; and, whether the point in dispute be settled in cabinets or on the battle-field, they do not go backwards. This is a postulate or universal law in which our faith requires us to believe.

Here we meet with epochs and eras. The former marks the break where the era begins. Thus the Christian era is the period since the birth of Christ, which is the grandest of all epochs in history.

The sense of Universal History, as a whole, is one, but it comprises at the same time different problems that must be solved separately. Each nation has a purpose in history or a share in bringing about the grand result. It runs its course and then perishes, but the results it has reached live, and are carried forward in another channel by a new nation, which in its turn also perishes but sends the result of its life still farther onward. In this diversity of national factors there is, however, one central stream, which changes its channel and level at each step of the solution which it takes. It is not confined to any single nationality nor within the same geographical boundaries.

This movement is a rational one, subject to law, and never at the mercy of mere chance, else we could have no faith in it. It is continually evolving changes, and sometimes it seems to turn backward; for having solved one problem, it must as it were go back and take up new forces which have not as yet been developed. This retrograde movement is a preparation for that which follows. The beginning of a stage or era is always an apparent retrograde.

The rationality of history is a postulate of our reason, and of our religious reason in particular. The study of it must be directed towards a proper apprehension of its law and its truth, without which we must ever occupy a wrong stand-point, and look upon the whole process without seeing in it the harmony of its parts. Here Hegel erred. He attempted too much on the strength of mere reason. We can understand the system of nature below us; we can see that the world is, as it were, a theatre in which man acts; we can see that there is a law which runs through it up to man, and we can see that man is the key to this law. But it has not been proved that we are capable of determining the life of the world by simply studying the life of man. In presuming to do that Hegel was too venturesome. It has never been found possible in this way to discern the chief end of man, nor to find a key to explain it. The efforts or failures to do this have only tended to show that this end lies beyond this life and the present world.

It has been supposed that this key is to be found in the political and scientific life of man, but it has been proved to be unsatisfactory; and we are therefore compelled to admit that man's chief end lies beyond the present life and order of things. Here religion comes in to our aid and throws its light on the dark problem. This

being the supreme object of life, it must underlie the entire order of the world, running through both the natural and mental. We have an example of this in Jewish history. We cannot conceive of their separation from the rest of mankind, unless it was for the benefit of humanity at large, and so we find it.

Under this view, then, the grand sense of the world comes out in the Christian revelation, and Christ must be regarded as the key that unlocks the mystery of human existence. Christianity must, accordingly, be considered as carrying along with it the central current of the world's life, whilst all other currents are only subordinate. We must not be deterred by the difficulty of comprehending the sense of much that is embraced in history, both before and since the time of Christ; but we must admit that it exists or else doubt Christianity itself as a fact. Jesus Christ must be the foundation of our life, and the main stream of history must be in the Christian Church. Every other belief is of the essence of infidelity. The law of history, therefore, tends towards Christianity, of which Christ is the principle or life, and it is only as we apprehend it in this way that we can prosecute the study of it with any proper degree of comfort or success.

History is objective when it is spoken of as an object of study, and subjective when we speak of our knowledge of it. As a matter of study it supplies a variety of sources or resources from which historical knowledge is acquired, such as tradition in its widest sense, monuments, inscriptions, ruined cities and so forth. But the knowledge of history, either for the student or the historian, depends not simply upon such outward helps, but still more so upon certain internal qualifications on the part of the historian or student, without which the mere material of history would be of little account, the objective and the subjective being "useless each without the other."

Learning, thorough and exhaustive, is indispensable and the primary resource of the historian, but not this without other qualifications however great. This can bring together a vast pile of materials but it cannot construct a house or a palace. *Faith* and *imagination* are needed to reduce the crude material into a picture or counterpart of the true historical movement, as something that possesses in it a life truly organic.

We must believe that the divine presence is ever active in the world; that the physical is only the substratum, upon which the moral order rests; that God is ever directing the world of man towards its proper end, always in harmony with human freedom,

which, however, can never set aside the divine plan or law. In the whole process we witness a human factor, but at the same time there is also a divine factor which rules and directs towards one result.—This faith, in the first place, is a belief in the being and presence of God; then that His will has been made known to us through a divine revelation; and that this revelation completes itself in Christianity, which alone reveals the Divine presence. Without the light that shines forth from the person of Christ both nature and history are involved in gross darkness; with its help the divine plan and purpose become manifest. But Christianity is more than a light; it is also a power in history, greater than all others, whether friendly or unfriendly to it. This is involved in faith, and must be admitted as a postulate of common sense by all who believe in the Bible. It is only, therefore, as we recognize a supernatural element as having entered the bosom of history, are we in a condition to write, study or understand it.

Christ is the central fact, from which all other historical facts derive their significance. He is the key that unlocks its mysteries and apparent contradictions. All history previous to His Advent was preparatory to this grand Epoch, and what has followed since is the completion.

This view then furnished a necessary stand-point, from which all historical observations are to be made. Learning is a necessary and powerful agent, but in itself inadequate to enter into the meaning and bearings of historical data. In truth much learning here without faith only serves to uncover confusion and to render the darkness still more visible.—As in the physical so in the moral world, we must occupy a position from which the entire field may be surveyed, and that must be the right one, central and commanding. Otherwise the observer is in danger of being influenced by his own subjective opinions, political or religious. This being the case, we see that there is room for distrusting a large amount of what goes under the name of history.

The works of ancient historians rest upon the assumption of a divine power in all historical movements. They proceeded from a safer stand-point than that of modern writers who have no faith in the Bible. On this account some of these old writers are entitled to high respect, although they are not safe guides in the study of World History. Among so called Christian historians many under this view are unworthy of our confidence.—There is the same tendency among modern writers as that which prevails with those who study the natural world, to fix their minds upon the laws of

nature and think that the economy of the whole world may be reduced to similar or merely natural laws. Thus they in fact promote the interests of the cause of infidelity. Many historians, therefore, as well as natural philosophers are destitute of both piety and faith. Gibbon and Hume, both men of great historical learning and ability, having no faith in Christianity, labor therefore under the serious defect of viewing the periods they describe from a wrong stand-point. Their works are dangerous, not from the direct attacks which they make upon Christianity, but from their reigning spirit.

Christianity is more or less brought into contact and conflict with the various interests which make up our political and social life. The Church is one order and the State another, and the two frequently come in conflict. The religious movement may be embarrassed or corrupted by human passion or interest, so that all which may be done in the name of religion may not be right. But the proper idea of Christianity requires that we should believe that in a general way Christianity has the truth on its side; and in looking at the course of human life we must believe that the right is represented by the Church, at least until the contrary is proved. This belief of the historian is not and should not be mere blind devotion to the Church as the divine factor in history.

But the historian needs imagination as well as faith and learning. This faculty is in general a power which reproduces circumstances by an insight into their constitution. It differs from memory, which only brings up past facts, in that it reconstructs the facts. It is, therefore, not necessary to know all the facts in a given case, as they may not at all times be accessible; it is only necessary to have enough to enable the historian to get at the principle or ground of the facts. Then by the power of his imagination he can restore them to their original order. Memory cannot supplement anything; imagination can, in a measure, fill out the missing links and connections, and is consequently the faculty of reproduction, creative, as it were, causing the object to be presented to us in a new form. This power is of immense account in our everyday life; but it is especially so in the moral world of history, where the want of it is sure to lead the reporter of facts astray.

There may seem to be a large amount of fidelity in stating facts as they occur, but without the help of the imagination they will be in a large measure distorted, either by passion or interest, and thus appear in false colors. A vast amount of the slander in history arises from false apprehension arising from the absence of imagi-

nation. There must indeed be facts, but there must be a capacity and a power by which their relations and bearings can be brought into clear view. Where this is large and active, whilst the student cannot dispense with facts entirely, he will be able to make a better use of a small number of them than one without them can with a much larger supply.

An example illustrative of these remarks is found in the study of anatomy and fossil remains, where a bone or fragment of a bone may be a fact sufficient, with the help of the imagination and learning, to reproduce the whole animal. The same achievement is accomplished by the historian when he enters the spirit of an age and with his imagination reproduces its life and form. He brings together, as it were, the dry skeletons of history, puts them together, articulates them, clothes them with muscles and flesh, and breathes into them life.—Thus history becomes a fine art as well as a science. In recent times history has come to be regarded and studied in this light. Neander gave the first impulse in this direction in the sphere of Church History. He was particularly qualified by his childlike character and great learning for such a work. He had the full faith that was needed, and with his imagination he brings up the church fathers and causes them to stand before us as if still alive. The historical pictures or representations of Mosheim are cold and dead, whilst those of Neander are full of life and warmth. The progress here mentioned has extended into all parts of history. It had its beginning in Germany, but it has extended also into our own and other countries, and history as an art has entered upon a new era. Without faith and imagination, the study of history is useless and embarrassing.

History, as a science, has, properly speaking, its end in itself. Like all other sciences and departments of art, it is valuable on its own account, as an object of knowledge, and serves to enlarge our inward being. In the first place, therefore, it becomes an important discipline for the mind, as tending to the exercise of moral thinking. In close connection with such benefit it tends also to the enlargement and liberalization of our spiritual and intellectual existence. Thus it is with the tendency of all true science. It serves to enlarge and liberalize the sphere of our knowledge, to complete our personality, and to make our life general instead of individual. History in this respect is the counterpart of travel. When rightly prosecuted as something objective, it frees the mind from subjective narrowness and prejudice. Such enlargement of mind at the same time serves to humanize, polish and refine its powers.

The lessons of history in the hand of a historian gifted with imagination may be usefully applied by means of the analogies which they present, for though no two periods of history are exactly the same, yet we must bear in mind that human nature is the same at all times and under all circumstances, being subject to the same general laws which govern its movements.

In the proper idea of history it is not necessary to suppose that all the actions of mankind must be included. Of these much is prehistorical, unhistorical or extra-historical. Although many facts have been undoubtedly lost for our knowledge, yet we may reasonably question whether it is after all a real loss to the world; for we must remember that the movement of history is always directed by some central stream, which includes in itself its own proper end.—We assume that the pre-historical does not necessarily appertain to the constitution of history; for as in the life of a single man, it is not necessary that we should know anything of his infancy, in order to estimate his character, which begins properly to develop itself when his personality becomes complete, so in a nation, that which precedes its development cannot be regarded as a serious loss. What is really significant for the history of a nation can not be lost, since it will enter into its consciousness and abide there. And what is true of the history of a nation will be found to be true of that of the world as a whole.

During this period of time Dr. Nevin became concerned about the spiritual interests of his friend and neighbor, Ex-President James Buchanan. Wheatland was not far from the College building, and Mr. Buchanan frequently attended Divine service in the College Chapel, especially when Dr. Nevin occupied the pulpit. He enjoyed the respect and esteem of the students and Professors, who were very courteously received at his home, and instructed no less than entertained by the intellectual conversation of the aged Statesman. Caernarvon Place was also only a short distance from Mr. Buchanan's residence, and the two families held frequent intercourse with each other, the ladies, including Miss Harriet Lane, often crossing the fields and the fences to see each other, instead of taking the longer route by the public road.—Mr. Buchanan came from Christian parentage, had had a pious mother, and had received a religious training in his youth. He was, in fact, a religious man, and was accustomed to practice many of the duties required of a church member.—But he had never made a public profession of his faith nor connected himself formally with the Chris-

tian Church. When urged to do so by his friends, during his public life, he was wont to say that he would attend to this duty when he should once get out of politics or public life. After he left the Presidential chair and returned to his home at Lancaster, he told his friends that now all that he had to do was to prepare himself for another world. Immediately, therefore, he gave the subject of religion his serious attention, read the Bible, studied the evidences of Christianity and examined carefully the statements of different formularies of faith, in which he was encouraged by Dr. Nevin, Dr. Wolff, Rev. I. S. Demund, and others. After careful study, he said that of all the church confessions that he had read, he liked the Heidelberg Catechism the best and could subscribe *ex animo* to all that it contained.

When, however, it was thought that he would connect himself publicly with the faithful, he began to falter, did not know to what congregation he should attach himself, and wished that he had attended to this duty long before. His friends became more solicitous about him and spoke to him faithfully. Dr. Nevin told him that his proper place would be in the Presbyterian Church, to which his parents and ancestors belonged; but the doctrine of predestination, to which he could not subscribe, was a difficulty in his way in that Church; he was then advised to join the Episcopal Church, in which his brother Edward was a clergyman; but there were difficulties there in the way also; and his friend, the Doctor, was at a loss to know what to say next. Incidentally he remarked that there was some talk of organizing a congregation in the College for the students and Professors' families, which Mr. Buchanan was much pleased to hear, remarking that he would be quite willing to be received as a member into such a congregation, as soon as it was organized. In such congenial surroundings, with Dr. Nevin as his spiritual adviser, in Christian sympathy with the Professors and students, he thought he could feel entirely at home, take up his cross and follow Christ. Quite likely he hoped in this way, when political excitement was still running very high and he was much abused, that in the seclusion of the College his public profession of religion would not be noticed in the press, and that he would thus escape unfriendly criticism. Only one difficulty, a very slight one, seemed to remain in his way. Owing to his age he was apprehensive that he could not kneel with ease to receive the rite of confirmation. He was, however, informed that in the Reformed Church kneeling was not considered an essential part of confirmation, and that in the case of elderly or infirm persons it was regarded as le-

gitimate to lay hands on them in a standing posture when they were confirmed. This was satisfactory, and he was now of his own free and intelligent choice a candidate for full membership in the Reformed Church.

Under such a stimulus as this, Dr. Nevin earnestly urged upon the Faculty the immediate formation of a college congregation, something which, under any circumstances, he felt was the right and proper thing. There were, however, some unseemly delays in effecting an organization; there were difficulties in separating from the old congregation in the city, where the presence of the college people was highly appreciated; and it took some time before the congregation in the college could be organized. In the meantime Mr. Buchanan became more and more anxious to be admitted to the sealing ordinances of the Church; and as he knew that the sands of time were ebbing away, he felt that what he did in the matter he ought to do with all his might. Having ascertained that he would not be required to accept the doctrine of predestination as taught in the symbolical books, quietly and unobtrusively he was received into the Presbyterian Church in the city where he had been accustomed to worship; and the Presbyterian brethren thanked the college professors for the interest they had manifested in the spiritual welfare of one of their own children. They had indeed urged their Reformed brethren to look after his soul, as they said, and seek to bring him into the Christian fold.

Mr. Buchanan adorned his Christian profession, was an humble and sincere Christian, charitable to the poor, sympathetic with those that were sufferers, liberal in the support of public interests, untarnished in his private moral character, and with more patriotism and love for the union of his native country than he has, perhaps, as yet received credit for. He died in peace on the first of June, 1868, believing that he would meet his friends in heaven, and hoping also that he would be permitted to revisit Wheatland at times, drink from its fountain of crystal water, and in spirit hold fast to its cherished associations, where he had often found peace and rest of mind as he sought refuge from the storms of political life. At his funeral Dr. Nevin delivered a very appropriate funeral discourse in the main hall of his mansion, where he lay like a statesman, with his grand physique, taking his rest, in the peaceful embrace of death. See the *Life of President Buchanan*, by George Ticknor Curtis, published in two volumes, in 1883.

The congregation which Mr. Buchanan wished to join was organized on Palm Sunday, 1865, and Dr. Nevin, during his presi-

dency of the College, became its pastor. It, perhaps more than anything else, helped to carry into effect his idea of what all true education ought to be—one in which Christian culture should be the ruling principle of the whole process. Catechetical classes were formed under his administration, and a considerable number of students were received into the Church by confirmation, some of whom at least probably would not have joined the Church at all, if the opportunity had not been presented in this way. The congregation grew in membership, and with its services and sacraments it has become truly a spiritual home, the house of God, to students, professors and others. It has now come to be regarded very properly as the central part of the College curriculum.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE Heidelberg Catechism, through the writings of Dr. Nevin, had been elevated to a degree of respect and honor which it had never enjoyed before in the Reformed Church, especially in the minds of his students. In the year 1857, Dr. Henry Harbaugh, referring to it in one of his books, therefore suggested that the three hundredth anniversary of its introduction into the churches and schools of the Palatinate, Germany—January 19, 1563—should in some proper way be celebrated in this country by all those who had been instructed out of its form of sound words. At a meeting of the Mercersburg Classis, in 1859, Dr. Schaff offered several resolutions which were adopted, one that the Synod be requested to take the necessary steps towards a proper celebration in the year 1863, of the Third Centennial of the formation and adoption of the Heidelberg Catechism in Germany; another, that the Synod should order the preparation of a critical standard edition of the Catechism in the original German and Latin with a revised English translation and an Historical Introduction, to be published in superior style as a Centennial Edition in 1863. These requests were granted and the Tri-centennial was held in the Race Street Reformed Church in Philadelphia, one of the oldest in the denomination. The Convention met on Friday evening, January 17th, and continued in session for a whole week, until Friday evening, January 24th. Dr. Nevin presided at this meeting with dignity, and everybody was pleased to see him in the chair.

During the three daily sessions, valuable papers, referring to the history, spirit or doctrines of the Catechism, prepared for the occasion by a number of theologians in Germany and in this country, were read and discussed. Those from Dr. Hundeshagen, Professor in Heidelberg University, from Dr. Herzog of Erlangen, from Dr. Ebrard of Erlangen, from Dr. Ullman of Carlsruhe, and from Dr. Schotel of Leyden in the Netherlands, added much interest to the occasion and were listened to with the closest attention by crowded audiences from the city and all parts of the country. In connection with these, essays were also read by the following ministers of the Church in this country: B. S. Schneck, T. C. Porter, H. Harbaugh, Theodore Appel, Thomas G. Appel, M. Kieffer, E. V. Gerhart, G. B. Russell, D. Gans, B. Bausman. J. H. A. Bomberger,

B. C. Wolff, and Thomas De Witt of the Reformed Dutch Church. They were afterwards published both in the English and German languages in an octavo of nearly six hundred pages, under the title: *The Tercentenary Monument*;—a work of permanent value in the literature of the Catechism. The occasion was one of more than ordinary interest, where friend held fellowship with friend and the communion here on earth seemed to be complete. The general feeling was thus expressed by one of the speakers at the closing meeting:

“*Mr. President.*—No doubt I express the general impression of this Convention when I say that we have been instructed and edified during the past week. It has been to us truly a season of refreshing and revival. For the time being, we have not felt that our country has been in a state of civil war. Our thoughts have turned away from scenes of carnage, and gone back to those bright periods of history in which the best and most cherished institutions of modern times took their rise. We have visited the Fatherland, and communed with the spirits of Zwingli, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Frederick the Pious and a host of others, that made their age luminous with their piety and good deeds. In such society as this, we have been enabled to exclude from our minds, for a brief while, the scenes of the stormy and tempestuous present. For this we are thankful to God, the Giver of every good and perfect gift.—Having communed with the past, *Mr. President*, it might be profitable, if we had time, to look forward into the future. On this occasion we stand on elevated ground, upon which light both from the past and the future is shed. Long before another celebration like this comes around we will have finished our work here on earth, and our names will be forgotten or remembered only as they appear on the Minutes of the Synod. From this eminence we may cast a glance into the future and already hear the footsteps of those who shall come after us and take our places in the Church of God. We could wish that such occasions might occur oftener in the Church. But the time has come for us to part; and to give these remarks a practical bearing, and with the view of perpetuating the historical feeling here awakened, I propose that a committee be appointed to consider the importance and propriety of establishing an Historical Society in the German Reformed Church, to report at the next meeting of the Synod.”—The Committee was appointed and in due season the Society was formed.

The new polyglot edition of the Heidelberg Catechism published by Mr. Charles Scribner, of New York, appeared in the fall of this

memorial year under the following title: *The Heidelberg Catechism in German, Latin and English, with an Historical Introduction*. The Historical Introduction prepared by Dr. Nevin, occupied 119 out of the 277 pages of the book, and as an historical monograph possesses a permanent and sterling value.—The Committee upon whom it devolved to prepare this valuable contribution to the literature of the Church consisted of the following members: Dr. E. V. Gerhart, Dr. John W. Nevin, Dr. Henry Harbaugh, Dr. John S. Kessler, Dr. Daniel Zacharias, and the Elders, William Heyser, Rudolph F. Kelker, and Lewis H. Steiner, M. D.

During the Convention on Sunday forenoon the Holy Sacrament was administered to a large body of communicants, on which occasion an appropriate sermon was preached by Dr. Nevin on the "Undying Life in Christ," from the words: *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever*. Heb. 13: 8. The discourse was of a remarkable character, one of the crowning features of this tercentenary commemoration, and we therefore place it before our readers just as it was delivered.

The text looks immediately to what goes before, though not just in the way implied by our common English version. This seems to refer the previous exhortation to the example of those who were still living, as teachers and rulers in the Church, and whose life is there characterized as having its aim or end in Christ, who is always the same. But the reference in the original is plainly not to these, but to former teachers and rulers—among them the blessed martyrs Stephen and James—men who had continued steadfast in their faith to the last, and were now gone to inherit its rewards; so that it would give the meaning better to say: "Remember them which have had the rule over you; who have spoken unto you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the issue of their conversation or life;" that is, fixing your attention on the fact that they held the beginning of their confidence steadfast unto the end. Then it follows as an independent proposition: "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever," the full meaning of which, in its relation to the affecting exhortation going before, can be more easily felt than expressed, while it becomes the occasion at once also for the solemn caution in the next verse: "Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines." The force of it in both directions will come more fully into view as we go on to consider now the great subject itself which it offers to our contemplation—the sameness, constancy, and abiding perpetuity of Christ,

in contrast with the mutability and vanity of the world in every other view.

We say, of the world in every *other* view; because it is as belonging to the world, and forming part of its life, that our Lord Jesus Christ is here exhibited for our consideration. It is, indeed, only in virtue of His divine nature that He possesses the "power of an endless life," to such extent as to be the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; but still it is not of His divinity separately considered that the text must be understood to speak, but of His divinity rather as joined with His humanity in the constitution of His Mediatorial Person, through which He became joined at the same time with our general human existence, and incorporated thus into the life and being of the world. It is not of the Word, as "the same was in the beginning with God," that this declaration of unchanging sameness is made, but of the *Word made flesh*; not of the Son of God, considered simply in His eternal generation, as born of the Father before all time—"by whom also He made the worlds"—but of the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, by the power of the Holy Ghost, into the very bosom of His own creation, so as to become the deepest principle of its history through all time. It is the Man, Christ Jesus, who, in the midst of this ever-rolling, ever-changing system of things which we call the world, stands forth sublimely to the gazing admiration of faith as "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever."

The general relation which Christ holds to the world in this view is twofold. He is in Himself what the world is not, and has no power ever to be aside from His person; but He is this, at the same time, not for Himself simply, but for the world also, which is thus brought to find in Him its own last end and only perfect sense. What is a relation thus of opposition and contrast, in one view, becomes everywhere, in another view, a relation at the same time of inward correspondence and agreement. Both aspects of the case must be taken together, to make our apprehension of it in any way complete.

I. There is such a relation of opposition and correspondence, in the first place, between Christ and the world regarded *as a mere system of nature*. This is the nearest and most immediate view we can take of the general sense of the text.

It belongs to the very idea of what we call nature, that it should be subject everywhere to fluctuation and change. Things in this form are not what they are, by standing still, but by being rather in a perpetual flow. They come and go, appear and disappear, con-

tinually, in the same instant; and such stability as they may seem to have in any case is never the sameness exactly of the same things, but the same show only of different things that follow each other in restless succession. Such constancy as the world has in this form is its inconstancy. Its very being, we may say, is an everlasting ceasing to be; like the image thrown from the face of a mirror, which holds only in the vanishing process of its own perpetual reproduction, through each following moment of its apparent duration.

In this broad view, the fleeting, transitory character of the world is not simply represented to us in the more outward, palpable changes that are always taking place in the course of nature. These indeed are fraught with lessons of wisdom on the subject, which only the most careless can fail to consider and lay to heart. The rolling seasons and circling years are here full of instruction. Flowing brooks and changing forests, the flowers of spring and the colored leaves of autumn, all have a voice to remind us that the "fashion of this world passeth away." All around us, and all within us, viewed in such merely physical light, is adapted to force home upon us the thought that the world of nature is vain, and our own life, as comprehended in it, all the while hastening to an end. It is a perpetual round throughout of repetition and change, in which the whole creation may be heard falling in with that old burden of the Preacher: "Vanity of vanities; vanity of vanities; all is vanity." But it is not simply in these outward changes of form and state, we say, that the unsubstantial, unabiding character of the world, as we now have it under consideration, challenges our most thoughtful regard. For an earnestly reflecting mind, it is something which is felt to reach far beyond such appearances, and to enter into the universal constitution of nature itself.

As compared with its more ephemeral forms of existence, we sometimes think of the earth itself as abiding forever, and talk of its everlasting hills and mountains and seas; but in truth there is no room, philosophically speaking, for any such distinction as this; and when we are brought to commune more closely with the life of nature, we are made to feel that it carries with it really no force. The clouds are no more fleeting in their substance than the rocks; the flowers are of no more evanescent constitution than the everlasting hills. Nay, it is in the contemplation precisely of these apparently enduring forms of creation, that the deeply meditative spirit comes to its most overwhelming and affecting sense of the emptiness and nothingness of the world in itself considered; since

the more we consider them the more all are felt to be apparitional only, phenomenal merely, and not substantial; signs and shadows, which have their proper truth not so much in themselves as in things that lie beyond them in another order of existence altogether.

In this view it is that the visible earth and heavens are so frequently employed, in the Old Testament, to represent, in the way of contrast, the eternal and immutable nature of God. "Before the mountains were brought forth," says the Psalmist, "or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God." All sink into insignificance before Him, and become as nothing over against His power. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth." In all their visible grandeur they are but the outward manifestation of His invisible will, to which they owe their being every moment, and which is something infinitely greater and more enduring than themselves. "Lift up your eyes to the heavens," God says by the Prophet, "and look upon the earth beneath; for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner; but my salvation shall be forever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished." And again, more generally: "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof as the flower of the field: the grass withereth, the flower fadeth; because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand forever."

But the word of the Lord, which is opposed in this way to the transitoriness of the world, is nothing less, in the end, according to St. Peter (1 Pet. i. 25), than the word of the Gospel itself; and in this character again it is, as we know, no outward declaration or command simply proceeding from Jehovah, but the personal Word, the divine Logos, which in the fulness of time became man for us men and for our salvation, in the person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. "All things were made by Him," we are told, "and without Him was not any thing made that is made;" and so of Christ Himself it is said, with reference to what He was for the world thus before He became man: "He is the first-born of every creature; for by Him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by Him, and for Him; and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist."

We need not be surprised, then, to find the full force of this relation ascribed in the New Testament to our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Son of God, in the very same terms that are used to represent it in the Old Testament as holding of the infinite Jehovah Himself. What He was for the world before He became man, the fountain of its life, the foundation of its being, that He continued to be also after He became man; the work of the new creation taking up into itself in this way the work of the old creation, so as to be only the fulfilment, in a higher sphere, of its original purpose and sense. Because He was the first-born of the natural creation thus (Col. i. 15-18), He became also the "beginning, the first-born from the dead," the principle of the resurrection; because all things were made by Him, and for Him, He became also the head of His body, the Church, "that in all things He might have the pre-eminence." It is as the Maker of the worlds, upholding all things by the word of His power (Heb. i. 2-3), that, after He had by Himself purged our sins, He sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high. In which view also the sacred writer does not hesitate to apply to Him (Heb. i. 8-12) such strong language as this: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever. Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of Thy hands. They shall perish, but Thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt Thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail." So, after His resurrection, we hear Him proclaiming Himself to St. John in the vision of Patmos: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."

Thus is Christ in His human character itself—the Son of Man, who is at the same time the Son of God—over against the whole world of nature in every other view, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. The ages come together in His person. He is before all things, and by Him all things consist. They change, but He remains in the midst of them always the same; for through all their changes He lives and works, upholding them by the word of His power. Their mutability serves, in this way, to enforce the thought of His abiding constancy; their vanity points continually to the fulness of immortal life in His person. But the relation is not one of mere outward comparison and opposition. As thus different from the world, Christ is at the same time, as we have seen, in the most profound sense one with the world. He is the principle, the original and fountain, of its whole first creation; and

in this character, He has entered still more deeply into its life through the mystery of the Incarnation, so as to be now the principle within it of all that is comprehended in the idea of the second creation.

In this twofold view, then, He may be said to redeem the world from its inherent vanity, and to make over to it the power of His own glorious immortality. There is such a thing, we know, as the glorification of nature itself through union with His person, causing it to pass forever beyond the conditions of vanity and change to which it is subject in our present state. The body of Christ Himself was glorified in this way when He rose from the dead; the bodies of His people, we are told, shall hereafter be made glorious in like manner; and there is to be at the last, in some way which we cannot now understand, a glorification also of the whole natural creation—new heavens and a new earth (2 Pet. iii. 13)—resulting from the victorious headship of Him who is the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the ending, of its universal being and life. And may we not see how the assurance and sense of all this for faith must go to invest even the world as it now stands with the freshness and beauty of a new perennial life, such as it can never possibly have in any other view? If it be in the power of mere poetry and art, so to raise the perishable forms of nature into the sphere of the ideal that they shall become there in a certain sense immortal, how much more may it not be possible for religion to make all things luminous with the glow of a still higher immortality, by joining them with the thought of God, and the undying, everywhere present grace and truth of Jesus Christ?

II. This relation of Christ to the world, however, comes into still clearer view when we ascend from the sphere of mere physical existence into the sphere of *humanity and history*, where nature shows itself joined with self-conscious mind, and the world stands sublimated to its highest sense in the free personality of man.

The mutable, perishing character of the world in this superior order of its existence is adapted to affect us with a sense of its vanity, far beyond all that we feel in considering the mere changes of nature. These last are in full harmony with the constitution to which they belong. It lies in the very conception of nature that it should be made up of endless parts and subsist by endless revolution and change. That is the law of its being, which shows it at once to be created for something beyond itself, in whose presence it is required always to vanish and pass away. But it belongs to the conception of mind that it should not thus vanish and pass

away; that it should bring unity into the manifold; that it should fix the fleeting forms of sense in firm and stable duration. In the spirit of man, past and future are brought together in the power of the present—the transitoriness of time surmounted in the apprehension of the Infinite. He was made, we are told, in the image and likeness of God, to be the head of the natural world and to exercise lordship over it in every lower view—to be in it and of it through his bodily organization, and yet to be above it at the same time through his intelligence and reason, disclosing within himself a new and higher order of life altogether. He was formed for immortality, and all his powers and capacities point to such glorious destination. In his life the past should not be lost and left behind, but should perpetuate itself always in each succeeding portion of time; and there should be for him, properly speaking, no death.

For such an existence as his, the very thought of death is something unnatural, violent—nothing less, in truth, than the most tremendous contradiction. And, as the life of the individual man should be thus full and enduring, there should be a corresponding harmony and deathless unity also for the life of the race. History should be but the concord of ages, meeting together in the solution of the same grand problem of humanity. Nation should join hand in hand with nation, and each generation live itself forward continually into the life of the next, to carry out and complete, in one universal sense, the true idea of a reign of truth and righteousness upon the earth.

But how different from all this, alas! do we find to be now the actual state of this higher human creation! Sin has entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death has passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. That which was formed to be the region of undying life in the world's constitution has become itself the region of mortality and change; in common with the lower nature around him, man is made subject to a vanity which was not originally his own; and it is this subjection precisely which, more than all else for the contemplative spirit, causes the whole world to seem empty and vain. That the grass should wither, and the flower fade, is no matter for sorrowful surprise; it belongs to their nature to come and go in this way; but that all flesh should be *like* grass, and the glorious estate of man as the flower of the field—that may well be a cause for sadness and lamentation.

That a life formed for immortality should be found continually breathing itself out like a vapor that appeareth for a little time and then vanisheth away; that there should be room at all to resemble

it in this way to the most evanescent things around us—this indeed is something over the thought of which it is not unnatural even to shed tears of grief. Well might the Psalmist exclaim: "Lord, make me to know mine end, and the measure of my days, what it is; that I may know how frail I am. Behold, Thou has made my days as an handbreath, and mine age is as nothing before Thee: verily, every man at his best state is altogether vanity. Surely every man walketh in a vain show; surely they are disquieted in vain: he heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them."

This vanity reaches forth, at the same time, into the universal history of the race. It has made it to be fragmentary, disjointed, and to a great extent fearfully chaotic. It spoils the brotherhood of nations, and breaks the unity of ages and generations. Life is carried forward from period to period, it is true, with some sort of memory and tradition; but it is a shadowy bond at best which thus connects the present with the past, and such as proves for the living in the end only a ghostly communion with the dead. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh," like the leaves of the forest, or as shadows that chase each other over the autumnal plain. It is the old wail of Moses, the man of God: "Thou turnest man to destruction; and sayest, Return, ye children of men. For a thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night. Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as a sleep: in the morning they are like grass which groweth up. In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth." In this order of mere nature, those who have gone before us into the other world can be thought of only as having been gathered into Sheol, the land of darkness, forgetfulness, and silence; and when it is asked: "Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?" the one same answer must ever be the question itself, reverberated from the hollow sides of the tomb.

In contrast, now, with all this, Jesus Christ stands out to the vision of faith as the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. He is so not simply as God, but also as man. The general vanity of the race extends not to His person. As He was without sin Himself, He could not come under the power of death except by His own free consent; and then it was, as we know, not that He might remain in the grave or see corruption, but that death itself should be destroyed and swallowed up of victory, through His glorious resurrection. In all the time of His humiliation upon the earth He could say: "Before Abraham was, I am;" and now that He

reigns exalted at the right hand of God, it is but the full revelation of the majesty that lay hid in His person in the manger and upon the cross, the bursting forth again of the glory which He had with the Father before the foundation of the world. His goings forth are from of old, from everlasting; and of His kingdom and righteousness there shall be no end.

But what we need most to understand and consider is, that in all this He is not simply distinguished from our general human life in every other view, but comprehended in it also in such way as to be for it at large what He is for Himself. His relation to it in this way is more intimate, more profound, and more comprehensive than that of its natural root in the first Adam. He is within it the principle and centre of a new creation, in the bosom of which the power of the old curse is found to be broken, the law of sin and death abolished and brought to an end. There is no condemnation now to them that are in Christ Jesus. They are redeemed from the vanity of this dying world; they have passed from death unto life. Old things for them have passed away, and all things have become new. They belong even here to an economy or order of existence which transcends entirely the whole constitution of nature, the whole reign of Satan, the god of this world; in virtue of which they may be said to be sharers already of Christ's immortality, as they are destined also to reign with Him hereafter eternally in heaven.

"In Him was life," we are told—life in its fontal, self-existence form; "and the life became the light of men"—was not simply the origination of their natural being, but passed over into them also as the incorruptible "word of God which liveth and abideth forever." "Because I live," the Saviour says, "ye shall live also." "Fear not; I am the first and the last: I am He that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death." He is not simply the proclaimer here of an outward doctrine—a truth or fact holding beyond His own person—but the actual destroyer of death, who thus brings life and immortality to light by bringing them to pass, and so causing them to be where otherwise they could have had no place whatever. "I am the resurrection and the life," we hear Him saying—the whole power and possibility of these things for the human world: "he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."

Holding such relation to the world, it is easy to see how Christ becomes for the life of humanity, regenerated in this way, such a

power of unity in space and continuity in time as it cannot possibly have under any other form. As the deepest principle of it, He must be at the same time the most comprehensive bond of its organization in every view.

The new creation shows itself wider, thus, than all distinctions, whether of nature or from sin, that belong to the old. It joins in one the most distant nations of the earth, and tunes into harmony the physical differences and moral discords of the whole human race. "He is our peace," says St. Paul; here again not in a merely outward way as a teacher of peace, but as being Himself such a new organization of our universal human life, as, by carrying it beyond all these occasions of difference and schism to its last ground in God, causes the sense of them to be overwhelmed by the feeling of that better and far more glorious common existence, in the power of which they are thus neutralized and brought to an end. "He hath made both one"—it is said of the Gentile and the Jew—having abolished in His flesh the enmity, to make in Himself of twain one new man—so making peace; and came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh. For through Him we both have an access by one Spirit unto the Father. So universally: In Christ Jesus "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; but Christ is all and in all."

And what He is for all coexistent states and conditions of the race in this way, He is also for its successive generations in time. As He joins the nations together, so does He bind the ages into one; imparting to them, as it were, a simultaneous being in the unity of His own glorious life.

So, even in the Old Testament, the relation of the righteous to God is represented as their refuge and escape from the vanity of the world, by which they must otherwise be swept away as with an overwhelming flood. They are housed in Him securely through the ever-rolling course of years, according to that grand declaration of the ninetieth Psalm: "Lord, *Thou* hast been our dwelling-place in all generations." Even in Sheol the patriarchs are not dead; have not become a memory only or a name; have not vanished into Sadducean vacuity and night. They live still, in virtue of their living union with God. Hence the force of our Saviour's argument: "As touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not heard that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living."

Now, however, in Christ the power of this unseen life is made to be something far more full and real for believers than it was before. The Old Testament saints had their hidden abode in God, indeed, only through Him as the everlasting Word; but it was in anticipation always of what was necessary to make their life in this form actual and complete, namely, the coming of Christ in the flesh; and so stood in the character of hope rather than in that of present, satisfying fruition. "These all died in faith," we are told (Heb. xi. 13, 39, 40), "not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off. Having obtained a good report through faith, they yet received not the promise; God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect." Abraham accordingly, in that uncompleted state, looked joyfully for the day of Christ (John viii. 56); and he saw it, and was glad.

But the Word, which was only coming before, has now actually come; that eternal life which was with the Father has been manifested through the mystery of the Incarnation; and, being joined to it and made one with it, by the power of faith, all true Christians have in it an immortality of existence that reaches through all time. They are said to be *in* Christ; and the life which they live in the flesh is not so much their own as that which is lived into them, through the Spirit, from His undying person. "We are in Him that is true," says St. John, "even in His Son Jesus Christ: this is the true God and eternal life." To be so taken up into Christ is itself to be taken out of the vanity of this perishing world, and to be made superior to its revolutions and ages. In Christ, the dead still continue to live. This itself—and no simply outward state in any other view, whether in *hades* or *heaven*—is the true conception of their immortality. It is such an immortality, moreover, as includes in it the full power of the resurrection. "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him." Our life now, on either side of the grave, "is hid with Christ in God; and when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory." (Col. iii. 4.)

We believe, then, in the "communion of saints," as reaching not only to those who yet live, but to those also who have died in the Lord. When the question is now asked: "Our fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?" the answer is no longer a doleful echo simply sounded back upon us from their tombs, but a voice from heaven rather, saying: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that

they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them." We will not worship them; we may not invoke their intercession and help, as we might be glad to do if they were still with us here on the earth; but neither will we consent to think of them as elysian shadows only, dwelling beyond the clouds, and in no farther communication with the Church below. They are with us still, not in memory alone—not as having a mere fictitious immortality in our minds, through the recollection of their words and deeds—but as having their common home with us in Him who is the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever. We are come, in Him, to no necropolis simply, no voiceless city of the dead; but "unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels; to the General Assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect."

We join in waking, active worship, around the throne of God, with the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the noble army of martyrs, as well as with the holy Church throughout all the world. And, at this time especially, may we not be allowed to say that we join in worship also with the founders and spiritual heroes of our own Reformed Zion, the end of whose conversation we are now called upon to consider, that we may be stirred up afresh to follow their faith? Is it too bold a thought, that in the midst at least of that "great cloud of witnesses" with which we are surrounded from all ages in the heavenly world, the spirits also of such men as Luther and Zwingli, the stern Calvin and the meek Melancthon, Olevianus and Ursinus, and that great and good prince whose name still lives for us embalmed and enshrined in the Heidelberg Catechism as Frederick the *Pious*, may even now be looking down upon us with kindred sympathy and delight, and taking part in these devotional solemnities as their own? What is the narrow chasm of three hundred years for the Spirit of Jesus Christ, whose wonder-working providence it is to overcome all separations both in time and space? What are whole centuries of death, in Him who is the true Life; the Alpha and Omega of God's creation; the vanquisher of the curse that lay upon the world through sin; who holds in His hand now the keys of hades and the grave; and in whom, thus risen from the dead and made head over all things to the Church, His saints have their common habitation and home through all generations?

III. Once more: Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and

forever, as being the *absolute fountain of all truth and reason* for men, so that there can be neither certainty nor stability in the intellectual world, under any view, except as it is ruled, ordered, and actuated everywhere from His presence and by His Spirit.

So much lies at once in the character which belongs to Him as the everlasting *Word*. He is, in this view, as we have already seen, the beginning or principle, and so of course the universal reason also, of the whole creation. He is the thought of God, which finds utterance in the general constitution of the world; and He is the source at the same time of all the power of thinking in a created form, by which it is possible for this thought to be in any measure perceived or understood. It enters into the very conception, however, of all such created and dependent reason, that it should be in itself liable to error, and so exposed to variation and change; and this is a liability which, in such a world as ours, must necessarily run into all sorts of actual aberration and lapse from the truth. To these imperfections and disorders, then, whether proceeding from the weakness of nature or the power of sin, Christ stands opposed as the original, independent Logos, with whom there is "no variableness nor shadow of turning;" while He offers Himself to us, at the same time, as being here again the only proper and sufficient complement of our wants, and the principle of all true light within us, both for this world, and for that which is to come.

This vanity of our intellectual and moral life is, of all vanities to which we are subject, in some respects the most mournful and sad; for it meets us just where we know there ought to be solid and stable duration—namely, in the region of *ideas*, whose very office it is to surmount the fleeting forms of sense, and to hand themselves forward in spiritual force from one generation to another. We find ourselves confronted with it, however, from all sides, through every age of the world. The thinking of men, even more than their outward working and walking, has been for the most part only what the Psalmist calls a vain show.

Even in the sphere of Christianity itself, we find no end to the differences and flowing changes of human thought. This is owing largely, of course, to the blinding and corrupting influence of sin; but it is the result in part also of what we may style the necessary limitations of our nature itself, making it impossible for us to see truth by ourselves in an absolute and universal way. Our particular thinking is comprehended always in the more general thinking which surrounds us; and this, again, moves and changes from one age to another, according to the general law of our human life. For our

present state, in this way, it would seem that there can be no absolutely stationary apprehension even of Christian doctrine itself; since to be stationary is to be dead, and only that which moves has life. We know it to be a fact, at all events, that Christianity, from the beginning, has been a world of thought ever in motion, whose uniformity and continuance have been maintained only through vast oppositions and never-ceasing changes of form and aspect. The same truths have turned themselves in new phases to the contemplation of the world, age after age. Doctrines have had their history; confessions, their appointed times and spheres; churches, their different tasks and successive missions. All has come down to us through perpetual commotion and change.

But, in the midst of all this fluctuation, Christ Himself, the fountain of Christianity, remains ever the same. Even the change from the Old Testament to the New, vast revolution as it was, changed not the identity of Him who was equally the soul and the life of both. After His Incarnation, He was still the angel which had been with the Jewish Church before in the wilderness; and for eighteen centuries, now, He has never forgotten for a moment His promise to be in the midst of the Church in its Christian form, through all ages, on to the end of the world. In this view, He is not simply *one* in Himself, over against the manifold and the successive, as exhibited in the historical movement of Christianity beyond His own person; but He is one also for what is thus outside of Himself, a principle of unity for the Church, and the power that binds and holds it together in true Catholic wholeness through all ages; making it to be still, in spite of all partial and temporary discords, the home of His Spirit, and as such, for the world at large, the only "pillar and ground of the truth."

Standing in this universal sameness of Jesus Christ, then, we will not desire on the present occasion to limit and bound our Christian sympathies by any merely partial ecclesiastical lines. Our Tercenary Jubilee is indeed, in one sense, a denominational festival, which has for its object the new intonation of our old denominational history and life. We believe that the Reformed Church had a vocation to be, and to speak forth the confessional word that was in her at the beginning; and we cannot see that the time has come for this word to be either withdrawn or hushed into indifferent silence. Rather it seems to us, that if Protestantism itself be still necessary, then must it be for the interest of Protestantism, and so of universal Christianity also, that the great issues by which it was divided within itself at the first, should not now be thus passively

surrendered and given up; but that they should be rather so maintained still, as to compel, if possible, their conciliation and settlement in a truly inward way.

Only so can we hope for the catholicity or wholeness of positive faith in distinction from the pseudo-catholicity of merely negative and hollow unbelief. We are, therefore, still Reformed, and we may add also *German Reformed*. We glory, as of old, in the Heidelberg Catechism, and we are here met to festoon with wreaths of evergreen the memory of the fathers to whom we stand indebted for its origin and birth three hundred years ago. All this we willingly confess. But God forbid that we should do this now in any spirit of mere sectarian bigotry and exclusiveness, or that we should so hold our feast as to nourish and strengthen in ourselves the feeling that we alone are the Lord's people, and that beyond our confessional life there is no room to conceive either of a true Christianity or a true Church.

We mean by our solemnity, certainly, no such wickedness and folly as that. On the contrary, we will try to make this commemoration an occasion rather for cultivating in ourselves the sense of Christianity in its widest and most universal form. We will not dare to make our Catechism the full and whole measure of Christ. We will not stop short in our faith with either Luther or Calvin; we will not put our ecclesiastical fathers, whether in Switzerland or Germany, in the place of Him who "holdeth the seven stars in His right hand, and walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks;" and who alone is the first and the last, the beginning and the ending, of the new creation as of the old, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. Through all human confessions, we will look to Him who is before and beyond them all, as the one glorious object of the universal Christian Creed, in union with whom the Church also remains always and everywhere one—the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. This emphatically is that faith of the fathers who have gone before us, which we are now called upon and here solemnly pledge ourselves to follow—considering the end of their conversation—in opposition to all "divers and strange doctrines." With them, as with St. Peter of old, we say, now and evermore: "To whom shall we go, Lord, but unto Thee? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe, and are sure, that Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God!"

We close with a few general conclusions of vast practical account, suggested by the whole subject.

1. *Jesus Christ is Himself the truth and reality of the Gospel,*

which He came into the world to proclaim. It is not a message of salvation simply published by Him in an outward way, "as God at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times before unto the fathers by the prophets:" it is the revelation of redemption and life for men immediately in His own person. His Incarnation—the act of His coming in the flesh—was itself redemptive, and may be said to have included in itself, from the beginning, all that was needed for the full salvation of the world. It formed the true mediation between God and man, and served to bridge over the awful chasm which before separated earth from heaven. What we call the atonement in its more special sense, as wrought out by His sufferings and death, was nothing more, after all, than the irresistible, inevitable movement of the Incarnation itself out to its own necessary end. Once in the world as He was in this way, there was for Him no other outlet from the burden of its curse, save that which was offered to Him by the accursed death of the cross: He must suffer in order that He might through the resurrection enter into His glory. All, however, lay in His being "born of a woman, and so made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." The atonement and resurrection were but the outworking energy of that eternal life, which was manifested in Him when the Word became flesh. His coming into the world was at once the real bringing into it of a new order of existence, a form of life higher than all that was in the world before, which then could not remain bound to His single person, but was made to flow forth from Him, through His resurrection Spirit, as the power of a new creation in the Church also, for the benefit of His people through all ages.

This is the true, distinctive conception of Christianity, as we have it graphically set forth in the Apostles' Creed; and in this sense, accordingly, we say of Christianity that it is made and constituted literally by the constitution of Christ's person; that it is thus not a doctrine primarily nor a rule of life, but a grand historical fact; and that He is in such view the root and principle of it from beginning to end. He is not simply the occasion of it, or the cause of it, or the origin and commencement of it in the common sense of these terms, but He is, in the very constitution of His person itself, as the "second Adam who is the Lord from heaven," what we may call the seminal or fountal source of the universal new creation in this form. Christianity starts genetically from no confession, no catechism, no outward creed—nay, with all reverence be it spoken, not even from the Bible itself—but only and alone

from that bright Morning Star, "the root and the offspring of David," of whom it is said, "When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst humble Thyself to be born of a Virgin; when Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers."

2. *Truth*, thus, in its highest form for man is *identical with life*, and is something to be reached and possessed only through *living communication with the life of Christ*. As the everlasting Word, He is the source both of the reason which is in things universally, and also of the reason by which alone it is possible for them to be understood. By His Incarnation, more fully still, He is the revelation of God's mind and will immediately in the sphere of our rational nature itself. This revelation is no outward shining simply in the way of precept or doctrine, but the light that streams directly from what He is in His own nature and being; and for this reason, also, it is not something to be apprehended on the part of men by mere thought and reflection, but must ever have for its vehicle into their minds the very power of that heavenly life itself to which it belongs, and apart from which, indeed, it has no reality or truth whatever. Thus, it is not the light of Christ that is represented in the Gospel, as communicating life to the world; but, on the contrary, "the *life* that was in Him," we are told (John i. 4), "became the light of men." Hence we hear the Saviour Himself saying: "I am the Light of the world; he that followeth me—makes himself one with the living Spirit of my person—shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." So St. Paul: "Ye were once darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." To know Christ is to be in Christ; to have part in His grace in any way, is to have part in His personal being.

And hence it is that all forms of His grace, the benefits which He accomplishes for His people, are spoken of so commonly, not as outside gifts merely, the result of His ministerial teaching or working, but as inhering actually in His own life. "I am the resurrection and the life;—I am the light of the world;—I am the way, the truth, and the life;—I am the living bread which came down from heaven; he that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on Him that sent me; and he that seeth me seeth Him that sent me;—He is our peace;—He is made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption." Such is the characteristic tenor of this whole glorious Gospel of the blessed God, in speaking of its own power of salvation for the children of men. All is not only from Christ and by Him, but in Him and through Him also,

as the first-born from the dead, "the beginning of the creation of God" in this new form. "God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in His Son."

3. Being in this way the only true light, the beginning and foundation of the whole Gospel, Jesus Christ must be Himself, of course, the *great argument always of the truth of the Gospel, and of His own presence by means of it in the world*. That is the nature of light: it demonstrates itself in demonstrating other things around it; and so the last proof of it in the end is only the evidence which in the first place streams forth from itself. How shall any one prove the existence of the sun, except by what the sun shows itself to be, shining in the heavens and illuminating the whole natural creation of God? So does the Sun of Righteousness, in this new creation of which we now speak, authenticate and declare itself to be what it is, by the very fulness of its own indwelling light, with which it floods and irradiates all other things. How shall that which is itself the deepest and most comprehensive manifestation of truth in the world, be rendered clear and sure by any demonstration from beyond itself? The self-revelation of God in Christ is for men the truth of all truth, the light of all light; and if known at all effectually, it must be known in and by Christ alone. Here emphatically the word holds good: "In Thy light we shall see light." This is that knowledge of which St. John speaks: "We know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness: we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true; and we are in Him that is true, in His Son, Jesus Christ. This is the true God and Eternal Life."

4. From all this it follows that *the only true and sure way of Christian knowledge for us, at all times, is that Christological method of studying Christ and His Gospel, which is set before us in the old pattern of the Apostles' Creed*. It must be so, both for practical purposes and for the ends of theological science. The art of growing in grace, and in the saving knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, holds especially in the habit of regarding His person with the steady contemplation of faith; for in doing so, more than in any other way, our darkness is illuminated, our affections are purified, our will is made strong; and beholding His glory, as the Apostle has it, we are transformed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord. But what we wish just now to insist upon more especially, is the necessary application of the same canon to the science of Christian divinity, whose object it is

to expound and set forth theoretically the universal sense of the Gospel. If Jesus Christ be for Christianity what we have now seen that He is, the sum and substance personally of its whole constitution, then is it at once plain that Christianity never can be understood or preached to full purpose, except under that historical view in which it is exhibited to us in the actual movement of His own theanthropic life and work.

Our theology can never begin successfully from any other centre than that of the Incarnation; there can be no safe footing for our speculative constructions of doctrine, beyond that which is offered to us immediately in the fact of the hypostatical union, regarded as the actual basis of the new creation to which it belongs. What is the real principle of Christianity itself must be for us the real principle also of its whole apprehension and representation. We must think ourselves into it everywhere, from that living, concrete ground, or else we shall have for our thoughts, in place of it, a metaphysical abstraction only, that will not deserve to be considered true Christian theology at all. It will not do to build here on any philosophical dogma or hypothesis outside of Christ. It will not do to build, or rather to dream of building, even on the Scriptures themselves, outside of Christ; for in Him alone all the promises of God are Yea and Amen; and it is the very spirit of Antichrist to say, that they can ever be, the word of God truly for any man's thought or reason, except *through* the acknowledged presence of the Word made flesh. The order is, Christ first, then the Bible; and not the Bible first, then Christ. "On this rock," our Saviour says, in answer to St. Peter's memorable confession, "I will build my Church;" and that confession, let it be well considered, is but the germ of the Apostles' Creed, as we find it afterwards unfolded with necessary development in the ancient Church.

And now, then, it is no gain, we may be well assured, but an immense loss rather, that this old order of thought has grown strange to so much of our modern theology, and that so much of our theological thinking—and along with this, unhappily, so much of our pulpit teaching—has come to move in another construction of Christianity altogether. No one who considers it properly can help feeling it to be an ominous fact, that the Creed has fallen in our time so largely into disuse and neglect. It argues a falling away, unquestionably, from the old stand-point of Christian observation—which we know at the same time to be the only one, if Christ Himself be real, that can be considered either true or safe. Let it sink deeply into our minds, brethren in the ministry especially, that

all right Christian theology, in the very nature of the case, must be Christological theology; and that all right Christian preaching must be also Christological preaching; and that, being so, both must be cast prevailingly in the mould of the original Christian Creeds, which are all here of one signification and sense, since in no other form is it possible to deal with the facts of Christianity in a truly Christological way.

5. One more thought, and I have done. The end of all Christian worship—the end of all Christianity for man—is *living fellowship and communion with God through His Son Jesus Christ*. What we all need, as we have seen, is not just good doctrine for the understanding, or good direction for the will, or good motives for the heart, but the power rather of a new life, which, proceeding from God and being inserted into our fallen nature, may redeem us from the vanity of this present evil world, and make us to be in such sort “partakers of the divine nature” that in the end we may be counted worthy to have part also in the resurrection of the dead. This life we can never have directly for ourselves. God hath given it to us, we are told, only in His Son; and if we are to have part in it at all, therefore, it can be only in the way of derivation from His person. It is plain, at the same time, that this derivation can never be parted from its original source in Christ, so as to become for any one his own separate property and possession. “I live,” St. Paul says, “yet not I. but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.” The life of the Christian thus requires to be nourished and fed continually from that same immortal spring out of which it has taken its start in the beginning; in signification of which, accordingly, the “washing of regeneration,” as it is called, is to be followed constantly to the end by the use of that other sacrament which is called the “communion of the body and blood of Christ,” as showing by what aliment alone it is at last that this new existence is maintained in our souls. What the sacrament before us thus signifies and seals for our faith is the inmost meaning of Christianity, and the one great object, as we have said, of all true Christian worship.

We are here to-day, Christian brethren, in circumstances well suited to remind us of our common vanity. We are here to commune with the past, long buried, though not forgotten; and in doing so we are powerfully reminded how rapidly our years also are passing away. We shall never meet again, from all parts of the land, as we have been brought together on this joyful but yet

solemn occasion. Many of us will soon be gone to join those of our own generation, whose familiar forms, still fresh in our memory, seem to flit before us, even now, amid the solemnities of this hour; and it will not be long till all who are here shall have been swept away, in like manner, into the oblivious gulf of ages. For "we all do fade as a leaf;" "our days are as an hand-breadth, and our age is as nothing before God." "As for man, his days are as grass, and as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth; for the wind passeth over it, and it is gone, and the place thereof shall know it no more."

And now to this private vanity, which belongs to every one of us, must be joined the sense of that public political misery, by which the earth is made to tremble beneath our feet, and the very heavens above us seem ready to collapse in one universal crash of ruin over our heads. But in the midst of all these crushing and confounding thoughts, oh, what a word is that—dying brethren in the undying Christ—which, *through* these sacramental symbols of His broken body and shed blood, speaks now to our faith from His own lips!—"Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, he shall live by me. This is that bread which came down from heaven; not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread shall live forever." It is the word of Him who is the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God, and the first-begotten of the dead. Let us respond to it, from the fulness of our hearts, one and all: "Lord, evermore give us this bread."

"And now, unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father; to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen."

CHAPTER XLVII

IN the year 1866 the affairs of the College came to a crisis, and under the direction of a mysterious Providence and the logic of events, Dr. Nevin was once more called to take charge of its interests as President. After the institution had been transplanted to Lancaster in 1853, it took root, began to grow, and gained the confidence of the community and of a large constituency throughout the Church. Dr. Gerhart had been indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, taught Rauch's Psychology and Christian Ethics with zeal, and prepared for the benefit of the students a translation of Beck's Logic, accompanied with an Introduction to the Study of Philosophy in general. By his enthusiasm he gave a new impulse to the study of Logic, something needed, as it had, in some degree, been undervalued in the philosophical course of the College.

The students showed the same zeal for the College as they had done at Mercersburg. Soon after they came to Lancaster they went to work and by their own exertions, mainly, erected for themselves Halls for the Literary Societies, such as they had been accustomed to at Mercersburg. In this case the College building was first erected, and the two daughter buildings afterwards, which added very much to its appearance on the heights of Lancaster, commanding an extensive view of the country in all directions.

In connection with these useful buildings, the endowment of the College was considerably enlarged during the war.—Elder Henry Leonard, merchant of Basil, Ohio, from a sense of duty to the Church, gave up his business and devoted all his time to increasing the endowment of the College and Seminary of the Reformed Church, at Tiffin, Ohio. After laboring in this way for awhile, his view of his call was enlarged, and by what he regarded as a kind of premonition, in something like a dream or vision, he came to believe that he had a Divine call to labor for the building up of the institutions of his Church in the East as well as the West. His services, accordingly, were secured as agent for Franklin and Marshall College, and during the years 1863 and 1864 he was successful in securing over \$33,000 for the Eastern College. Under all the circumstances of the case, this was regarded as a remarkable feat. It is an illustration of what a plain, unostentatious layman can accomplish for the cause of Christ, by energy and singleness of purpose.

The Faculty, when fully organized, consisted of faithful and industrious workers, and the College started out and went forward in a successful and prosperous career. Its graduates increased from year to year, and the training and culture, which they carried with them to their homes, compared favorably with that received in the best schools of learning of the country. The Institution held its own for some time during the war, but at length it had to succumb, in a considerable degree, to its demoralizing effects. Its large classes passed away, and those succeeding them became smaller each year. In 1862 the graduating class numbered 28, but in 1866 the number was only six. Under the quickening influence of the establishment of peace, however, the friends of the College rallied, determined to give it a new impulse, not only to arrest apparent decline, but to impart to it a new inspiration if possible. Committees were appointed to examine into its condition and wants. The conclusion arrived at was that the Institution needed many things to enable it to keep abreast of the times; and, as a matter of course, it was soon ascertained that, as in the case of most colleges, it was sorely in want of pecuniary means to maintain itself.

In 1853 it was supposed to be comparatively highly favored in this respect; but times had changed, other institutions had been enriched; and it was now believed that it was imperatively necessary that Franklin and Marshall should receive an increased endowment, so as fully to meet the growing demands of the times. It was easy to be seen that it needed more professors, more buildings, more apparatus and better accommodations generally; but such advantages would cost money and a good deal of it too, and so very properly the financial question confronted the Trustees. At first it was thought that \$50,000 would answer the purpose, but it soon began to be felt that it ought not to be less than \$75,000. It did not, however, rest even at that figure. Dr. Wolff, with his usual enthusiasm, put it at \$200,000, assuring the Board that the Church, and the friends of the institution, would respond and raise the amount. Peace had returned on balmy wings, the united country had already entered upon a new period of prosperity, and the schools of the Church must not lag behind, but go beyond all their previous achievements. So it was thought.

The Board was satisfied with the limit, at least \$200,000, set by those who seemed to know and mean what they said, and accordingly it went on to consider how so large an amount of money was to be raised. That was the next question. As there was considerable free talk on the street about the Faculty, it was thought

by some that it ought to be reconstructed, so that, if it could be made to please everybody, it would show that the Board was in earnest, and the appeal to the churches for money would meet with a more ready response. No sacrifices could be regarded as too great to secure the object in view. The Board could then with a better countenance present an inducement to the people to give of their means the more liberally.—It was moreover here again a thought cherished by some few, that the character of the Faculty could in this way be materially changed, by removing those more closely identified with Dr. Nevin and his thoughts. If thus expurgated of its old leaven, it would be much improved, and the way be open for a new tendency, or rather an old one, which had been fighting to get the upper-hand all along. It had tried just this kind of tactics when the new Faculty was organized in 1853. It failed then, and so here it failed again in 1866.

At a special meeting of the Trustees, on the 24th of January, the chairman of one of the committees in his report favored such a departure; on the 24th of May, at another special meeting, the chairman of another committee followed up this trail, and recommended that all the professorial chairs should be vacated on the 31st of August following, so that no one might be in the way of filling them, according to the best judgment of the Trustees. This suggestion was adopted and a committee appointed to nominate candidates to fill the vacancy, who made a partial report, not being able to agree on candidates for several of the departments. It proposed that the former president should remain in his chair, but that Dr. Nevin should be appointed President Emeritus. It was alleged that such a nominal connection with the institution as this, carrying with it the strength of his great name, would be sufficient to give the necessary impulse to the endowment movement.

Dr. Nevin, however, peremptorily declined the honor proposed to be conferred on him in the report. It would end, he thought, in no practical results, and it might do harm by leading to useless complications. Besides, it seemed to imply that he was already superannuated—in his declining strength—which was something he very decidedly repudiated and wished to correct. He was in the sixty-fourth year of his age, but as he said, he regarded himself as having only reached the meridian of his intellectual powers. Some persons opened their eyes at this speech and smiled. He was unwilling to be a mere figure-head, and did not have enough vanity to think that his name in itself possessed any special virtue or magic

about it. It was now felt that the members of the Board had been plunged into a wilderness, with no help from the chairmen of the committees who had gotten them into it by their reports, and the question was how to get out of it. There was more or less confusion, in the midst of which the Board concluded to lay the subject of filling the vacancies on the table until another adjourned meeting, which was to convene on the 28th of June following, by which time it was hoped that the skies might clear up.

Pursuant to adjournment the Board met at the time specified. The standing committee on candidates had no report to make, and the Board itself took the matter in hand, and by resolution proceeded to fill the vacancies in the Faculty in a very simple and considerate way. Instead of lopping off its extremities, it left them stand just where they were, and on motion again of the Hon. John W. Killinger, gave them a new head by electing Dr. Nevin *bona fide* President of the College, and placing his predecessor by his side as Vice-President, which meant an experienced practical helper in the management of the College. Thus the Faculty was reconstructed and became more efficient than ever before. This settlement of long standing difficulties in the College was not acceptable to everybody, of course, and least of all to such as were given to change; but it was generally satisfactory to its friends and the great part of the Church; and the choice of Dr. Nevin as President of the College created general enthusiasm. All hailed him back again in the public service of the Church with sincere pleasure; and his presence at the helm gave a new inspiration to the movement to place the Institution upon a better foundation.

It was now more evident than before that the character, tendencies and general life of the College would remain as before, and that all attempts, however artful, to carry it forward under a different spirit, for some time to come at least, would end in grief. The result here reached was a surprise to most persons, to Dr. Nevin no less than to the Faculty and others. Previous to these adjourned meetings no persons thought of placing him at the head of the College; and, if it had been proposed, he would have very positively discouraged it. It was well known that he wished to live in comparative retirement, and it was thought that he could not be induced to change his mind in that respect. The action of the Board implied no reflection upon the efficiency or ability of the former president nor of the Faculty itself. It was due to the force of circumstances, or, more reverently speaking, to the hand of Providence that directs all things, and brings order out of confusion

in our day no less than at the beginning of all things.—During this period of chaos the Board of Trustees as a whole had a clear and intelligent view of the situation, and generously supported the Faculty. They had been faithful, and with most persons they had earned for themselves reputations for scholarship and fidelity to their trust. If attacked at the hotel or on the street, Ex-President Buchanan in particular was ready to vouch for them, and told the talkers plainly that he knew the Professors, and that they would have to search far and wide before they could find substitutes as competent as they to fill their places. They were quite pleased with such a spontaneous endorsement—*laudari a viro laudato*—and they never forgot his generous service. Years afterwards as they passed his grave in the Woodward Hill Cemetery, their thoughts reverting to the support he gave them in the Board or elsewhere, they blessed his memory and prayed that he might rest in peace.

During this crisis in the affairs of the College, the Faculty lost one of its ablest Professors. Dr. Thomas C. Porter, known far and wide as one of the most distinguished botanists in this country, endowed with a fine literary taste as an author and poet, and an eloquent preacher, who had filled his place for many years in the College at Mercersburg and Lancaster with ability, influenced to some extent, at least, by the troubles in the Board of Trustees, accepted of an appointment as Professor in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., his alma mater, and sundered the ties which bound him to the institutions at Lancaster. What was their loss was a gain elsewhere.

When Dr. Nevin's name was brought forward in the Board as a last resort in the reorganization of the Faculty, he was at a loss to know what to say, and so said nothing; but sat quietly observing the surging movements around him. He was assured that in the emergency it had become a necessity that he should take his place at the head of the College, in order to allay the contentions in the Board, as well as to inaugurate a general movement throughout the Church to place the College on a better basis. At first he hesitated and was in doubt, but he soon received letters from influential ministers and laymen in all parts of the Church, earnestly entreating him by all means to accept of the position tendered to him by the Board, and assuring him that, if he did, the Church would rally and fall in freely with the endowment movement. Such a call as this caused him to feel that he could not shrink altogether from what appeared to him to be the call of duty; and accordingly he sent the following letter to the Board, at its annual meeting in July

a few weeks afterwards, in which he defined his position and offered his services to the College provisionally, in a form which was the result of earnest thought and reflection.

"I acknowledge," he writes, "thankfully the honor which the Board has been pleased to confer upon me in calling me a second time to the Presidency of Franklin and Marshall College; and as the reasons I had for declining the office some years ago have no longer the same force, whilst the circumstances in which the call is renewed are such as to give it new weight, I do not feel myself at liberty, however much I may still shrink from its responsible cares, to turn it aside in the same absolute way. It is placed before me as a part of a general movement, by which it is proposed to enlarge the operations of the Institution on a scale answerable to the wants of the present time, a movement which contemplates first of all an addition, at least of \$200,000, to its endowment as it now stands. It is said that the success of this movement depends on my being placed at the head of the College, and that without my name in such position it cannot be carried forward with effect. Too much account is made of my name, I am afraid, in this view; but where, in a case like this, so much importance is attached to it by others, a sort of necessity is placed upon me not to withhold it from the service of so worthy an enterprise.

"I therefore consent to co-operate with the friends of the Institution in carrying out the plan proposed for its enlargement, by accepting provisionally and conditionally the office of President to which I am now called. I say *provisionally* and *conditionally*; for I am not willing to be bound in the case, beyond what may be found to be the readiness of others also, to do what is needed for the accomplishment of the work in hand. I am quite willing to join with others in trying to give the College new life and force; but others also must join with me in the large and arduous task. Without this, my name and service will not avail to rescue the Institution from comparative insignificance. There must be strong and full co-operation from all sides in its favor during the coming year; and on this, I wish it to be well understood, must hang in the end the question of my full and formal acceptance of the honorable situation now offered to me by the Board."

As in 1841, so in 1866, Dr. Nevin became only a provisional President of the College, not more than a temporary supply at the time. He therefore did not regard it as incumbent on him to be inducted formally into office or to deliver a formal inaugural address. As, however, a desire was expressed from different quarters,

that the resumption of his old office should be marked by a general "comprehension or gathering up," as he expressed it, "of the past in the present," he accordingly, at the Commencement of 1867, delivered a Baccalaureate Address, first to the Graduating Class and then to the Alumni in general. It was published in the October number of the *Mercersburg Review*,—which had died out in 1861 during the troubles of the war; but now, in consequence of the new life and energy displayed at Lancaster, and in most parts of the country, it was revived at the beginning of the year 1867, under the vigorous editorship of Dr. Henry Harbaugh, successor of Dr. Wolff in the Seminary at Mercersburg.

It is an interesting document, showing the state of Dr. Nevin's mind at this epoch. His period of comparative retirement had passed away, and now he reappears on the public stage once more, full of courage and faith, coming forth, as it were, from his chamber, rejoicing like a strong man to run another race. During the war his mind had suffered great tribulation. Society seemed to him to be going backwards into chaos, and for a time he did not think the central government possessed the requisite ability to restore order or the Union. With other earnest men in the North, for a time, he thought that the only way out of encompassing difficulties was to say to the "wayward sisters" of the South, depart in peace. The basis, however, of his family life was faith in the Union, and when his two sons, William Wilberforce and Robert Jenkins, bravely entered the army his sympathies were deeply aroused, and he dismissed them with a father's prayers. Probably there were few, who prayed at all, who prayed more fervently for the success of the government in bringing order out of confusion. When he therefore witnessed the recuperative energies of the Americans, drawn from their reserve force, he himself became so much stronger in mind, and this shows itself to an extent quite exhilarating and invigorating, in his "Concio ad Alumnos" at the Commencement of 1867.—The Address is here given in full.

Young Gentlemen:—Just fourteen years have elapsed since I stood in this place to speak my parting words to the last Senior Class of the old Marshall College, which was at the same time the first Senior Class of the new consolidated institution, into which the old college had become merged in this place. That solemn public act closed, as I then thought finally, the relation in which I had stood to the college as its President through previous years; and in view of this fact, it seemed proper to make my farewell to the

graduating class a sort of general farewell to all who had ever been under my care as students. The Baccalaureate became in this way an oration to the Alumni. A desire has been expressed from different quarters, that the resumption of my old office should be marked on this occasion by a similar comprehension or gathering up of the past in the present; and you will not therefore take it amiss, if my address to you now, as the first graduating class under my new term of service, be so widened and enlarged in its scope as to take the form of a fatherly address to all who have gone forth from the institution, whether actually present here to-day or not—both the older generation of students from the classic shades of Mercersburg, and the later succession that has been added to these veteran ranks from the halls of Franklin and Marshall here in Lancaster. Into this general brotherhood, this goodly fellowship of kindred academic life, you have been solemnly ushered by the honors of this Commencement Day. I see you before me now as part of the great family which has thus received you into its bosom; and as the organ of your common *alma mater*, what I have to say to you farther, at the present time, I say to all.

To you then, Sons of the College at large, the representatives of its life through thirty years, I now turn my address. In doing so, however, the old familiar compellation of the baccalaureate falls helpless to the ground. I can no longer address you as *Young Gentlemen*. Most of you at least have outgrown that title. It will no longer fit especially the students of Mercersburg. In my mind's eye, indeed, they are still young; and I seem to renew the vigor of my own life, when I call to remembrance the youthful forms, replete with the generous spirit of youth, in which they passed before me, with daily familiar intercourse, in former years. Need I say, my beloved Pupils, that it is an easy illusion with me, in the midst of such retrospective contemplation, to think of you still as "boys," and thus almost to forget the present in the past? I doubt not but that at times you are yourselves borne away by the power of the same illusion; and that amid the festivities in particular of your present Alumni Reunion, you have been tempted to look upon it as not only your privilege, but your right, to be boys again in the fullest and best sense of the term.

But the fancy is too bold; and it is best that we keep it, you and I, to our own hearts. You are no longer boys; allow me to say it in all seriousness, you are no longer even *young gentlemen*, in the common acceptation of the address. It would sound ludicrous to this audience, not knowing you as I do, to hear you characterized

by any such title. My own eyes, as I gaze upon you, correct with rude shock the fond hallucination of my feelings in regard to the point. You are not yet any of you old men, properly speaking; but you are all fast becoming old; and it will require only a few years—years that will pass, O, how quickly—to advance you all to the gray-haired dignity of fathers, in the generation which has heretofore known you only as sons. I say this primarily of the old Mercersburg students. But the first classes of Lancaster are, of course, pressing hard after them, in the same career of age; and all of you together know that the dreams of youth are forever behind you, that the stern realities of life are around you, that its responsible burdens are full upon you, and that what lies before you is no longer play nor preparation, but the long, laborious work of earnest and full-grown men.

I do not address you to-day then as young men. It is not right that either you or I should forget, or try to forget, the course of time in which we are solemnly involved. The present occasion, rightly improved, cannot fail to bring home to us the fact that we are getting old; and to remind us how far we have come and where we now stand, in the great world movement to which we belong. Rightly improved, however, it cannot fail also to rejuvenate and freshen the sense of the present by the wholesome recollection of the past. I would not have you forget your college days. You have no wish yourselves to forget them. I would not have you forget that you were once boys. There is a natural piety, here, as Wordsworth terms it, which should ever bind our manhood to our childhood and boyhood, our later to our earlier life; and without which, we have full reason to say, our later life can never be either solid or sound. The boy is in a profound sense father to the man; and the vigor of a true man, be well assured, on even to green old age, depends largely on the power he has to carry along with him the spirit of his boyhood to the last. Cherish in such view the memories that are made to crowd upon you on this anniversary occasion. Give room to your youthful feelings. They cannot make you young again, in the old outward way in which you were once young. But they may help at least to keep you young at heart; which is something far better; better for yourselves; and better also for the world in which you are called to work.

A retrospective view of life is in any circumstances interesting and instructive. But it becomes especially so, where the period it overlooks is found to be of great public significance, added to the meaning it may have for ourselves separately considered. In

such view, let me refer again to the interval which has passed since my last address to the graduates of Marshall College spoken from this place in 1853. As a period simply of fourteen years, it may not seem to amount to much in the general chronology of the world, whatever serious changes we may feel it to have brought with it for each one of us, in our own persons and in our immediate personal surroundings. But look at these fourteen years again, in what they have brought to pass for this nation, and for the history of the world, and tell me what language is sufficient to express properly their momentous import. The distance which separates us to-day from the first Commencement of Franklin and Marshall College in 1853, is but feebly represented by any such brief chronological measure as this. It is a period, in which, as we look back upon it, days seem to lose their ordinary sense, and the flight of weeks is turned into the flight of years. It is more for each one of us, immeasurably, than the simple change it has wrought in our own age.

In the general movement of the world, we have lived scores, I had almost said centuries of years, in passing through it. For the life of the world, as we know, does not run forward with equal continuous stream; there are times with it, when the slow course of ages gathers itself up, as it were, into the compass of moments, and the meaning of a thousand years is precipitated into the rush of a few days. Then it is that the far past and the far future, the "ends of the ages" as St. Paul calls them, seem to meet and come together in the instantaneous present. Of such character, most emphatically, is the period here under consideration, the brief space of time that has passed since I last stood before you as now in the summer of 1853. Since then, the index-hand on the dial-plate of the world's history has swept an arc, which may be said fairly to confound all human calculation. The sense of ages has come into view through our late American war, and is now pouring itself forward with cataclysmic force in its mighty issues and consequences—political, moral, social, economic, scientific, and religious—as never in any like period of the world's life before.

Regarded simply as an act in the drama of our own national existence, the political struggle through which we have passed must be acknowledged to be the grandest that has ever had place among men. The world has never before known such a war; the life and death struggle of such a nation as this, caught suddenly in the anaconda folds of so vast a rebellion, born from its own bosom; a war of such huge proportions, carried forward on so broad a field,

and hurried through to such overwhelming results in so short a period of time. For the nation itself, of course, the importance of it, in its relations to the past and in its bearings on the future, is beyond all description, and indeed as yet beyond all knowledge or imagination. All that may have been new or great, or full of interest, in the previous history of the country: its discovery more than three centuries ago; its colonies and colonial times; its war of independence; the foundation and adoption of its constitution; and whatever has been of account in the enlargement of its resources or in the development of its powers since; all is found at last, I say, gathering itself up into the grandeur of this last crisis, and showing itself to have been significant only as it has served to prepare the way for its advent.

Here, in a most profound sense, it may be said that a nation has been born in a day. For all that had place before in the life of these United States deserves to be considered, and spoken of, as little better than an embryonic existence, over against the new order of being we have been ushered into through the mighty parturition pains and throes of the late war. Whatever we may have thought of the war itself during its progress, now that it is over, if we have any faith in the future of the nation at all, we cannot possibly fail to see in it the presence of a power, which must determine our character and destiny as a people, in the most universal and radical way, for all time to come. It is in vain to disguise it; we have passed through a revolution; or shall I not say rather, we are still in the midst of a revolution, greater than any yet known to the nations of Europe; greater altogether than that from which our political freedom dates in 1776; a revolution wrought out organically from the inmost forces of the national life, which in such view amounts to a regeneration, profound and deep as the foundations of this life itself. Well may we bow before it with wondering, awe-struck admiration; for it is the wonder of all wonders in these last times. It has been to the nation like the baptism of the Red Sea. Old things have been made to pass away by it; and now, lo, all things are becoming new.

How much this revolution means becomes still more evident, when we take into view, in connection with it, the way in which the conditions and terms of our national life, externally considered, are found to correspond with it; so demanding and requiring it, as it now seems, that it is hard to see how they could have been met and satisfied in any other way. It is in the light of such correspondences especially, springing from the depths, and coming, as it were,

from the farthest ends of the earth, that the hand of God reveals itself in history. Without dwelling upon the subject at large, let it suffice now to say, that this nation, as we believe, was planted and kept apart in the Western world for high purposes peculiar to itself; that it has not been possible for it, in the conditions in which it has heretofore stood, to obey its vocation or mission successfully thus far under its first relatively defective organization; that with its own growth, however, and the progress of things generally, this was becoming more and more impracticable; when all at once, and as it were to meet the emergency, the political crisis before us burst forth in fire and blood, making room for a new ordering of the State, which, it is to be hoped, will be found answerable to its enlarged necessities and responsibilities in all time to come.

Our late war has been for us, in this view, immeasurably more than the simple putting down of the rebellion from which it sprung. It has borne us through the pillars of Hercules, out into the broad ocean of life, of which we had no conception before. It has roused us, as a people, to self-consciousness; lifted us into manhood; brought home to us the sense of our own resources; and given us a history, it has been well said, "which even the war powers of the old world must respect and acknowledge as a title to the fellowship of great nations." It has brought us suddenly abreast with the great moving forces of the age, and compelled us to hold ourselves in line with them from this time onward, as the necessary condition of our whole future existence. It has settled the question of our national unity, before always more or less problematical and uncertain. It has tested the strength and stability of our republican constitution, and demonstrated the possibility of popular self-government on a scale, and to an extent, beyond all that it had entered into the heart of man hitherto to imagine or conceive.

We are fairly bewildered and lost, in trying to take in the measure of our present greatness, the momentum of our present onward course, as compared with all we have been before. The colossal proportions of our late war have made the nation all at once gigantic. The popular mind has grown familiar with gigantic thoughts, gigantic purposes, and gigantic deeds. We are ready to bridge the Hellespont, or tunnel Mount Athos, at a moment's warning. Never before has the world seen or heard of such wonders of energy and strength, as have attended, and are now still following, the four years' struggle through which we have passed. They have distanced all comparison, confounded all calculation, turned all precedent to confusion and shame. No wonder that the hoary state

craft of Europe is made to stand aghast, at what might seem to be so universal a breaking away from old time formulas and rules; for here, emphatically, all the traditions of the past are found to be at fault. Our public debt, in this view, is sublime; and still more so, of course, our public credit maintained thus far through it all, and the stupendous fiscal administration which is moving steadily onward, in conjunction with the free pleasure of the people, to its full, speedy liquidation.

And more sublime, in some respects, even than the war itself, is the work of political reorganization now in progress, by which the nation is to be formed and fitted for the career of glory that now stretches before it, with seemingly interminable prospect, through the far distant future. Of this coming greatness, what tongue can adequately speak? How can we reflect on the truly continental character which has come even now to invest all the elements of our growth; the rebounding vitality, the feeling of endless strength, the sense of inward enlargement, with which we have come out from our Briarean struggle; our mighty territory, reaching from sea to sea; the rate at which our population is increasing every year by the natural law of birth; the incalculable tide of immigration (a more important *Völkerwanderung* than any the world has ever witnessed before), by which the life of all European nationalities is now to be poured into our bosom in a way as yet hardly dreamed of by any; the new fields of untold, unimaginable wealth, on the earth and under the earth, which are soon to make our national debt seem lighter than a feather; the victories of art over nature on all sides among us, by which mountains are leveled and valleys raised before the march of modern improvement, by which time and distance are more and more surmounted, and the compact unity of the country is made to keep pace fully, and even more than fully, with its greatest geographical expansion: how, I say, can we reflect on all this (crossing the continent, for example, with the eloquently thoughtful eye of a Colfax), and not feel ourselves absolutely overwhelmed by the solemn sense of what is around us, the thrilling apprehension of what is before us, in the present condition of our country!

But to estimate properly what this condition involves, we must take into consideration more than these relatively outward elements and forces, as concerned in the working out of the problem it brings to our view. There are concerned in what is thus going forward, at the same time, the historical forces of the world's modern mind and thought, the issues of its past science, the results of its past

morality and religion, the deepest instincts of its present spiritual life, its profoundest political ideas—in a word, we may say, the inmost philosophy of the age. These spiritual and moral forces, now deeply at work everywhere in our modern civilization, no less, I say, than the more outward powers before spoken of, are tending with accumulating strength toward the introduction of a new order of life for the world at large, a new era altogether in the world's social and political history; and in doing so, it is plain that they are throwing themselves more and more, with united volume, into the onward, moving destiny of our vast American Republic.

Here they are to have their central field of action. Here only they are to find full outlet for their impetuous tide, and free commensurate scope for its overflowing course in time to come. We feel all this sensibly now, as never before, in the grand political epoch which has come upon us within the last few years; and this especially it is, that makes the epoch beyond expression solemn, as gathering up in itself the sense of centuries past, and carrying in its womb at the same time the sense of centuries yet unborn. Here now, it would seriously seem, are to be settled and solved the great life questions, that are becoming more and more the burden of humanity, the mystery of the last days, the ominous approximation of the present order of the world to its full winding up in the second coming of Christ.

In all that has now been said, we are made to feel the prospective greatness of this country in a way it might have seemed extravagant to dream of only a few years ago; and can thus apprehend, in the light of it, the unutterable, illimitable significance of what has lately come to pass in our history. The curtain is suddenly lifted before our eyes, revealing to us an entirely new scheme in the drama of our national existence, and opening to our astonished gaze a vista of coming wonders more marvellous than the wildest creations of Arabian tale or of Persian romance. The nation is shut up, we now see plainly, by the very conditions of its existence, to a career and destination without any sort of parallel in the history of the Old World. The massive kingdoms of Asia, and the more thoroughly organized governments of Europe, are to be repeated here in a form that shall be found to unite in itself the highest ideal of both—political mass, in the widest and largest view, actuated throughout by the unity of free, intelligent soul. For the country, it would now seem to be providentially ordained, must remain one, in spite of all territorial extension. This at once sunders it from all transatlantic examples. It can be no second England, or Germany, or

France; just as little as it can reiterate the ancient life of Greece or Rome.

Then, with boundless territory, must come, also, boundless population, a tide of life that shall outswell now all past rates of growth; rising and spreading with magic rapidity; sweeping, rolling, rushing over the broad, reclaimed wastes of the sunny South, and over the prairies, forests, and sierras of the mighty West; millions upon millions, a multitude which no man can number. And along with this again, in simultaneous progression, a corresponding development of material resources and power; wealth springing out of the earth, and flowing through the rivers, and bursting from the mountains on every side; cities in magnificent profusion; the vast arteries of commerce and trade, together with the nerves of electric intelligence, reaching over the continent in all directions, and binding it together with the sense of common interest, and the consciousness of common life.

Westward, of a truth, the star of empire, the march of civilization, takes its way; and having now passed round the globe, the movement would appear to have come really to its conclusion here in touching the shores of the Pacific, while the historical course of the centuries, at the same time, is precipitating itself, with strange synchronistic coincidence, upon the same continental theatre; to work out, as it were, what St. Peter calls the "end of all things," on a scale answerable to the dimensions of so vast a problem. For no one can imagine, surely, that our American life, or the life of the world rather, in this, its last form, can ever advance upon itself, by entering upon a new circuit of civilization and culture in Asia. *Thus far, and no farther!* is the law prescribed for it by the Pacific Ocean.

Here the end has come round again to the beginning; the historical ages have run their predestined course; the extremities look each other in the face; the dumb prophecy of China, holding in stagnation, since the days of Confucius, well-nigh half the population of the globe, is confronted at last with its own far-off fulfilment (though without understanding it), in what are soon to be the multitudinous millions of these United States—a population equal to its own, not Mongolian, but Caucasian, in the latest style of this dominant race, with all its energies developed in full force, and brought into universal action. All things conspire plainly to show here the presence of the last times, and to proclaim the coming in, on a grand scale, of what must be considered the closing scene of the world's history, in its present order and form.

The interests of the whole world thus are bound up in what has been going forward of late in our own country; and we are made to feel solemnly that the national crisis through which we are now passing is, in very truth, a world crisis, greater and more decisive than any the world has ever previously known. It is no longer the dream of American vanity, simply to speak of the significance of America in this way. It is fast becoming sober earnest for the nations of Europe themselves. Our late war was echoed in the universal heart of the Old World, and met responsive vibrations everywhere in its conflicting opinions, sympathies, and wishes; as the issue of it, also, has entered deeply into the soul of all countries, and is already working out consequences which no foresight of man can measure or reveal.

In a profound sense, the struggle was representative for the race at large. The tread of its armies, the thunder of its battles, shook the entire earth, and wrought deliverance for humanity such as has never been wrought by the agency of war before. In the language of Professor Goldwin Smith's late brilliant address in England: "Not the fields on which Greek intellect and art were saved from the Persian; not the fields on which Roman law and polity were saved from the Carthaginian and the Gaul; not the plains of Tours, on which Charles Martel rolled back Islam from the heart of Christendom; not the waters over which the shattered Armada fled; not Leipsic and Lutzen, Marston and Naseby, where, at the hands of Gustavus and Cromwell, the great reaction of the seventeenth century found its doom, will be so consecrated by the gratitude of after ages as Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Atlanta, and those lines before Richmond which saw the final blow."

All with us now, as a nation, has been, and still continues to be, world-historical in the fullest sense of the term. We know it, and feel it, more and more continually, on all sides. Our thinking and working have come to be of boundless signification for the human race. The greatest questions of life, the last problems of history, are fast crowding upon us for their solution. Here is to be settled, on a grand scale, how far men are capable of self-government in a truly free way; how far the interests of public authority and personal independence can be made to meet harmoniously in the same political system. Here is to be issued and adjudicated practically the old arch-controversy, between the rights of man, as they are called, and the duties of man. Here are to be met, and answered in some way, the tremendous politico-economical and social problems, which are even now stirring the lowest depths of our modern

civilization, and threatening like a subterranean mine to blow it into ten thousand fragments. Here is to be resolved the great ethnological question, which is to determine finally the relation of the inferior races to the Caucasian in the consummation of the world's history. Here is to be seen, how far material prosperity and mere humanitarian culture (the life of man in the order of nature) can be made to follow their own law, in harmony with the higher interests of virtue, morality, and religion. Here are to be shown, in the end, we must believe, the mightiest achievements of science, the greatest wonders of art, the most stupendous victories in the service of commerce and trade. Above all in interest for us, here must be settled the great ecclesiastical issues, with which the whole Christian world is wrestling at the present time, and which are felt by thousands everywhere to involve nothing less than the question of life or death for the universal cause of Christianity itself.

Yes, my beloved hearers, there is no room now I think to doubt it. Here on this Western Continent is to be the arena where the Church Question, which all truly earnest men feel and know to be the greatest question of the age, is to be fought out, if I may use the expression, to its last consequences and results. We cannot take our answer to it quietly from the Romanism, or Anglicanism, nor the Continental Protestantism of transatlantic Europe; nor yet from the Græco-Russian and other forms of Christianity, that challenge our attention in the far East. On the contrary, these older church interests, if they are to maintain their standing in the world, must throw themselves into the new conditions of our American life, and prove themselves able to master them, and to bend them to their own service in a free way. Christianity here, of course, if it is to remain true to itself, can never cease to be historical; can never abjure its connection with the past; as it is required to do by the radical sects that are continually springing up like mushrooms on its path.

But neither, on the other hand, can it be a mere mechanical outward tradition. It must enter into active struggle with the seething elements around it, and assert its necessary form, whatever that may be, as the "law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus." Here then the controversy between Christ and Antichrist, the mystical battle of Armageddon, must be waged to its ultimate decision. That is to be, of course, a struggle between faith and unbelief. But the unbelief, we have reason to be sure, will not be so much open infidelity, as the false show of faith itself—the metamorphosis of Satan into an angel of light, opposition to the Gos-

pel claiming to be the truth and power of the Gospel in its fullest sense.

And so the ultimate matter in debate will not just be: Is the Bible true and worthy of confidence as God's word? but this rather: Is Christ real, as the perpetual presence of a new creation in the world through which only life and immortality are brought to light? The war will fall back practically to the basis of all positive Christianity, as we have it set forth comprehensively in the Apostles' Creed. The questions will be at bottom: Is the Creed true? Has Christ come in the flesh, as is there affirmed? Is what we are told of the grand movement of the work of redemption in His Person, fact or figment? Did He indeed go down into death and hades, that He might return again leading captivity captive, and ascend up on high so as to fill all things, and to become head over all things to the Church? Is there in virtue of all this an order of grace in the world—the mystery the Creed proclaims in its article of the Church—a divine constitution of life and power transcending the whole order of nature; which as such is a necessary object of Christian faith; which the gates of hell can never prevail against; and in which alone are comprehended the redemption and salvation of the world through all time?

These are questions that go to the very foundation of Christianity; and the issue involved in them is nothing less than the general right of Christianity to be regarded as a strictly supernatural system of religion, over against all forms of natural or simply humanitarian religion, usurping its name and pretending to stand in its place. It will be, in one word, the old battle between rationalism and faith, the powers of this present world and the powers of the world to come, advanced now to its deepest, most inward and most universal form; on which will be found to be staked the truth of all revelation from the beginning; and which in its last grand crisis shall serve to usher in, we may trust, the bright appearing of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Himself, when He shall come to be gloried in His saints and admired in all them that believe.

All signs, thus, herald the approach of a new era in the history of the world, more important than any which has gone before; and all conditions join to show, that this era is to have its central development here, on this Western Continent; and in the bosom of our American Republic. But now, what view are we to take of the elements, agencies, and forces—political, moral, educational, and scientific—which are marshalling themselves on such vast scale, on

all sides, for the accomplishment of the mighty change that is thus before us; and what judgment are we to form of their relation ultimately to that "end of all things," in which the cause of Christianity, if it be of God, is to come to its final and complete triumph, as we have just seen, over all opposing powers? No inquiry can well be more interesting or practically solemn than this, however difficult, for all who look thoughtfully at the present condition of the world, and desire in view of it to order their own lives to the wisest and best purpose. I can only glance at the subject now in the most general and cursory way.

In the view of many, the revolutionary forces which are now everywhere at work in our modern civilization, causing old things to pass away and all things to become new, are themselves, not simply precursive, but in the fullest sense preformative, of what is to be at last the deliverance of the world from its present state of bondage and sin. The redemption of humanity is to be reached, they suppose, through these powers working themselves out to their own natural results. They see in the political, social, scientific, and educational movements of the age, the very factors of the world's final regeneration; and fondly dream and talk of a "good time coming," a millennium near at hand, in which the last sense of Christianity shall be reached, and the tabernacle of God made to be with men; through the triumphs of mind over matter; by means of steamships, Atlantic telegraphs and Pacific railroads; by universal civil freedom, universal knowledge, universal brotherhood of races and nations, universal politico-economical wisdom—making altogether a reign of mundane righteousness, that will show itself a reign, at the same time, of boundless outward prosperity, comfort, and wealth.

It is easy especially to be carried away with this sort of thinking, in looking at the momentous changes, which are going forward in our own country, world-significant as they can be seen plainly to be at the present time, and profoundly linked as they are no less plainly with the central power of the world's life in the form of morality and religion. All must feel that the power of Christianity is deeply at work in these wonders. All must feel, that if Christianity be the end of the ways of God among men, these wonders cannot possibly be without reference to the coming of His kingdom—that they are in fact progressive victories and gains on the side of this kingdom, which are serving to make room more and more for its full ultimate advent. And then what more natural than to see in them at once the actual presence of Christianity it-

self, working in them and through them immediately to its own ends, as something identical with their first and nearest signification; and thus to take them as being, in and of themselves, true manifestations of faith and righteousness in the highest Christian sense of these terms.

Thus loyalty and patriotism are made to be synonymous with devotion to the service of God; battle-fields become the gate of entrance into paradise; heroes are canonized into saints; martyrs of liberty are exalted into martyrs of Christ; statesmen and politicians put themselves forward as the chosen prophets of God's will; and the march of events (though it may be but John Brown's soul marching on—God only knows whither), is trumpeted to the four winds of heaven as the stately goings of Jehovah Jesus Himself, riding forth prosperously to subdue the nations under His feet.

Thus in every way the successful appliances of science, art, business, or politics, to the well-being of men in the present world, are counted to be directly the power of the everlasting Gospel fulfilling with free course its own heavenly mission; and so it comes to pass that the power of the Gospel, the cause of true evangelical religion, is supposed at last to reside mainly in the world under its secular character, on the outside of the Church and her sacraments altogether. Creeds and confessions serve but to retard the chariot of salvation. The enemies of Christianity claim to be its heroes and apostles, its truest representatives and its best expounders; and the nominally Christian world, alas, is found only too willing on all sides to admit the claim.

This, I say, is the great temptation of the age—the temptation of resolving the whole idea of God's kingdom in the world into the powers and forces of the world itself, stirred and set in motion by the presence of the higher life that has been brought down into it, without being lifted still into its true sphere. So it was in the beginning of Christianity in a more outward way, when all the elements of Grecian and Oriental thought were roused by it to the task of constructing new philosophies, Gnostic and Platonic, that might take its place, and do for it, better than itself, its Heaven-commissioned work. It was hard then to stand firm and fast in the faith of Christ. But now it is harder still; for the relation between the two orders of grace and nature, the contact of one with the other, has come to be far more inward and close now than it was then, and the conflict involved in it is for this reason, in the same proportion, more spiritual and profound; so that the very elect are

in continual danger of being deceived by it to the loss of their own steadfastness.

Let me then, in the way of warning, reiterate solemnly on the present occasion what I have tried to make the burden of my teaching on this subject in former years. Nature is not Grace. That which is born of the flesh is at last, in its highest sublimation, flesh only, and not Spirit. It can never, in its own order, save the world. Ye, surely, have not so learned Christ. However the earth may help the Church, you know that it is not in the power of the earth to create the Church, or to take into its own hands the office and work of the Church. The mastery of mind over matter, whether in the way of knowledge or of art, is not in and of itself the raising of man to glory and honor. The race can never be brought right, and made to be what it ought to be by machinery, or mere outward social economy of any sort; and just as little can it be redeemed by politics, education, or science.

Its true regeneration, if there be truth in the Gospel, must come ultimately from above, and not from beneath. Humanitarianism is not Christianity; and the Gospel of such men as Emerson, Theodore Parker, Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and others whose names come easily to mind now in the same connection, is not the Gospel of Jesus Christ as it lies before us in the New Testament. The millennium it promises is not the reign of the saints foretold by prophets and apostles; and it is only too plain, alas! that the agencies and tendencies which are held to be working towards it, carry in them no sure guaranty whatever of millennial triumph in any form. All the signs of the time, as we have seen, betoken universal and fundamental changes. But we have no assurance in these signs, that the change will move on victoriously in the line of universal righteousness and truth.

On the contrary, it is all too plain that the elements and forces, which are bringing on the new era, are themselves fraught with a power of evil, which may prove altogether too strong in the end for all they appear to have in them as a power of good. Along with titanic strength, we see at work on all sides titanic corruption and sin. The very effort that is made to scale the heavens, in the way of material aggrandizement and politico-social self-exaltation, seems to invite upon itself the thunderbolts of Divine wrath, and to foreshadow a confusion worse than that of old on the plains of Shinar. We cannot trust the ground on which the age is standing. We know that it is volcanic. We cannot look forth with full security on the boundless ocean before us. It may be—our hearts

tell us—an ocean of storms and wrecks, more terrible than any the world has ever yet known.

This is one lesson we are required to take home to ourselves, in the present state of our country and of the world. But it is not the only lesson. We are required, on the other hand, to see and feel that the great things which are now coming to pass around us, and looming into sight before us, are indeed part of God's plan for the final bringing in of His kingdom; and that we, therefore, can be true and faithful to this cause, in our generation, only as we throw ourselves with free consciousness into the movement, and endeavor to work in and through it for Christian purposes and ends. We have no right to ignore the rushing tide of history, or to stand aside from the torrent with which it is bearing all things in its own direction. Indeed, we cannot do so, if we would. For history here is beyond all question world-history; and we must move and work wakeningly in the bosom of it, if we are to have any real life whatever in the life of the world. This does not mean, of course, that we are to surrender our minds blindly to the general spirit of the age, as being in and of itself the Spirit of God (*vox populi, vox Dei*); or that we are to trust the movement of the age, as being at once in its reigning factoral forces the wisdom and power of God, working positively toward the ideal of a perfect humanity.

We may fear, or we may be sure, that the relation of all to the coming end will be found at last to be that of negative, more than direct positive, preparation for its advent; even as the old Oriental and Grecian worlds prepared the way, in their vain endeavors "by wisdom to know God," for the coming of Christ in the flesh. But even in this view, the historical significance of the movement cannot be questioned, and we are bound to take interest in it accordingly. We must be children of our country, and also children of our age. So much is demanded of us, both by our philosophy and by our religion. Only let us try to be so, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, in such sort that we shall be likewise all children of the light and true sons of God, in being at the same time true sons of the Church.

Among other interests requiring to be held thus in union and correspondence with the vast advancing movement which is upon us, the cause of education especially deserves to be spoken of at this time—being as it is, the bond of our Academic brotherhood, and the common interest which brings us together on the present occasion.

Like all other interests in the country, it is thrown into agitation, and forced toward revolutionary change, by the power of the general revolution through which the country is now passing. It is moving historically with the movement of our national history at large. Evidently we have come to a sort of crisis here as elsewhere, and a new era of education is breaking upon us, no less than a new era of politics and religion.

The thoughts of men with regard to the subject are expanded; and along with expanded thoughts, are coming to be revealed new zeal, new liberty, new activity, in its service. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the time is the disposition which has begun to be shown, in every direction, to patronize and encourage learning and education in all forms. Donations on the part of rich men, in favor of literary institutions, are growing to be munificent, in some cases even princely. The scale of college endowments, and college organizations, is everywhere enlarged. Even in our own State, proverbially slow and niggardly heretofore in the cause of letters, a new spirit is showing itself at work. Normal schools and collegiate academies are with us now the order of the day. All our old colleges are seeking to double their strength; while the munificence of one man has planted on the banks of the Lehigh lately a new institution, which threatens at a single bound to surpass the foundations of the whole of them together.

But it is not only the outward economy of education that is undergoing enlargement and change in this way. Still more worthy of note is the corresponding change that is going forward in its inward economy. This is still more directly the result of the general revolution in which the age is involved, and shows more significantly at the same time its ruling character and drift. All the conditions of the age, all the conditions especially of our American life, carrying in its bosom at this time, as we have seen, the inmost and deepest historical forces of the age, form in themselves for the minds of men what may be called a powerful determination now toward outward and material interests, the conquering of nature, the arts and methods of political well-being,—in one word, the reduction of the present world in every way to the service of the human race. Hence the demand, on all sides, for forms of education, that shall be found ministering everywhere directly to this general object; and in conformity with it, as we see, all manner of attempts to bring our schools and colleges into line with what is thus felt to be the inevitable law of the age. Hence new courses of study all over the land, in which the practical and utilitarian

figure as the main thing in science, and learning is made to resolve itself, in great measure, into the knowledge simply of matter and nature.

A striking illustration of the power this way of thinking has among us may be found in the *Smithsonian Institution*, standing as it does in some sense at the head of our educational interests. According to the terms of its magnificent endowment it was founded for the *Increase and Diffusion of Knowledge among Men*. In the organization of it, we are told, "no restriction is made in favor of any kind of knowledge, and hence each branch is entitled to, and should receive a share of attention." That is the theory. But see, now, how it has been carried into effect. From the commencement of its operations in 1847, down to the present time, it seems to have been quietly assumed that the increase of knowledge among men must be taken to mean only the promotion of science under its predominantly physical aspects; and the "*Smithsonian Contributions*," accordingly, are found to be devoted to this object throughout, with no recognition whatever, apparently, of the necessity of science under any other form. Physical Geography, Coast Surveys, Aboriginal Monuments, Palæontology, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Magnetic and Meteorological Observations, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Agriculture, and the Application of Science to Arts; these, and kindred subjects, engross the activity and the income of the Institution; while all that is comprehended in the culture of Mind for its own sake, Morality, Humane Literature, Metaphysics, and Philosophy in all its branches and forms, is silently ignored and forgotten, as having nothing to do with the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men in any way. The fact is curious, certainly, and significant; and may be taken as a proclamation to the world, on a large scale, of what Science, Education and Progress are coming more and more to mean for the spirit of the Nineteenth Century, as it is now sweeping all things before it in the new-born life of these United States.

It is no business of ours to denounce or oppose the change, by which other colleges are seeking to adapt themselves to the educational demands of this spirit at the present time. Let us hope that all such experiments may work toward good ultimately in some way. It is enough for us to know that we, as the friends of Franklin and Marshall College, are not called upon to fall in with the movement. Our circumstances do not allow us to cope, if we would, with the stronger bids that are made for popular favor in this form; and there is no need or occasion for us to be putting forth our

strength for what can be more effectually accomplished from other quarters. Our vocation, too, it is plain, is altogether different. If we are to be of any account in the cause of learning and education, it must be by our holding on steadfastly to what has been the reigning purpose and character of this institution from the beginning; and instead of finding in the present bearing of things a reason for changing our course, we should see in it rather only new reason for our continuing unswervingly true to it to the last.

For if the general bearing of the age be, in the way we have seen, more and more toward merely material interests and outward ends, it is but all the more necessary that our testimony, if it has been worth anything heretofore, in favor of education for its own sake and for purely spiritual or inward ends, should not now be relaxed, but be made, if possible, more firm than ever. This, especially, is needed at the present time; and in no other way possibly can we, with our resources and opportunities, do better service to our country and our generation.

Let it be our ambition, then, and our care, to maintain in vigorous force here, an institution that shall be devoted supremely to liberal education, in the old and proper sense of the term; *liberal*, as being free from all bondage to merely outside references and ends, and as having to do, first of all, with the enlargement of the mind in its own sphere. This, after all, must remain the true conception of education forever. We need not quarrel with other forms of knowledge and skill, that are held with many now to carry with them the whole force of the name. Let them pass for what they are actually worth, in their utilitarian, practical, and professional sphere. But no such forms of knowledge can ever be sufficient, of themselves, to complete the organization of a true human culture. Underneath all such practical superstructure, if it is to stand, must be at least a basis of solid spiritual thought; and if many, in their studies, make all in all of the outward, it will only be the more necessary always that some (though few) make all in all of the inward.

In such a time as ours especially, and in view of the grand historical crisis, through which, as a nation, we are now passing, it is all-important that the working spirit of the country should be leavened, to some wholesome extent, by a corresponding thinking spirit. Never was there a time, when there was more room or more need for education, regarded simply as a discipline of the soul for its own sake. Agriculture, mining, and civil engineering, are of vast account; but not of so much account, by any means, as the develop-

ment of a strong and free spirit in men themselves. It still remains true, as in all ages, that ideas are the deepest power in the world; and the most salutary forces of the world's life will ever be found to be, in the end, not those which men are enabled to draw from the storehouses of nature, and in this way, as it were, from beyond themselves, but from those that are comprehended in the right ordering and proper constitution of their own minds. There lies the end emphatically of all true education.

Let it not be imagined, however, that in thus opposing the spiritual to the physical, I mean to discourage the study of nature, or to detract from its importance in a course of academical training. For us in this world, the spiritual depends everywhere on the physical, has its root in the physical, starts forth from the physical, and is qualified and conditioned by the physical throughout. There can be, therefore, no effectual study of mind that is not grounded, first of all, in the study of nature; and so, of course, no thorough or complete education, without the natural sciences. In this view, the zeal which is now shown in favor of these sciences, and the wonderful success with which they are pursued, are a matter for congratulation; and form unquestionably one of those pregnant signs of the time, which we are bound wisely to respect and turn to account, in seeking to give historical direction to any part we may take in the cause of education at the present time.

All we need to protest against in the case is the insanity of making nature, in its own sphere, the end of all knowledge; the madness of imagining, that moral interest can ever be subordinated safely to material interests; the wild hallucination of dreaming, that the great battle and work of life for man is to be accomplished by physics and mechanics, by insight simply into the laws of nature and mastery of its powers, by chemistry, geology, mineralogy, metallurgy, and other such studies, by polytechnic ingenuity and skill applied in all manner of ways to business and trade. There is a higher view than all this, in which the study of nature becomes itself the study of mind, and the material meets us everywhere as the sacrament of the spiritual and divine. It is the view presented to us in the first chapter of Genesis, where all lower forms of creation are described as rising organically, stage after stage, to the completion of their full sense ultimately in man; from the light of whose presence then, thrown back upon time, they come to be irradiated with a portion of the same glory that belongs to man himself as the image of God. It is easy to see how, in such view, room is made in our scheme of a liberal education for the largest

use of natural science; how it is, that there can be no right philosophy of spirit, which is not, at the same time, a philosophy of nature in its profoundest sense; how physics and metaphysics go hand in hand together, each helping the other to its proper perfection, and both joining to bear the soul up finally to those empyrean heights, where knowledge ends in religion, and the vision of the world is made complete in the vision of Him who is before all worlds—the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE fresh start initiated at Lancaster to promote the present and future prosperity of the College was a genuine one, and it was felt throughout the Eastern part of the Church. It formed indeed an epoch. The Synod gave it a full endorsement, and adopted measures to co-operate with the Board of Trustees in a united effort to carry out its wishes on a generous and liberal scale. But the interest thus excited became diverted, to a certain extent, towards other educational interests in the Church, which were supposed to have prior claims at the time, and which utilized, in some degree, the energy which had been developed at Lancaster and in the Synod. Mercersburg College at Mercersburg, and Ursinus College at Collegeville, Pa., sprang into existence and evinced considerable strength and zeal in the cause of education. These things, although discouraging and disappointing to Dr. Nevin at the time, did not, however, after all seriously affect the movement in favor of the central institution of the Church at Lancaster. Committees went to work to devise the necessary machinery by which contributions, large and small, might be made towards the College.

Some difficulties were experienced in finding a strong and vigorous agent to undertake the work: and as there was no one apparently forthcoming, such an one as Mr. Leonard already referred to, Dr. Wolff, one of the Trustees, agreed to take it in hand for the time, without any compensation for his services. He had succeeded Dr. Nevin in the theological chair at Mercersburg, had just resigned his position as Professor, and had removed to Lancaster to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. He was then in his seventy-third year, and although failing in physical strength, his interest and zeal for the institutions of the Church were as vigorous as ever. At the annual meeting of the Board, in 1867, he reported that, although he had not been able to devote much time to the work, yet in a few places, including Easton and Philadelphia, he had already secured over \$16,000 in subscriptions for endowment and new buildings. His methods of operation as agent were somewhat peculiar. In his report he said that "he had in no instance sought to persuade any person to give: that he simply presented the claims of the College to their support, and left them to give or not give at their pleasure, and that with a single exception no one positively declined to give."

In a certain case a party at Easton, Pa., where he had been pastor at one time, had decided to give even before they heard his statements. They understood that he intended to make them a visit, and so they had set apart their dollars by the hundreds for him when he came.

It was his good fortune to secure \$35,000 from a wealthy gentleman in Philadelphia by a single visit. Mr. Lewis Audenried by his industry, energy and good business habits had amassed a large fortune, was a bachelor, was in some respects peculiar, and not always accessible to those who called on him for pecuniary contributions. Dr. Wolff had never seen him, and although not by any means encouraged by others to call on him, under some sort of inspiration, he felt it to be his duty to go and see him at least. Mr. Audenried received him courteously, and informed him that he had heard him preach a sermon many years before in Philadelphia before the Presbyterian Synod which he had never forgotten, and that he still remembered very distinctly his features. He was, therefore, a welcome visitor. After he had explained to him the object of his visit, he told him that he was just the person with whom he wished to confer. It was his wish to leave a legacy to the Church, but he did not exactly know to what particular object or cause he should devote it, where it would be safe, where it would be the means of doing the most good, and therefore he wished for information. When Dr. Wolff explained to him the central relation of the College and told him that its Board of Trustees had never lost a dollar by injudicious investments, he was satisfied; and when it was suggested to him that it would be well to endow a professorship in the College, he said he would do so. The result was communicated to Dr. Nevin and to one or two other reliable persons, but beyond this inner circle it remained a profound secret—by special respect—until Mr. Audenried's death in 1874, when it appeared that in his will, in addition to various other benevolent bequests, he had bequeathed \$35,000 for the endowment of a professorship in Franklin and Marshall College, adding as his wish that his pastor, Rev. J. H. Dubbs, should be its first occupant. Dr. Dubbs, accordingly, was elected to fill the Audenried Professorship of History and Archæology in the College in 1875, and since then by his scholarship and literary tastes he has shown superior qualifications for the position.

During the year 1867, Dr. Nevin wrote to William L. Baer, Esq., of Somerset, Pa., an earnest letter, in which he set forth the importance of giving the College at Lancaster an ample endowment,

earnestly urging him and others favorable to the movement to unite in the effort to concentrate the energies of the Church so as to place it on a generous and enlarged basis. Mr. Baer showed the letter to the Rev. A. B. Koplin, Reformed pastor in the southern part of the county, and together they read it to the Wilhelm family, consisting of two brothers and one sister, living together as one household and somewhat advanced in years. They pointed out to them the necessity, and the importance of having at least one strong, well endowed institution in the Church, and Mr. Baer illustrated this point by adding that "it was better to have one noble lion than a whole cage full of fighting raccoons," which was an apt illustration, as the Wilhelms did not live far from the Alleghenies. No immediate effect seemed to have been produced, either by the argument or the illustration, and it took years before the plant brought forth its fruit in its season. Its growth, progress and fruition, form an interesting chapter, in which Dr. Nevin, as President of the College, was, to a large extent, the animating spirit; and we present it here as an excursus, which may serve perhaps as a diversion of mind, to those especially who have been following him in his theanthropic, christological, philosophical and churchly speculations.

Sometime in 1868 Dr. Wolff learned from the papers that the Wilhelm family had already bequeathed their earthly possessions to various objects connected with the Church, without any regard to the Institutions at Lancaster. This seemed somewhat strange to him. However, wishing to know the truth of the matter, he wrote to Mr. William L. Baer, the legal adviser of the Wilhelms, for more reliable information, who stated in reply that they had not as yet, by will, made any distribution of their property, and expressed some surprise that the College at Lancaster had not done more to press its claims upon the attention of these people. It is said that a will had, indeed, been made for them in due form, but that their names had not been annexed to it. Dr. Wolff felt too infirm at the time to travel any distance, and, accordingly, he requested the author, then Secretary of the Faculty at Lancaster, to visit the Wilhelms, and take with him a letter from Dr. Nevin, urging them to endow a professorship in the College. Through Mr. Baer he received an invitation to assist in laying the corner-stone of a new church near their residence, which it was supposed would give him a suitable opportunity to carry out the object of his visit, without exciting special inquiry in any direction. He arrived there in time to take part in the ceremony, and in his discourse on the occasion he did

not forget to say that, with the exception of ministers of the Gospel, it was the duty of Christians generally to make as much money as possible, provided they did it honestly, and employed it in the promotion of good and useful objects, without setting their hearts on it. The doctrine seemed to be somewhat new, but it was regarded as altogether sound and satisfactory, especially to those who were regarded as rather covetous by their neighbors.

The morning following the laying of the corner-stone, the writer, in company with Mr. Baer, Rev. A. B. Koplin, the pastor, Rev. George H. Johnston, Mr. Baer's pastor, and perhaps one or two others, went out early from Elk Lick to see the Wilhelms, and found the two brothers, Benjamin and Peter, busy in directing the workmen at the new building. We informed them that we had a letter from Dr. Nevin, and they told us to read it for them. They had heard of him as one who, like themselves, was opposed to fanatical sects, and they both seemed to be pleased. The letter was earnest and simple in language, asking them to endow a professorship in Franklin and Marshall College, amounting to \$25,000. We read slowly and deliberately, scanning their features closely when we came to mention the amount of money which they were asked to give; but, instead of any indication of surprise or dissent on their countenances, we saw the workings only of serious thought. After we had finished reading and made a few additional explanatory remarks, there was a deep pause, which we, in our simplicity, hoped might be followed by a favorable response. At length Benjamin, pointing to their pastor, Mr. Koplin, told us that he was their friend—*er ist unser Freund*—by which he meant to say that they would consult with him in regard to the matter. This was satisfactory as far as it went, as we knew that both he and their lawyer, Mr. Baer, had already urged them to invest a portion of their estate in the Institutions at Lancaster, as the place where it would be safe and most fruitful in the future. We thought of remaining on the ground for several days, a week or longer, if necessary, in order to follow up the effect of the letter missive; but Mr. Baer told us that nothing further useful could be done at that time, and we followed his advice, which we afterward discovered was the best. We returned home pretty confident that a favorable response would be sent to Lancaster, at most, within a year, in which we were fortunately doomed to be disappointed.

From the Rev. Mr. Koplin we received a history of the Wilhelm family, which we here repeat, believing it will be interesting to our readers. There were two brothers, Benjamin and Peter, and a sister

Mary or Polly, all three unmarried, who resided together in the spacious old log house in which they had been born. In some way they held their property in common. By their industry and economical habits they had prospered greatly, adding farm to farm until they were the joint possessors of over 3,200 acres of land. Their parents were of Reformed and Lutheran origin, and retained their churchly traditions. They were wont to rent their farms only to church people, trying in this way to keep fanatical sectaries at as great a distance as possible. As they had heard that Dr. Nevin entertained similar views in regard to the sects, their respect for his name was increased. They were, however, rather worldly people, baptized sheep astray out in the wilderness, at a considerable distance from any church of their own kind, and seldom attending divine worship anywhere, until they were well advanced in years. In this state of affairs, in the year 1859, it so happened that Pastor Koplin, of Elk Lick, a village four miles distant from their residence, preached on a Sunday afternoon in their neighborhood, and as it turned out, the brothers attended the service. They heard the voice of this shepherd gladly, and declared that, of all others whom they had heard, he was the man for them—*Er ist der Mann fuer uns*.

They requested him to preach regularly for them in their school-house. A catechetical class of some twenty persons was formed, and weekly instruction imparted in the school-house from week to week, which the Wilhems attended with many of the young people. They became much interested in what was said to them, and tried to interest others also to attend these instructions. On horseback they rode up and down the mountain, urging people, young and old, not in the Church, to come and attend instruction—*Die Kinderlehre*. They told mothers and fathers, that they themselves had neglected this duty too long—until they had become gray-haired—but now they urged all others not to do as they had done.

In the Fall of 1859, a congregation consisting of five members was organized, and twenty-one catechumens were confirmed. Benjamin was then elected as Elder, and Peter as Deacon. The little flock grew in numbers, and in 1863 it was decided to build a new church for its accommodation; but as Mr. Koplin was called into another field of usefulness, the matter was postponed for the time being. In 1867 the old pastor agreed to return to his former charge, provided, if he should accept of the call, a new church would be erected. The promise was immediately made, and the former pleasant pastoral relation was renewed. The corner-stone of the new Church was laid in June, 1868, but it was not consecrated

until October, 1869. In all it cost \$14,000, of which amount the Wilhelms contributed over \$11,000; and in addition they presented to the congregation a fine organ, which, according to their churchly feelings, they regarded as a matter of the utmost importance.

The Wilhelms told their neighbors to contribute according to their means for this object and they would do the rest, give the ground and pay the balance still due on the new house when it was consecrated. They faithfully kept their word, and did not hesitate at any expense—not even in getting the best cut-stone—in making it the best looking structure, internally and externally considered, in the county. The church stands on an elevation, not far from the old Wilhelm homestead, and presents quite an interesting and suggestive contrast to travelers as they pass by in the railroad cars below,—a monument truly of Christian charity. It was consecrated in October, 1869, on which occasion Dr. Nevin had the honor of preaching the dedicatory sermon. He was the man whom the Wilhelms liked to see in the pulpit; and Peter particularly, without understanding all that he said, was pleased with his straight-forward, free and unhesitating manner of speaking, and said that he agreed with him fully in his ideas of religion, which always avoided opposite extremes. Dr. Nevin received many ovations during this trip, and doubtless returned home with the expectation of some tangible result from it before long, but like his secretary, he too was fortunately doomed to be disappointed. The time had not yet come. The movement was a reality, and it must have an historical development, according to his own philosophy, and he with others had to wait for years with patience and submission to the Divine Will until it came to maturity.

The Rev. Koplin, a very prominent figure in this history, had hailed from the West, was an aggressive and progressive man, but always willing to learn. The Messrs. Baer, of Somerset, William and Herman, both able lawyers, took an interest in him, and suggested to him to study the theology of the Eastern part of the Church, in which he seemed at first to be rather crude and defective. He commenced to read Dr. Nevin's *Mystical Presence*, with other productions of his pen, and for a time he became a most diligent student of theology, until he caught up fully to his teachers at Somerset.

He gradually identified himself with the Church in the East and wrote to Dr. Nevin for advice in regard to the Wilhelm estate, who explained to him fully the situation, and urged upon him the necessity and importance of endowing first the more fully the

mother schools at Lancaster. This led to a correspondence that continued for some time, which was as pleasant to the one party as it was profitable to the other.

It was in this way that he became interested in the institutions at Lancaster, and was led, as if by a monition from above, to devote all the energies of his enthusiastical nature to strengthen these fountains of learning in the East—in season and out of season. It was with him a cherished idea, an inspiration, which might have led him, at times, to exert an undue force upon the progress of events; but if there was any danger in this direction, he met with salutary restraints from his monitors, the cool-headed lawyers at Somerset, who had an intelligent faith in history, understood human nature, and felt confident that the Wilhelms would do their part when their time came.—In a letter to the author he writes thus: “I was urged to give my influence with the Wilhelms to devote their property to some new enterprise—not to Lancaster—and I was punished for not doing so in more ways than one. I have, however, the satisfaction of knowing that I did my duty from love to the true interests of the Church, and that in the Lord’s own good time there will be honor to whom honor is due.” There were those who differed from him no doubt honestly, who thought that this accumulation of wealth should be retained for useful purposes in the county or elsewhere; but he was honest and sincere also, and as a spiritual counsellor he was perfectly justifiable in advising his wealthy parishioners to dispose of their earthly possessions in a manner that he thought would be most useful to the Church and the cause of Christ.

William—now Judge Baer—understood them and had secured their confidence also as their legal adviser—from the time he had delivered a political stump-speech in their neighborhood in flowing “Pennsylvania Dutch,” which they understood better than anything else. He thought it was the part of wisdom to strengthen the old Institution at Lancaster, rather than to start a new one in the western part of the State, whose future at best was uncertain.

The very positive position of the pastor loci continued to subject him to a considerable amount of discomfort in his parochial charge. At length to his extreme regret Pastor Koplin found it necessary to withdraw from his pastoral field in Somerset county. He did so with the advice of the Wilhelms, as he no longer received an adequate support for himself and family. He carried with him, however, their confidence and he retained it to the end, through pastoral letters or friendly correspondence. Fortunately, he was succeeded

in his charge by a pastor with views similar to his own, the Rev. C. U. Heilman, who had been acting for a time as agent of the College, and was advised by the Board to take Pastor Koplin's charge, which was now open to him, through Mr. Koplin's influence. This was the proper thing to do, and the College found in him a sufficient protector of its interests in Somerset county.

In the year 1873 Mr. Benjamin Wilhelm died, aged 82 years. Just before his death he called his younger brother Peter to his bedside, solemnly reminded him, in the presence of Mr. Koplin, of the vow they had made to devote their earthly possessions to the Church, and told him that his last request was that his share of the estate should be returned to the Lord from whom he had received it. These were among his last words, when he calmly fell asleep in the Lord.—His brother was urged to make a speedy disposition of the estate by a legal document which would cover the case, but he, like many elderly persons, had some repugnance to making a will.

There were still some difficulties in the way; Peter's mind was distracted by an effort to direct his legacies in another direction, and he was anxious to have the property free of all incumbrances, so that he might be able to give it back to the Lord in a form that would admit of no possibility of any sort of litigation.

Towards the close of the year 1876 Dr. Koplin wrote to Mr. Peter Wilhelm the last of a series of letters, urging him no longer to make any delay in carrying out the dying request of his brother Benjamin. He was soon afterwards informed that his letter had accomplished its object, and that the matter would be attended to at an early day.—Early in the beginning of the year 1877, Peter felt that his end was drawing near, and the great significant work of his life was not accomplished. Under the impression that he would not live much longer, he sent for Mr. Baer to come and write out his last will and testament. He had thought over the matter and he wished to bequeath to his nearest heirs who were worthy what he regarded as a sufficiency—\$15,000—and to those whom he considered unworthy a merely nominal sum; also something to useful objects in Somerset county; but the bulk of the estate he bequeathed to the College and Seminary at Lancaster—two-thirds to the former and one-third to the latter. The will was signed, sealed and ordered to be put on record, with plenty of evidence to show that it was his own free act, performed whilst he was in a sound state of mind. The long expected legacy seemed to be now secure, and the news came wafted over the mountains, spreading joy and gladness to

many interested in the intellectual work at Lancaster. But in less than thirty days Peter, as if his life work was finished, took sick, lay down and died, and, according to the laws of the State, the legacies for benevolent purposes in the will all became invalid. Disease made rapid progress in his body during his last hours, and when the lawyers came from Somerset he no longer had the strength, even with a scratch of the pen, to avert what seemed to be an approaching public calamity. His last words to Mr. Herman L. Baer, with a full consciousness of the state of affairs, were: *Der Herr weissst wohl das ich es gut gemeint habe.* He then fell asleep with the consciousness that he meant well.

The situation now became painful in the extreme, and the folly of the law of the state bearing on the case was freely denounced. At first Mr. W. J. Baer was apprehensive that the legacy was lost to the Church, but Dr. Koplin knew all the facts in the case, which he communicated to Mr. George F. Baer, of Reading, Pa., who at once decided that they were of sufficient strength to give vitality to the will. He communicated them to his older brother William, and they together agreed that they justified an appeal to the Courts of Justice. The situation thus became a very critical one. The heirs, a considerable number of them, came forward, and claimed their rights to the property, engaged able legal counsel and offered him a large portion of the estate, if he would secure it for them. On the other hand it was a clear case that there was abundant parol testimony to show that the two brothers with their sister had entered into a solemn covenant to give their earthly possessions to the Church, and it was felt that it would be very unrighteous if by a legal fiction their will should be thwarted. The Board, therefore, employed legal counsel, consisting of the Honorable John Cessna, President of the Board, Hon. Thos. E. Franklin, and Geo. F. Baer, Esq., all members of their own body, who, without any compensation for their services, were successful in carrying out the original object of the will.

The case was thrown into a Court of Equity, at which Dr. Koplin and William J. Baer gave lengthy and overwhelming testimony concerning the solemn wishes of the two brothers and their sister in the matter. After they were heard a compromise was made and settlement with all concerned was effected. The property had been appraised at the low figure of \$70,000, and it was agreed to pay the legal heirs \$25,500 for their claims. In the will they were to receive only \$15,000. Accordingly they fared better than if the will of their uncle had been literally sustained.

Thus all barriers in the way of carrying out the provisions of the will were removed and seven-ninths of the entire estate reverted to Franklin and Marshall College and the Seminary. Its value at the time was variously estimated at from \$60,000 to \$100,000. After a subsequent special geological examination of its mineral resources in coal, iron and limestone was made by a skilful engineer, Mr. Hoffman, of Pottsville, Pa., it was ascertained that its prospective value may be considerably beyond the original estimate. Up to this time, 1889, it has been the source of income, sufficient at least to indemnify the College for the \$25,500, which it advanced to the heirs to satisfy their claims; and it is manifest that the land with its rich deposits of coal is increasing rather than decreasing in value. The compromise gave general satisfaction to the friends of the College, and was a matter of considerable surprise. Much of the credit for the settlement of this vexed question was due to Hon. A. H. Coffroth, the counsel for the heirs. In the hands of a lawyer of less sterling integrity and public spirit, the suit might have been prolonged for years at great expense to both sides, and with fruitful results to the lawyers. Mr. Coffroth took a thoughtful and considerate view of the situation, and consulted his law preceptor, Judge Jeremiah S. Black, who advised him to consent to a reasonable compromise, and he was afterwards successful in inducing his clients to take that view of the case. Judge Black was an enlightened statesman and Christian, an admirer of Dr. Nevin and his talents, acquainted with his arduous efforts to elevate a struggling college to respectability and usefulness in the State, but at the same time, an upright judge, who at once saw the equity in this case. This enabled him to give judicious advice in the matter and it was settled in an honorable way, satisfactory to all concerned on both sides.

The actual amount of money paid over for the increase of the endowment of the College, including some ten or twelve thousand dollars contributed by the Alumni to endow an Alumni Professorship to be filled by Prof. William M. Nevin, during Dr. Nevin's administration of the College, was about seventy thousand dollars. Augmented, however, by what must, at no very distant day, be realized from the Wilhelm estate, it will, no doubt, considerably exceed \$200,000, which, as we have seen, was the figure fixed upon in a moment of enthusiasm in the year 1866, when the new impulse was given to the operations of the College by the appointment of Dr. Nevin as President.

As the movement for the more liberal endowment of the College progressed, the way was open for the erection of a new boarding

house on the College Campus. Its corner-stone was laid during the Commencement of 1871, and named after Dr. Harbaugh, who had first urged the erection of such a building. It cost \$15,000, and was paid for out of the contributions made to Dr. Wolff and others for this particular purpose. It was a palpable indication of progress, and everybody was pleased.—After the death of Dr. Wolff, the Rev. C. U. Heilman became the agent of the College, and continued in that capacity from 1872 to 1874. By his industry and perseverance the College endowment was considerably enlarged, which was very fortunate, as it helped to diminish the evil effects upon the College, occasioned by the unproductive investment already referred to.—But just at this point enthusiasm overleaped the mark. The Faculty had been active in various ways in increasing the College endowment, and for a while kept up a conservative progress; but the movement fell into other hands and the zeal for new buildings went beyond the limits of financial prudence.—It was proposed to erect a large building for the Preparatory Department as the most successful means of attracting students and candidates for the college classes. Dr. Nevin and the Faculty approved of this project, provided the necessary funds were secured before the building was erected, but they were overruled. There was a considerable degree of undue enthusiasm enlisted in the movement. It was alleged that the money could be raised by the agent as the new building went up, or afterwards. Under this impression the Board of Trustees, strange to say, agreed to advance \$20,000 from its principal to be invested in brick and mortar, contrary to Dr. Nevin's judgment. An admirable edifice was erected on the north end of the Campus, but the large amount of money taken from the endowment fund was not restored to its place, neither at the time nor afterwards. Besides, contrary to over sanguine predictions, no unusual number of students were attracted by the new Academy building, and it yielded little or nothing in the way of income. What had been productive capital now became unproductive, and the treasury of the College suffered as a consequence.

Here again, as once before in Dr. Nevin's experience at Mercersburg, there was another huge pile of bricks for him to contemplate, which also gave him no small amount of disquietude. The salaries of the Professors had been increased, and the income of the College had been sufficient to meet them when they became due; but when it came to be diminished by an unprofitable investment, they no longer received their quarterly instalments in advance as had been the custom, and it became necessary for them to wait for

their pay. The deficits in the treasury increased from year to year, until Dr. Nevin saw that the means were no longer at hand to pay the President's salary, and for this reason, as well as for others based on his advanced age, he resigned the presidency of the College in 1876, to spend his remaining years in retirement. This was a matter of general regret, but it was felt that he was fully justified in the premises. The friends of the College wished him a happy green old age and a peaceful decline in life.—The impulse imparted to Franklin and Marshall College during the presidency of Dr. Nevin, as might be presumed, continued after his resignation, and helped to give it a healthful progress, in proportion as external conditions became more favorable. No effort, however, was made to provide for the support of a successor, or to endow the presidency, until after his death in 1886. Then the work was undertaken with a large degree of enthusiasm as a tribute of respect to his memory, and the endowment became an established fact in 1889—in memoriam rei.

It may be added that his place was filled by the Professors in the Seminary and College for one year, and that in 1878, Dr. Thomas G. Appel, Professor of Church History in the Seminary, became temporary president of the College, which office he filled in connection with his regular duties in the Seminary until the year 1888, at a nominal salary; because, during this whole period the College was not in a condition to pay a salaried president. Thus in an emergency the Seminary came to the relief of the College and justified its removal to Lancaster some years before.—In filling two onerous professorships Dr. Appel performed a vast amount of work of a difficult character. He reproduced Dr. Nevin's lectures on History, Æsthetics and Ethics, and presented them in a more intelligible form to the students, with such additions as he was enabled to make by his previous study and experience as a teacher.—During his period of office the College maintained its characteristic features and the numbers of students increased from year to year. It was materially strengthened by four valuable additions to the Faculty in the persons of Professors John B. Kieffer, Jefferson E. Kershner, George F. Mull, and Richard C. Schiedt.—Dr. John S. Stahr, who succeeded Dr. Charles H. Budd in the chair of Natural Science in 1871, is at present acting president of the College; and Professor W. W. Moore, Rector of the Preparatory Department, is annually preparing students for the College classes, and laboring, not without some prospect of success, in rendering the Academy Building productive capital.

CHAPTER XLIX

IN the Summer of 1840 Dr. Rauch delivered a course of lectures on *Æsthetics* to the Sophomore Class of Marshall College at Mercersburg, which made a permanent impression on the minds of the students generally. They were read and studied by means of the brief notes taken of them as they were delivered, and copies of these were multiplied as they passed from one generation of students to another. After the removal of the College to Lancaster, lectures on this science were called for, and to some extent delivered by Prof. Kœppen in connection with his other duties. Dr. Nevin, encouraged by the general interest in this study, and impressed with its value and importance in a liberal education, consented at first to deliver a few lectures on the subject, in addition to his lectures on History. After he became President of the College in 1866, they were enlarged, and the principles of this interesting science were fully developed. He gave the subject careful study and investigation, and based his treatment of the subject on the works more particularly of German authors who had written on *Æsthetics*, such as Schelling, Hegel, Schiller, Kant, Solger, Vischer and others.

The following were some of the principal topics, which were taken up and discussed in scientific order in the regular course :

I.—The Idea of Beauty; objective beauty; the Sublime in time, space, and in dynamics or power; the subjective Sublime in the will, good and bad; the subjective apprehension of the Sublime, both objective and subjective; the Comic; the spheres and characteristics of the Comic; the Burlesque, Wit, Humor and the Naive.

II.—Nature Beauty, in light, air, water, minerals, plants, in animals and man; beauty in nature real but imperfect; in the mind, ideal; and perfect in their union as seen in Art.

III.—The Phantasy; the characteristics of Art; the Fine Arts, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music and Poetry.

From this table of contents, considerably abbreviated, it will be seen that these lectures formed a treatise of considerable size. Our limits permit us to give the reader only the general or metaphysical principles of Beauty as referred to in the first division of the subject.

Æsthetics is the science of the Beautiful, so called from the Greek verb which denotes feeling or perception through the senses. The

term at first was regarded as objectionable, because it did not seem to cover sufficiently the ground of the science. Hegel proposed to call it the Philosophy of Art, and others the Science of Taste; but as it has to do with feeling of a high spiritual nature, the original title given to it has been retained as the best and after all the most suitable.

The sciences have been defined as either theoretical or practical; but it is easy to see that the Beautiful does not belong exclusively either to the one or the other of these categories. Neither can it be classed, strictly speaking, in a subjective or an objective sphere, but belongs to the Absolute, which is higher than either.

The method here to be pursued is neither the speculative nor the inductive exclusively. The two must go together. Observation in any form calls for speculation, and speculation calls for observation or data upon which it is to be based. It is therefore best to commence with the metaphysics of beauty, or beauty when considered under its most general form, and then afterwards examine it as it appears in nature and art.

Metaphysical beauty is back of all beauty in the world around, and is closely related to the ideas of the Good or ethical and the True, which also goes beyond these manifestations. These are spiritual existences made up of parts and not mere abstractions. As such they must be held, else God Himself in whom they meet and have their source would be an abstraction.

All beauty, changing from the Sublime to the Comic or ridiculous, involves two apparently opposing forces, and yet always joined together by a bond of unity, first the *idea* and then the *form*. The form is the image through which the idea manifests itself, the shrine of the spiritual, and the two are so bound together as to form an inseparable unity. The proper course to pursue in this science, accordingly, is to start out with the idea of beauty; then consider its outward embodiment; and afterwards show how these two forces or powers are related, or the nature of the bond by which they are held together in this sphere, just as in other spheres.

The word idea is used in a variety of meanings, from a real or true thought of the mind to a mere notion or logical abstraction of the mind. But here (as in the Platonic school.—Ed.) it means a spiritual existence, that is, an actual reality or entity, a spiritual force. Whilst the phenomenal world is made up of parts that limit each other, this spiritual existence, the idea, is boundless and infinite, an indivisible unity. The invisible here being infinite can

never, therefore, be fully revealed in finite things, either in time or space. And yet the two forms of existence are bound together and exist in each other. But the spiritual manifests itself in the natural world only through the finite, not in single parts, but in the phenomenal world taken as a whole; and in that sphere it is brought out by a process of continual movement.

In distinction from nature, however, the conception of art, that is, of the Beautiful, must come forth in a single act or production. The idea is first represented as something absolute, in *wholeness*. In this sense it does not actualize itself at once in an individual form, but in a number of *relative ideas*.—While we thus find an idea pervading all nature, we nevertheless see a difference or variety in its manifestations. In the lower forms of existence we find that there is an adaptation of *means to an end*, but in the higher forms, in animals, and especially in man, we discover that means and end are included in the same object. Thus the idea presents itself in generic distinctions, as genera and species.

Now since the Beautiful is the presence of a universal idea in a sensible form, it may be found in any form of being, from the mineral and plant up to man, where it becomes full and complete. At certain points in this movement it appears to retrograde, as where the higher orders of plants seem to be more imposing than the lower order of animals; but this is only relative, a going back so as to bring up the whole force of the idea and thus carry it forward as a whole. Unity is the goal that is to be reached, and the parts cannot advance indefinitely without bringing along with them the organism as a whole. In the lower developments there is no mind; in the animal there is something resembling consciousness; but in man we find it existing in its clear and proper sense. Out of it grows personality, the *I* or *me* in man. It comes last in the process of development, not out of animal or vegetable life, but out of the idea which rules in the whole process, calling forth the lower forms of existence first, in order that they may serve as a basis or preparation for the appearance of the higher, in which they are involved or implied and from which they derive their vitality. The true significance of the world comes to light only in man, who is for it the only true revelation, and *Pan-anthropism*, so to speak, is its secret and profoundest law.

Thus the universal idea of the world unfolds itself through the various grades of mineral, vegetable and animal existence up to man, where it finally becomes the moral or the Good, which is the absolute end of the whole process. Truth, which is reached by the

thinking of men, is also the last sense of the world in its fundamental idea. The substance, the inward side of the Beautiful, is therefore the Good, and in this sense, the Good, the True and the Beautiful are the same. The distinctions between them lie in the manner in which they reveal themselves to the human mind. The true nature and sense, therefore, of the Beautiful cannot be drawn from the character of its contents, since they are common to the Good and the True, and to distinguish it from the latter, we must refer it to other forms of existence.—Plato was convinced that beauty was something spiritual and ideal, and gives expression to some elevated ideas of its nature. Thus he says that Beauty is the reflection of Truth, but he mixes the Beautiful with the Good. The Greeks generally felt that there was an intimate relation between the two, which they were enabled to express in their own beautiful language.

The Beautiful must therefore be distinguished by its outward form or manifestations. Form may be called the embodiment of the idea in a single object. In the first place it must always belong to the genus, which is required to be represented, and through the latter it must come to its expression. If different spheres are employed, the representation will be symbolical, not addressed to the *æsthetical* but the *logical* feeling. But as the Beautiful is not a mere symbol, the idea must come to its proper expression in the object and form, that belong to the same genus as the idea which is to be represented. Such individual existence may be regarded as something *accidental*, and in that respect is to be broadly distinguished from the idea on the other side, which is universal and necessary. An individual form as the production of nature is the opposite of all universality. But all individual existence is the result of a *generic force*, the idea, which works through the forces of nature in order to realize itself externally.

It is, however, modified by these forces, and accordingly we find that no vegetables, animals or men are exactly alike. The productions of nature cross each other and mix themselves together in an endless variety, because the conditions to which they are subjected are never the same. Life supplies the germs, and subsequent development depends on innumerable conditions. Thus it makes a wide world of difference, whether a man is born in one age, country, location or another. Even after he comes to act for himself, he is subjected to external conditions and modified by them. Consequently, the second side of beauty is subject to endless diversification. This seems at first view a contradiction, that the same idea should thus

manifest itself in changeable forms; but it is not so in fact, because in the apparently endless diversity there is always the same primal unity.

The distinctive character of the Beautiful, however, cannot be realized from the form as such. In modern times, especially in England, it has been presumed that beauty consists essentially in form, and it was therefore inferred that the latter was sufficient to show the nature of the former. But no such outward criterion can be found to distinguish it from other spheres of contemplation. It can never be realized except as the mind looks through the outward embodiment to its internal, life-giving power. *Aristotle*, the ancient Greek philosopher, spiritualized beauty to such an extent as to make it consist of a simple unity, which assumed the character of a dead abstraction. The English school on the other hand, of which *Hutchison* was the founder, materialized it by making it to consist altogether in form. *Hogarth* after him, in his "Analysis of Beauty," laid it down as his fundamental principle that beauty consisted in forms and lines, neither straight nor circular, but waving, as we see in his "line of beauty." There is some truth in this assertion, since it consists always in the union of the invariable and the variable. *Burke*, in his admirable treatise, on "The Beautiful and Sublime," which does credit to his great genius, treats the subject more profoundly than his predecessors; but he cannot be said to have attained to a *philosophical conception* of the Beautiful, as he was under the dominion of the empirical system of thinking prevalent in his day.

The view of the English school in attempting to define in what true beauty consists is *too narrow* on the one hand, and *too wide* on the other, as it introduces elements which *do not belong to what is beautiful*. No outward mechanical determination of its essential character is in fact possible. Lines and waves may enter into the constitution of the form under which it appears, but any attempt to deduce it from them alone is fanatical and unsatisfactory in the end.

Beauty is capable of presenting itself to us under many and diversified forms, inasmuch as it is the representation of the absolute relatively and in a specific form. It cannot be bound to outward lines or marks; for the beauty of a plant is different from that of an animal, that of a dog from that of a horse; and consequently if we could determine what is beauty in plants, it would not be applicable to animals. Both sides of the Beautiful are positively essential to a proper conception of its true nature.

As we ascend in the scale of beauty, where its primary idea becomes more fully realized, it would seem as if there were less room for variation, but this is not the case. As the Ideal becomes more concentrated and intensified in the Real as in man, the power of variation in its range also increases; and while objects are alike in certain particulars and conform to certain types, the variation becomes deeper, and the room for greater distinction expands and enlarges itself. Nowhere is individuality so strong as in man. Thus we see that beauty involves not only the idea on the one side and an endless variety of form on the other, but also a concrete union of the two.

In view of this endless variety and difference of form, it has been thought by some that it is impossible to lay down any law of what constitutes beauty; and as there can be no law, there can be no such a science as *Æsthetics*. But it is sufficient to set this aside, if we say that this is not peculiar to this particular science, but extends also to all other sciences in the sphere of nature.—The science of *Æsthetics* has been found to take form and shape in a large measure from the systems of philosophy which may be reigning at any particular time. Thus before the time of Kant, during the reign of the Wolfian philosophy in Germany, it was held that the plan or intelligence of the world involved a species of dualism, and this entered into the *Æsthetical* thinking of the age. Baumgarten was the advocate of this theory, according to which beauty depended on perfection, or the *Zweck* of an object. Kant shook the foundation of the old order of things, and in connection with his philosophy brought out many fine ideas in regard to beauty. He was the first to make the distinction between the teleological judgment—the logical relation of means to end—and the proper *æsthetical* idea. Schiller followed out this idea in regard to *Æsthetics* more especially. Afterwards Hegel with his philosophy, and still later Schelling treated the subject very profoundly. The followers of the latter in the field of *Æsthetics* was Solger in his *Vorlesungen ueber Æsthetik*, who is properly called the father of *Æsthetics*. He brings out the idea that the universal and the particular are concrete, like the body and the soul, the general answering to the soul and the single to the body. The view that he held in regard to the union of idea and form is represented as now prevailing everywhere. In more recent times the large work of Dr. Frederick Theodore Vischer, of the University of Tuebingen, on *Æsthetik oder die Wissenschaft des Schœnen*, seems to have exhausted the subject, at least as viewed from the Schellingian-Hegelian stand-points of philosophy.

As already said, there are two sides involved in all beauty, the *generic* and the *individual*, and the two are so united that the idea is *immanent* in the form. There is therefore no contradiction existing between them. Although opposites, the one requires at the same time the presence of the other. In the individual or particular form of beauty, the genus manifests itself in the individual, and is conditioned by outward matter, material,—or, as the Germans say, *Stoff*, which is always something contingent or accidental. The *generic* does not, however, lose its principle; but always retains its plastic power, although it never appears in its full undivided strength in the mere individual. It is like a stamp or seal, which always remains the same, although the impression may vary with the material on which it is impressed, whether it be wax or any other material.

The ideal here then is a *plastic power*. Life depends on innumerable contingencies and forces at work before the existence of any particular being or creature, and after it comes to exist innumerable forces are brought to bear upon it in training and educating it. Neither side of the Beautiful, however, loses anything of its own peculiar nature. In minerals and vegetables, although there is *individualization*, the difference, especially in an *æsthetical view*, does not amount to a proper individuality. One diamond is just the same as another. But as we ascend to the animal, where distinctive individuals appear in the proper sense, and especially into the sphere of personality in man, the underlying idea emphasizes itself and becomes more intense. This intensification serves, at the same time, to call out the individual more impressively. In vegetables and the lower order of animals we see that each is a specimen, and we make no further account of it as a separate existence. But in the higher animals we begin to distinguish between animals of the same kind, that is, to *individualize*, although this process of mental activity continues to be imperfect until we reach the sphere of human personality, where the two sides are brought fully together.

In this higher sphere the general type of humanity is more uniform than in the general type of trees or animals; but at the same time, whilst this is the case in an external aspect, more room is left for distribution in an internal aspect. The individuality in the case of man is deeper and more emphatic, and for that reason wider than in the case of the vegetable or animal. He is not merely a specimen as a plant or animal is; not only a species, but the genus itself, without the diversity of species.

The character of man depends on his spirit, but the spirit depends also upon nature around it; and it makes a vast difference, therefore, what elements enter his constitution and what influences act upon him afterwards. There is in fact room for endless distinctions in the developments of personality.—This is only bringing out the general idea of organization, which was had in view all along. The more perfect the organization becomes the more perfect will each of the two parts become. The more truly individualized a man is, the more general will he be at the same time. This seems to be a contradiction, but it is not so in fact. Thus we find that among the Greeks and Romans the men who were most different from others, were the truly representative men of their age, and embodying in themselves its true universal character, brought out its spirit or animus the most fully. Whilst they looked upon the body of life around them, they also found a voice for it and gave it full expression. Hence after their death they were worshipped as heroes or demi-gods.

In the human sphere there is a new creation, which is a moral life, waking in the bosom of consciousness, and making itself the centre of a new existence. This is not blindly or necessarily governed by any lower forms of existence. They in fact must first be recognized and accredited before they are allowed to exert any kind of influence or to perform service of any sort. Thus personality brings into view the new principle of *self-action*. The mere individual life is still bound slavishly in its accidental distinctions; but personality, reason and will are infinite and boundless, although they are under one aspect within the bounds of individual life.

The union between the *generic* and the *individual* here is not dead, but the perpetual activity of opposing forces, the idea asserting itself in boundless forms and yet received and controlled in a limited and bounded embodiment. In this conflict it may come to such a crisis as to amount to direct insurrection. Both forces are usually blamed, but they may assume such a character that the particular may initiate the insurrection against the general or universal.—In a grain of wheat, for instance, under necessary favorable conditions, the general unites with the particular, and a plant is the result. But if there should be too much moisture, or other conditions are unfavorable in the contest between the two forces, they are both overwhelmed, and the grain is destroyed. These very conflicts show the inseparable connection between the two related forces. We find, therefore, that idea and form do not only admit, but imperatively require each other's presence.

In the development of the world, as we have seen, there is a continuous process of becoming—*um zu werden*—but whilst the idea is continually striving to manifest itself, it never reaches a full and complete manifestation in any form of nature. The necessary connection between the generic and the individual is accomplished only by thought. In the conception of the Beautiful, however, on the other hand, it is necessary that the idea should be fully presented in a bounded, limited form. The latter must actually enshrine the presence of the idea; it cannot, therefore, be arbitrary, indefinite or transient, losing itself in other forms; but stable, bringing the process of development together as it were into a single point. It must be sundered from all relations or associations that serve to distract the attention, or to separate it from the thought or truth it is intended to enshrine.

In the first place, then, it must be sundered as far as possible from all material texture, and be viewed in reference to what it represents. As soon as the attention is directed to the form in its material contents, it ceases to be an *æsthetical object*. The interest taken in an object, under this view, may not be sensuous, but also intellectual. It may also be regarded as an object of science, as when the geologist studies the Falls of Niagara, and sees neither beauty nor sublimity in this natural wonder of wonders—only the slow processes of Geology—or an immense water-power. The anatomist in dissecting a beautiful body, animal or human, makes no account of the beauty still lingering on it; and the same principle applies when we come to dissect any object mentally. The utilitarian and the *æsthetical* are two distinct spheres. The thing of beauty must be abstracted from its own outward contents, constitution and surroundings.

Here it is that we find that “distance lends enchantment to the view,” just because it idealizes an object by leaving out of sight its material contents. Distance in time has the same effect, and death itself may be said on the same principle to have an idealizing power. And so it is with vision, and also with sound. Music is produced by concordant sounds, but it becomes more perfect when at a distance we hear only pure musical sounds, and no longer the twang of the strings of the violin as we may when we are near the instrument. Beauty therefore holds in pure form without natural contents, without any contents indeed except the idea.

Form may be abstracted or drawn off from that which it includes in its sensuous nature, and in its place be interpenetrable with the idea. The substance, matter or *stoff*, may be taken in three senses:

it may denote the spiritual contents, or the proper objects of beauty; it may mean some subject-matter or part of history underlying a drama or a poem, which may be used for a poetical purpose in various ways; or it may be made to represent the physical contents of any æsthetical creation, and it is in this sense that it is ordinarily used in *Æsthetics*.

The idea then must be in a form or outward manifestation, and the relation of the two is like that of the soul to the body. In the body the eye is not the mere symbol of the soul, but the latter is in the former and looks out through it. So we look at the object or form of beauty with the spiritual eye. Then the Beautiful shines through it and makes itself as it were visible without any intervening reflection, not as in thinking when we communicate with pure truth in a spiritual way, where spirit meets spirit; but where spirit meets spirit, in a limited, bounded object. So it is in the case of the Fine Arts generally, such as poetry, music, painting, and sculpture. Whilst in these, as well as in nature, we are confronted with a relative idea in some particular form, we are at the same time confronted with the universal or the Absolute Idea, which presents itself in the Relative.

The Beautiful and the Good in idea have thus the same form of existence. How then can they differ? The Good is the actualization of the idea through the will, and nothing can become the Good to man unless through his will. *Thou shalt* is the address, and as soon as the will answers *I will*, then it possesses it in perpetuum. The True addresses itself to reason; and the Beautiful is not brought about either by the activity of the will or the reason, but by an intuitional response of its own.

To complete, therefore, our knowledge of beauty, metaphysically considered, in addition to its objective constitution, we must seek to obtain some proper idea of its subjective apprehension. In fact it can have an existence for us only as we apprehend it. Thus it involves a sentiment. A good deal of the æsthetical thinking in the world, especially in England, has been directed to subjective feeling, instead of to objective constitution. It is necessary, however, to understand both the constitution and its corresponding sentiment. How then does beauty come to exist in the mind of the subject? If there were no eyesight in the world, we could not speak of visible forms. A flower blooming in the desert could not be beautiful unless seen by man. So the object of beauty must be sensible, and the mind must form a conception of it: and this conception is properly the Beautiful. We cannot say that there is any beauty to

us at all beyond our vision and conception of it. The apprehension of it, however, must correspond to its general constitution, involving two things in one. By a process of thinking we may attain to truth, but not to beauty, which is always bound to a sensible manifestation; and the apprehension then always starts in an act of sensation, but it cannot stop at such a limit. It is always accompanied by an act of mind or intuition. The two flow into each other; but as in all thinking, they must be separated, and so the latter falls back into the sphere of intuition.

The contemplation of the Beautiful cannot terminate in the sensible form, cannot rest in it for a moment, for as soon as this is the case, the interest is sensuous and not æsthetic. Room, therefore, must be made immediately for another act of apprehension, which is spiritual and internal; but this must be involved in the first act of sense, so that the two are limited as it were in a single function, which goes through the external form to the idea or thought which lies back of it.

An æsthetical intuition thus always starts in a sensation, but the senses are not all equally adapted to this purpose. Five in number, they are all rooted in the common ground of consciousness, differ more or less in their relation to the natural world, and partake in different degrees of spiritual refinement. Those that have to do most with the outward form of objects, as sight and hearing, are most concerned with æsthetic processes, and give rise to the Fine Arts.—The two senses of sight and hearing have a mutual relation. Poetry and music are referred to the internal sense, and if smell or the lower senses come in at all in the domain of beauty, they are merely subsidiary.

The presence of the Beautiful is apprehended directly by an intuition. All the senses are in sympathy with each other, especially the higher ones. Motion which is addressed to the eye, naturally calls up the idea of music, and music, on the other hand, that of a rhythmical motion as in the dance. Hence we come to speak of the "music of the spheres," although their motions are perfectly silent.—In the perception of the beautiful, however, the senses are perfectly transparent, like the form in the object, so as to make room for the spiritual apprehension. In the constitution of beauty, there are two ideal existences, one in the object, the other in the subject.

In connection with beauty we speak also of *grace* or *charm*, which refers to motion and thus becomes an essential element of beauty. According to Schiller, grace is applied more particularly

to woman, and dignity to the other sex. He makes grace to hold in a free, voluntary harmony of the nature of man with his natural constitution, which harmony is brought about by the influence of the former upon the latter. It involves, therefore, harmony between two forms of existence, and presents itself most fully in man. Where the graceful applies, it involves the different elements in distinction from conflicting harmony such as we find in the Sublime. The graceful, especially in small things, becomes the *tasteful*. Grace is the free subordination of the natural to the spiritual. But it is possible where the moral condition is wrong, that the force may be such as not to cause the transition from the sensible manifestation to the spiritual idea to take place immediately.

The sense-spirit in the æsthetical may be only sublimated, as is often the case in the ethical, and so it may be made to pass for the idea itself. Instead of carrying the spectator's mind up through itself to the spiritual thought, the form may be left in the mind by itself giving thus merely a kind of *refined sensualism*, a caricature of beauty. Here charm or grace becomes a mere enticement. When, therefore, it is said that beauty may be as well applied to sensuous purposes as to higher ones, the Beautiful is altogether misapprehended. It is only as it is caricatured that it can be applied to any other than a spiritual end.—In Æsthetics the object is not merely an aid, or a bridge, by which as by a word the mind reaches the idea, but it is the middle ground on which the two, the mind and the idea, meet. Here all logical processes are anticipated and cut short, and the harmony of the world is given forth in sensible manifestations. The æsthetical sentiment must necessarily be in correspondence with its object, and be in communication with what is before it. It is not logical thinking, but rational intuition.

An æsthetical judgment is said to be free when the person has no interest in the object, and the satisfaction is contemplative and without bias.—Interest in an object and beauty are not the same. A mere desire for excitement is not æsthetical, but often opposed to it. The agreeable is different from the beautiful. It has reference to sensual gratification, and if applied to spiritual objects still partakes of this character. It is not of universal authority; it varies and fluctuates, and holds only in regard to the person whom it effects. Hence it is said that there is no room for dispute in matters of taste. There is of course an affinity between the Beautiful and the gratification of the senses, since beauty holds primarily in an act of sense, and therefore taste, referring at first only to what is sensual, is applied also to the spiritual and beautiful. Here,

too, there is "no room for dispute in matters of taste," in the way of argument or reason.

Beauty, as apprehended by the æsthetical sentiment, demands universal acknowledgment. Taste even in this sphere refers more to the external accidental arrangement of the Beautiful than it does to the thing itself. A logical judgment ends in a conception, but an æsthetical judgment terminates in the object by an intuition. In a word, we apprehend an object immediately by an æsthetic judgment. It may afterwards be taken up as a matter of science, and become the object of a logical process. But apprehended by the æsthetic sentiment, the object here, as in religion, has as much authority, and is just as general and universal, as if reached by a logical process or deduction. The Good in like manner is not primarily a logical thought, and the same rule applies to it as the Beautiful. The want of a corresponding perception for the one or the other argues necessarily some defect in the person himself, which may be in his natural organization or in deficient culture.

The Beautiful, as already said, in its proper constitution, is the resultant of two constituent forces, which are in a quiescent state; not, however, in the sense that they are no longer active. They retain their antagonism, and may be said to work against each other in producing a common result. The one counterbalances the other, and thus both seem to be at rest. But this equilibrium may be disturbed, so that the antagonism may be seen and felt. One element may be the stronger, and consequently disturb and disquiet the other. We then have to consider "Beauty in the struggle of its elements," seeking their rectification. This results from their antithetic character, and the object of the struggle is the restoration of the equilibrium. It may have two forms according as the one or the other element is the stronger and preponderates. If the idea prevails we have the *Sublime*. Weisse makes the Sublime a movement out of the sphere of the Beautiful into the sphere of the Good; but this would overthrow the conception of the Beautiful as already established; for the Sublime and the Beautiful are always associated together, belong to the same sphere, and require idea and form to go together. Solger makes the Sublime come from the Beautiful, representing it as the idea struggling through the form without being realized. There seems to be countenance for this thought in the fact that after we have the form thus presented in geological formations, rugged rocks, abrupt mountains, the cosmos follows. So society also presents itself in the history of nations, in their origin and progress, before it comes to its normal formation.

The more correct view is as we have it in Vischer, in the one given above, which includes the Sublime in the sphere of the Beautiful, not below nor beyond it, but as in a struggle with its elements. This gives room for two phases. The first claim presents itself on the side of the idea, constituting the Sublime. In this case the idea so breaks forth from the object as to overwhelm the form, presenting its own infinitude, in opposition to the limitations of the form by which it is to be enshrined. The image or form in which the idea is presented is made null—annihilated as to its idea. But we must not suppose, as we are apt to do, that the idea is emancipated from the form, as this would give us merely a logical thought. We still communicate with the idea through the form. But the idea is brought into a negative relation to the real,—made to negate the form.

It seems to be a contradiction to say that the idea should annihilate the form and still be in it. But that is the essential characteristic of the Sublime; it is there and it is not there. It is always vanishing and yet remaining. There is here a new element to be considered, that of *quantity* instead of mere *quality*. This results from the comparison of the objects of the sublime with other objects. This is what we call the negativity of the sublime. It may be two-fold, positive or negative. By positive negativity we understand the relation of the object to other objects besides itself. The oak becomes sublime by comparison with other trees or things or objects by negating them, that is, by exposing their magnificence, as if they did not exist.

In negative negativity, the appearance of the idea is mostly sudden, so that it bursts forth upon the mind all at once, even if it be formed gradually. There is, then, in the apprehension of the Sublime a sudden rupture, which is made a distinguishing mark by some writers. Both forms of negativity are thus carried forward until the idea seems to transcend all form. When we contemplate a great man, we first view him in comparison with other men: he makes them appear insignificant. But he will also appear to rise above the common conception of humanity, and consequently above his own form. When such a point is gained, when this point is attained, the sublime idea seems to burst the vessel, that is, the form in which it is enshrined, but not so as to let the idea escape. It is still viewed through the form. Entire privation or vacuity does not yet exist, still the mind may regard it as such, as space without contents. It is viewed in such a form as entirely to sink all other forms out of sight.

The Sublime manifests itself under various forms. Thus we have the objective sublime in space or immensity: in time present, past and future, or in eternity; the sublime in power, or dynamic sublime; and the subjective sublime in human passion, in the good or bad will, as in tragedy.

As we have seen, Beauty is the union of its two constituent elements, its form and animating idea, where both are in a state of equipoise. That relation of equilibrium may be disturbed or destroyed; in the Sublime the idea preponderates, but if the form appears to overwhelm the idea we get the Comic. In neither case are the two sides absolutely sundered, for if this were the case, the result would be an abstraction on the one hand and something monstrous on the other. The case requires that the idea should be actually present in the Comic, whilst the form predominates. There is such a close relation between the Comic and Sublime, that the former can come out only through the latter. The Comic involves not merely form, but at the same time a rebounding or self-assertion on the part of the idea. The disturbance among the elements that produce the Sublime is in a measure the relation that calls forth the Comic. In one view the two are opposites; in another an inward independence subsists between them. The disturbance consequently must first come through the preponderance of the idea, and this involves a sort of requisition on the other side to assert itself. In the struggle the Sublime has always a tendency to fall over into the Comic. The Sublime, therefore, cannot be ordinarily pressed too far without dissipating itself in that which is just its opposite. The Comic comes into view through the Sublime, as we acknowledge when we are wont to say that "there is but one step between the Sublime and the Ridiculous."

The Naive, not, however, in the sense of boorish ignorance, is extensively æsthetical. True beauty and true sublimity are unconscious of themselves. We have naivete in both, but it is more forcible in the Comic, although it is not of the same account in all its spheres. There are only certain times and circumstances in which the naive is appropriate. The propriety must be conventional. In conversation certain terms of respect are employed, yet oftentimes without self-possession, they may be contradicted by an individual's action or by his real meaning. There may be no hypocrisy in the case but mere simplicity. Something may be said that is contradicted by something of an opposite character. Here art is contradicted by nature—the artificial actions and conventionalities refuted by an under-sense of their own nature. The lat-

ter rises up through the former. Thus we get the naive. Both elements are present in the same subject; but the conception of the naive requires that there should be culture and not mere boorishness.

The comic process is comparatively unconscious, as in naivete, either by reason of a loaned consciousness, where the two forms of consciousness are both in possession of the comic party. The terms that meet each other have predominantly an outward form, and partake of the nature of real action, while at the same time the general character of the Comic must be maintained. Thus we get the *Burlesque*, which meets us under the character of boorishness among servants, children and others. It makes its appearance especially in the Saturnalia of the Italians, among whom it is national. But the Comic comes to its expression under a higher character in Wit, or still higher in Humor. It shows itself in rough jokes, knocking off hats, tripping up feet—a kind of sport, consisting not in words but actions at which no refined taste would laugh. The Comic in the form of the Burlesque is introduced into exhibitions, depending on the relative culture and nationality of the people. The Italians are particularly fond of it. In comic exhibitions of this kind harlequins and puppets are introduced, and one necessary feature is physical deformity or ugliness. Thus the harlequin has a great unwieldy form, wears a mask, has a big body and other things in accordance. The exhibitions of the Comic involve two forms of consciousness meeting in the same person. It required a great deal of intelligence to be a court-fool in the Middle Ages.

The Burlesque has place where the process goes forward under a mainly outward form, has the character of action, and is thus simple and rude. The character of the Comic under this is similar to that of Naivete, not having any malice in it. It serves a good purpose in society, acting as a safety-valve, carrying off the dissipated feeling that could not be set aside in any other way. It is a conservative force. In this form it presents itself under the unconscious *Naive*.

From the absurd or mere fun in this form we pass to the consideration of Wit. In this we meet with logical reflection, in which there is the power of perceiving absurdities that lie beyond their outward palpable form in the hidden recesses of the spirit. Wit finds its exercise principally in the sphere of intelligence and will. There is room for it under the form of Cynicism, but it must have a different form from that which it has under the Burlesque, inasmuch as it is here refined into thought. Wit is not only thought, but it

has to do with a thought which stands before the mind as a picture. The mind fluctuates between the two, the logical conception and the æsthetic representation. Language then becomes necessary for the exercise of wit, which proceeds from a direct intuitive perception and lays hold of the proper image. The latter is picked up suddenly in some sphere foreign to the thought and immediately and directly brought into connection with it. All here must be intuitive and spontaneous. All premeditated jests lose their force. Thus the contradictory character of the Comic in general is insured, by the two forms meeting in one consciousness. All must be brief, sudden like a flash, instantaneous. Hence we say that "brevity is the soul of Wit."

Humor is the third form of the Comic. Wit and Humor are often confounded, and yet there is a distinction between the two. In the latter we have the former advanced to its perfect form, where it again partakes also of the nature of Burlesque in a refined form. In its manifestation the subject is brought under the power of the person by whom Humor is exercised. In the case of Wit there is no full communion between the two sides, although there is an effort to bring about such a union of the two forms of consciousness, but without success. In Humor that difficulty is surmounted. In this case the beholder is in a common condition or sympathy with him in whom it breaks out, as it is seen to be not malignant as in Wit, but a loving spirit.

Personal existence, which is involved in the exercise of the comic process, must always carry in itself the first term of the universal process of the Comic, a quasi sublimity, in the way of life, but with this first term, greatness, it implies also the second term or the immeasurably little. It matters not whether the littleness be an embarrassment or a general sense of contradiction in life. Humor always involves a felt contrast between something great and something little, and yet it brings the two into full union. The littleness may attach itself to the person, to some bodily defect or spiritual blemish, and this helps to produce the humorous representation.

But we may have it under a more profound view, where the humorous feeling connects itself not merely with a separate individual but with nature at large, the individual being only its representative. It then attaches to the observer, and for this purpose it is not malicious, but just the opposite. The littleness belongs to humanity in general. A large measure of humor has to do with the crosses and contradictions of life, and the feeling produced by humor will assume a serious character.

Wit, as we have seen, flashes forth instantaneously, through the sudden contrast of opposite terms. Humor is the result of a gentle progressive light. The character of Humor is that of a keen perception with that of reigning sensibility. It blends a lofty feeling with one of sadness, which seem to be contradictory, but the two are made to meet in one common consciousness. The greatness enters into the littleness, making sense in nonsense or mere fun. It thus gives rise to a feeling of self-derision, externally represented in laughter, where the person who laughs has himself to be laughed at as much as the object of his laughter. This gives rise to a feeling of sadness.—Generally Humor belongs to aged experience, and not to untried youth. It must possess experience in trials, and its best representatives have been old men, although the young, putting on the airs of old men, may exercise it in a naive way.

Whilst Humor has to do with simple existence in which the two forms are made to meet, yet it carries with it a reference to life under a universal view. Where it comes out, littleness or meanness does not attach exclusively to individuals but to the whole race. Here it differs from Wit, which has to do with single existences or separate single individuals. Humor, on the other hand, comprehends in the individual the image of what is general. Hence the personal presence or object becomes the mirror, causing all human greatness to appear in conflict with littleness. The one is universally in contrast with the other, but the contradiction is here made to centre in an individual. Humor consists in the fixed habit of perceiving this contradiction, and as it comes to include sympathy with the abnormal world, it awakens a feeling of sadness. There cannot, therefore, be any true humor except as it is tinged with this state of mind.

The process, however, does not end here. Its design is to bring about a union of the two sides. Humor cannot stop or rest in a mere feeling of sadness, but seeks to carry us over to harmony in another view. The littleness in the greatness, and vice-versa, cause a feeling of forbearing towards the contradiction, and from a feeling of love seeks to place the person on good terms with himself and others. It sees things with a double vision, throwing all things into disorder, and finally bringing harmony out of the confusion. The union, however, is not brought about by a flash, but is a continuous process.—The language of humor partakes of the nature of mental derangement, because it gets beyond the range of common sense in taking up contradictions and forcing them into view. The

old court-fools, so called because their thinking ran counter to common sense, oftentimes embodied the greatest wisdom in their sayings.—Socrates was regarded as a transcendentalist walking among the clouds, not so much because of his metaphysical speculations, as because he had such a deep sense of the contradictions by which he was surrounded. Diogenes was called a “raving Socrates.”

In our inquiries thus far, our attention has not been directed to objects of beauty in the natural world, but simply to the constitution of beauty itself as a preparatory step. The next step in the inquiry is, to consider in what forms of actual existence the world of beauty is to be found. We may seem to have a sufficient answer to this question when we say that it meets us in the world of nature at large. But it has long been felt that this is not sufficient or satisfactory; because, however the presence of beauty meets us in the actual world, it cannot be actualized except by a power from within us. The animal cannot see beauty anywhere, because it has no power of apprehending the objects of nature, however beautiful they may be to us.

Where then is the world of beauty to be found? The answer to this question has been given, that it is not to be found in nature but in mind, or in the idealized power of the mind. This, however, may be pressed so far as to make no account of nature at all. Beauty would then hold not in nature nor the idea as an objective existence, but in the *ideals* of things, that is, the idealization of natural objects, by which we put into things what is not in them by nature, which is a mere abstraction.

Neither of these views is satisfactory, although there is truth in each. We cannot say that the outward has nothing to do with beauty, because it must always be before us in some presence. Neither can we deny that it is independent of all idealization. The true actualization of beauty combines the two, giving us a world that is not nature only nor thought only, but a new creation, by which the idealization of the mind is projected by it back upon nature, and as a result of this we have Art.—Here we see the difference between the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. The first has to do with the Will, the second with the Intelligence, and the last with the Imagination.—In order to understand therefore this world of Art, we must consider beauty as it exists in nature, realiter; and then as it exists in the mind, idealiter.—But this brings us to the limit which necessity has set for us here in the further presentation of æsthetical studies, according to Dr. Nevin’s lectures.

CHAPTER L

WHEN Dr. Nevin was president of the College at Mercersburg, he taught Moral Philosophy as the Science of Christian Ethics, the same as had been taught by his predecessor, Dr. Rauch. According to this system all true morality must come from the union of the human and the divine will, brought about in a truly moral man by Christianity. The divine law, by the process of regeneration, enters the human will and becomes its own law or active power in all of its determination. Ethics thus considered is a branch of Theology. But it may be treated also as a branch of Philosophy, and as such it becomes Philosophical Ethics, according to which morality is to be studied in its rise and progress as an intuition of human consciousness, apart from any direct assistance from Theology or the Bible. It does not ignore either the one or the other. It is a free activity of the human mind, and it may be just as Christian as any system of Theological Ethics or even more so, especially if the theological element is one-sided or mechanical. Thus we may have a speculative system of Philosophy, which may be Christian or antichristian, just as the author is pervaded by the spirit of religion or irreligion. It is precisely so with a system of Philosophical Ethics. When properly treated it is in fact the complement of Christian Ethics. This it became in the hands of Dr. Nevin.

He concluded to teach Ethics as a philosophical science in the College at Lancaster, because it had made important strides in Germany after the death of Rauch in 1841. Accordingly, he secured the latest and the best works, bearing on this science, reproduced their leading thoughts on the subject, and wrought out his own system in a course of regular lectures to the students. He regarded with favor the works of the younger Fichte—J. H. Fichte,—whose philosophy on the whole presents the best school, that sprang up after the time of the elder Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Herbart. —The outline of Dr. Nevin's lectures here given is based on the notes of his students, but more particularly on the lectures of Dr. Thomas G. Appel, his successor in the presidency of the College. As in the case of *Æsthetics*, we give a summary of the topics discussed, and then consider the more prominent general principles underlying the science.

I.—*Lemmata* or Postulates derived from Metaphysics, Psychology, and Practical Philosophy, underlying the construction of a science of Ethics.—Ethical Ideas.—The Idea of *Right*, internally and externally considered.—Its actualization.—The Idea of *Social Integration*.—The Idea of *Religion* as the bond of union between the two other Ideas.—The Freedom of the Will.—Stages of Will.—The Natural Will in relation to the Good.—Its Transition to a higher stage of character.—Character in relation to the Good.—The highest Good in the psychological and in the ethical sense.—Character in relation to personality.—Its tendency to self-preservation, as an appetency.—Self-assertion or selfishness.—Sense of Honor.—Ethical Character.—The Supreme Good.

II.—*Virtue*.—Its relation to Duty and the Good.—Its Contents.—As an Endowment.—As an emptying of Self in body and mind.—As a moral wakefulness, defensive and progressive.—Virtue as a system.—Love or Enthusiasm.—Steadfastness.—Wisdom.—Considerateness or Circumspection.—The Conception of *Duty*.—Its Relation to Virtue.—Three stages of Duty—the External, the Internal, and their union or reconciliation.—Duties to ourselves, Self-preservation, Self-perfection.—Duties to others, general and particular.—Duties of Vocation, absolute and relative.—The internal Relation of the three orders.—Collision of Duties,

III.—*The Good*.—Development of the Idea of *Right*.—The rights of personality, of life, of the body, of self-support, of personal liberty, of civil and political freedom, of ethical and spiritual freedom, of marriage, of property, of traffic, of self-defence, of a civil trial.—Penalties as a satisfaction, viewed from a moral stand-point.—The actualization of the Idea of *Social Integration*.—The Idea of Marriage and its duties.—The Family.—The Right of Inheritance.—The Idea of the State.—Its development, as an Organism.—Political Constitutions.—Civil Power.—Popular Representation.—Public Opinion.—The Civil Administration.—The Rights of Peace and War.—Treaties and Diplomacy.—The Bond connecting States.—The development of universal intercourse.—World Citizenship.—The Arts.—Sciences.—Intellectual Culture.—The Humanities.—Society.—Association for Humanitarian Purposes.—Friendship.—The Actualization of the Idea of *Religion*.—Its Relation to Morality.—Its Embodiment in the Church.—The Organism of the Church.—Its Relation to the State, and to the Family.—The universal, historical and permanent Church.—Considered as the Realization of the Idea of Humanity.—Ethics fundamental to a true Theodicy and Eschatology.

Ethics, or the science of the Good, is closely related to other sciences, such as Metaphysics, Psychology and the Physical Sciences. As we cannot refer to these at length, we borrow from them certain Lemmata or Postulates such as we need for our purpose.

1. The universe as a whole, including the starry heavens, is a system that looks to some absolute end.

2. For the Earth man is this end. Nature looks towards him as a spiritual existence for its completion. It is not sufficient in itself, nor complete. This is evident, if we only consider what it is in the light of intelligence.—Man is the end of nature; not merely as an individual, for as such he is simply a part of one vast organism, but in the sense of humanity, which, as a whole, comes to a proper expression only in history, and the world, therefore, has its end in the results of history.

3. Humanity itself is essentially one as spirit. This carries us back to an ultimate existence in which humanity stands as a whole or a unity, which is spiritual, and as such differs from a mere natural unity. All individual existences in the human world stand in this unity of spiritual existence, which is bound in its origin to God. This is just the same as saying that man is a social being. It is something that we might consider as resulting merely from an external likeness or similarity among men; but it implies, in fact, that in the development of consciousness, in the case of each individual, there is a reference to this ideal unity, which comes to an expression in his existence.

4. Man has a psychic existence, because his animal organization is animated by a soul, which differs from the animal soul, and is the result of spirit in the centre of his consciousness. Here nature and the world are brought together, and in man worked up by a process which is different from that in the case of other creatures. The immediate end here is self-preservation, which as a power is the ruling principle. Individuality is here ruled by the distinctions of race, nationality, sex, and so on, which run out into endless peculiarities. No two persons can be found who look exactly alike.

5. The individuality in man has a spiritual side also in his nature, which is different from that which has its origin in nature. The Hegelian philosophy on its pantheistic side traces individuality only through nature.—God comes to self-consciousness in this way only through man, and we thus lose all support for the immortality of individual men. In opposition to this, we must recognize a law of individualization on the spiritual side of humanity, a genius or

an original thought of God, in every man. The natural and the spiritual are organically joined together in him as mutual counterparts or mirrors.

6. In actualizing his individuality from the spiritual side the invisible world meets him in the form of ideas, not notions or conceptions, but in forms of spiritual powers and existences in the True, the Beautiful, the Good, and in Religion. Each of these has an objective, spiritual constitution of its own. Truth is not merely a true thought, not merely a correspondence of thought with the nature of things, but a real substantial existence. The same is true of the Beautiful. The Good, as actualized in the Will, is also an idea, comes from the divine will, and affords the possibility of love. Here we come to the practical side of man's spiritual nature, by Kant denominated the Practical Reason, where he finds the possibility of positing the Divine, the Absolute or the idea of God.

There is a difference in the three fundamental ideas referred to. The Good seems to be the highest. There is an obligation pertaining to the will of a higher character than that which attaches to the True and the Beautiful. It manifests itself in what Kant calls the *Categorical Imperative*, as contained in the words, *Thou shalt*. To contradict the truth gives us error; in the case of the Beautiful, ugliness is the result of a contradiction; and in the case of the Good, sin in a deep sense.—This imperative belongs to the will of the individual as such, and gives us what for him ought to be that which is right. It is not something empirical; it does not come to him in any external way as the result of any previous theory; but is an a priori intuition. Hence we get the *Idea of Right* as entering into the idea of the good.

But the individual will is related to other wills by a common origin. Mankind is an organism, ethically as well as intellectually and physically considered. Man is born into the world in the midst of social relations, and these relations necessarily enter into the development of his moral being. This gives rise to the second ethical idea in the process of actualizing the Good, which may be called *Social Integration*. As the branch takes up into itself the life of the tree, and by so doing becomes active in converting it into woody fibre, so the individual develops his moral being in organic union with the life of society, back of which is the ideal unity of the race.

The completion of the ideas referred to is found in *Religion*, which is likewise an a priori intuition in man. It is a part of his nature, something universal in the race, and grows out of his yearning

ing for communion with God. There is only one absolute religion, but all subjective religion stands in one common want of man or of humanity at large. Hence the three ethical ideas, Right, Social Integration and Religion, demand the first consideration in all ethical inquiries.

The idea of the Right implies obligation to that which may be enforced, and so it might be thought that it is in conflict with the idea of Freedom as this holds in the principle of love. But there is in reality here no conflict. Love must be lawful, just as law embodies love.—The idea of freedom requires that we should take into consideration the reciprocal relation of the individual and society, the particular and the general. Rights have reference primarily to the individual, and are what he requires in order to unfold his being. But in this process he must have reference not only to himself, but to others also. There are restrictions here which he must recognize, and in this he finds his freedom. Such limitation is not the result of any social contract or agreement, that the individual shall surrender certain natural rights, as they are sometimes called, for the general good. This theory is based on the idea that man is first an individual and that society comes afterwards. There cannot, however, be any such precedence of the one over the other. The two are organically related and exist together. In one sense society is first, and the individual comes in as its product, as in the case of the family, so that there can be no natural individual rights that can be recognized in such form. The relation here is that of personalities and must be free, not in the order of nature or of necessity, but spiritual, and is therefore one of freedom.—It is not meant here that freedom is the same as right, but that it involves right. The relation of the one to the other is similar to that of two concentric circles, the one involving the other, and the one only a widening of the other. The idea of right is self-asserting; but there is in man a process of drawing of one individual towards another, so that both may find their necessary complements. As in the planetary system, each one is the subject of a centripetal and centrifugal force.

From what has been said, it is clear that Right involves a movement, and is consequently historical. It does not come to pass through a priori rules or regulations, devised on some intellectual scheme—on a procrustean bed—to which society must then adapt itself. On the contrary it is to be regarded rather as the result of an historical process, in which the universal adapts itself to given cases. The general idea is indeed a priori, but its forms of manifes-

tation come in the way of an historical movement. The former concretes itself in customs and habits, and these gradually acquire the power of laws. If then we inquire into the origin of laws, we shall see that in one view they all have their origin in the idea of Right; but in another view, they take their origin in the rudimentary developments of society. It is difficult to say just when and where they begin. Hence the study of Law has its beginning and foundation in history, and here history and theory come together. This is the problem with which Blackstone is mainly occupied.

The conceptions of law and equity are not necessarily opposed to each other, but are both necessary to the idea of Right. In the nature of the case laws can never be finished or be complete; neither can they be universal, just because they are the forms of applying the idea of the Right, and the applications vary. The most fundamental laws are of this character. Hence the habeas corpus may be suspended and the pardoning power enlarged.

The formation of laws primarily is not so much a matter of intellectual calculation as of intuitive inspiration. The general consciousness rules in this case as a kind of instinct. Some one, or some few, catch the spirit of laws by a sort of inspiration, in the sense that they are inspired by the idea of Right, and they become law-givers and law-framers, such as Solon and Lycurgus, who were thought to be in communion with the gods.—Law then comes before us in three different forms, as Common Law, Statute Law, and Jurisprudence.

Social completion grounds itself in an original relationship back of existence in time, in the Divine mind or appointment. As such in the form of idea, it involves *integration*, the normal relationship of man in the order of society. The idea of Right is self-asserting, but there is in man a process of attraction by which one individual is drawn towards another, so that both may find their complements in each other. The individual, as he stands in society, is the subject both of a centripetal and a centrifugal force.—The integration of men into social union is promoted by such feelings as pity, compassion, benevolence, humility, reverence, gratitude, mutual affection.

The third or highest ethical idea is found in *Religion*. We can easily see that morality never becomes complete or actualized in itself without religion. It is a sphere in itself, and as such we must study it as a framework which religion takes up, leavens, and penetrates with vitality and life. This will appear from a consideration of the relation of Religion to our personal existence. We have various faculties, such as intellect, will, affections and so on.

These are innate and are not conferred upon us by Christianity or religion in general. But Religion, especially in the form of Christianity, gives them new life and power. So morality bases itself upon our moral nature and relations in society, as these involve the idea of Right and of Social Integration. But Religion is the broader sphere in which they become complete, without which morality must remain defective and incomplete. Under one view, Religion or God might come first in a system of Ethics, because as we have seen, the end rules the beginning; but we may pursue the other course also, as we do in the present ethical inquiry.

Moral existence consists in the right development of the powers and forces that are at hand in man's moral nature. They are natural instincts on the one hand, and ideal on the other by which we do not mean that they are not substantial. They simply wait for actualization through the will. This brings forward the difficult question of the nature of the will, as difficult and mysterious as that of pure thinking in Psychology.

The question pertains to the Liberty of the Will.—In its consideration, it will help us if we keep before our minds the close relation and resemblance of life in man and in nature below man. The first point here lies in the nature of self-determination as characteristic of the will. Does this imply that the act is causeless? Does the will act without a cause? Are we carried beyond the relation of cause and effect when we reach the sphere of the will? This is sometimes maintained, but it will be found that it is based on a misunderstanding of what is meant by causation as applied to will. If there were no causation here, we should have only chance, the result of indifference. There is a sense in which we do get beyond causation as found in nature, but that is when we reach the true sphere of the will.

Necessity may be conceived of as something outward or external, which would destroy the nature of Will. But it may also be viewed as internal, as entering into the constitution of the Will itself, and then liberty and necessity come together and become one, which constitutes the highest conception of Freedom.

Even in the forms of existence in nature, we may see that causation is not altogether external, but that it involves also a determination that comes from within, which makes room for variety in individuation. In the plant, for instance, there is an internal principle that determines its growth and development, in the way of antagonism against external forces. The outward here is the condition, which acts in the way of excitation or stimulus. What the

plant is to be or to become is determined by an inner law. In the animal we see this inward power still more active, involving many possibilities, whose specific actualization depends on a determination from within. So it is in the case of the bird when it is frightened by the report of a gun. Its course is determined by something in its life, back of what corresponds to consciousness.

Men may act at times without conscious reason or purpose, yet there is that back of consciousness which determines their actions; and choice implies a preference, for where there is no preference there is no choice. But it must not be supposed that it would follow from this that a man's character ought then, like the motions of the planets, to be fixed. A particular volition may be fixed, but it becomes such because of what is back of it in the individual life and character. This, however, only shows that will depends on character, which is something pliable. It is formed by the individual himself, and may therefore be changed, although not easily at certain stages. We say that motivation determines the will, but that does not tell whence comes the motivation or character. This is a difficult question to answer. For the present it must suffice to point out two erroneous answers; one is Determinism, in the sense of external restraint, as in the theory of Edwards, which leads to Fatalism; the other is Indifferentism, which destroys the idea of character, and makes the will the sport of mere chance.

The genesis and normal development of the will involves a three-fold process. At first it is a mere natural impulse. In this stage, it is one with desire or appetite, and instinct is its ruling principle. It shows itself in this kind of impulse in little children. There are indeed even here inward tendencies at work, produced by outward circumstances, but nevertheless prompted from within.

A higher stage of the will presents itself where intelligence intervenes between it and impulse or appetite. Passion may point in one direction and the reason in another. The will may act according to reason, or the contrary, and it may be either good or bad.

The highest stage in the process is at the point where the will becomes possessed or inspired with the absolute idea of the Good, which then takes possession of it. It then comes to move for the first time in the sphere of freedom, which lies in being necessitated by the Good, and not the reverse as some suppose. Where the former does not take place, there is the presence of an enslavement. In both cases there is a motivation; yet we feel that where the Good takes possession of the will, it gives it strength and power, whereas in the other case it is conscious of weakness. In evil it is

weakness itself, enslaved by a power which is foreign to its very nature and constitution.

We speak of virtue in plants or medicine, and Cæsar used the term *virtus* to express courage or valor in war. The word comes from the same root as the Latin term for a man, *vir*, as distinguished from a woman, and it thus has the primary signification of strength. In Ethics it is used to designate the inward qualification of the mind for an ethical life. Its presence in the soul starts with the un-selving of the will through the inspiration of the ethical idea, which is a wider existence than the individual man.

It enters into the will and takes possession of it in such a way as to emancipate it from the power of mere nature. As soon as the mind comes to the determination or resolution of making the supreme good the end of life then virtue begins. It is not a fixed state of the mind, in the sense of standing still, but as Kant says, a process capable of perfectibility. As such it looks to action or duty. The two things, virtue and duty, are joined together in a concrete union. In this view virtue belongs not merely to the individual, but to society also and to the age at large, where it expresses a standing qualification for fulfilling the requirements of ethical life. Under this view it is, in its fundamental character, an indivisible state or power, so that we cannot properly speak of different virtues. It is right-mindedness of soul, yet its application admits of an endless phenomenology. There is no such thing as temperance, chastity, or courage—separately taken—except as they are grounded in virtue as one.

Virtue holds only in its full ethical character; not in the first or second stage in the genesis of the will; it begins where the resolution is formed to make the supreme good the supreme end of life. It may be feeble in its beginning, but it grows in power as it advances. It is a power or force in the will, which enables it to act, and then it involves the power or art of adaptability. The adaptation is called out by actual occasions in life—the virtue is one, the adaptations endless. Hence it carries in it the character of Art, the art of virtue, which as such may be learned, as it is ever diversified and new. In its tendency to manifest itself in its manifold adaptations, it may be divided like temperaments, or colors in the rainbow which blend into each other through many shades.

Whether virtue can be taught is a question as old as the time of Socrates, and can be answered in both ways without involving any contradiction in the two opposite answers. So it is correct to say that it is to be regarded as a gift or endowment as well as an acqui-

sition gained by practice. Primarily it comes from God, the spiritual side of our existence, through the channel of ethical ideas.—Dr. Nevin's lectures involve this origin of virtue, and it is characteristic of all his ethical thinking to regard it in this relation. With him it was a substantial, real essence, not merely a theory or an intellectual notion or abstraction. Such a view, however, makes room for an organic growth in virtue, and excludes the conception of a mechanical aggregation of external activities. As a gift it involves activity and progress on the part of the mind or will.

Virtue begins where ethical character begins; not from the side of nature, but from the spiritual order, where the Good manifests itself. When the will begins to assert itself over against nature and self, under the inspiration of the Good, then we have virtue. Therefore, properly speaking, there can be no such a thing as physical virtue, because as such it can exist only in the sphere of the Ethical.—As a process it may be said to begin in the *purpose* or resolution to pursue the Supreme Good; it then passes on to the point of practical application in the discharge of duty; and finally, inward harmony is the result.

In this entire process, it is the idea of the Good that is the source of the moral inspiration, which does not come from the physical or spiritual side of man's existence, but from beyond itself in the Absolute or Good.—Virtue must come before us as the process of un-selfing the will. This means self-denial, or taking up the cross.—It is a stadium of human life, as experience shows, only in the element of the Christian religion, which is called for by the Ethical as its completion and consummation.

The un-selfing of the will under the inspiration of virtue has regard to both sides of a man's life, to body as well as soul. Hence culture or the art of virtue takes its rise. The physical side calls for dietetics and gymnastics; the spiritual side, for moral culture, which implies the subjugation of the natural will, by bringing it under the dominion of truth or ethical ideas. The mere private will must be brought to harmonize with a higher or general will, which is the true will. Its authority must be internalized by discipline and culture. At first it is something external, and as such it must be exercised by parents; otherwise children incur a heavy loss. When they meet outward opposition they are unprepared for it, and they become transgressors. Physical force must be called into requisition. To the child the rod is a sacrament—of a negative character.

There may be a classification of virtues just as with tempera-

ments. Cardinal Virtues are such as belong to virtue as a whole, to which particular virtues sustain an organic relation. All these are indivisible, are bound inseparably together, so that where the one exists the others are also present. Temperance in drinking is no temperance at all, unless it is accompanied by moderation in all things.—Among the Greeks the Cardinal virtues were wisdom, fortitude, righteousness and temperance; Spenser, in his *Faery Queen*, enumerates six of them: holiness or religion, temperance, chastity, friendship, justice and courtesy; and in the old Church theology they consisted of faith, hope and charity. Classifications may thus vary. What is most important here is to bear in mind that virtue has two sides, the outward and the inward, and that the latter includes a right estimation of ethical relations and the power itself in given relations.

After Dr. Nevin had thus analyzed virtue into its elements, he goes on to consider duties as they are derived from the three ethical ideas which underlie a system of Ethics and are the basis of all morality, namely the Right, Social Integration and Religion. Our limits here will allow us to state only what he has to say in reference to the last of the three.

The Ethical Idea, says Dr. Nevin, involves a devout sense of God, as we have it in religion, in the full sense of the term. We cannot say that the moral is made necessary by any outward law, but that it assumes this character by the inward constitution of man. The latter, however, is grounded in a higher and wider being than itself, in the being of God. Only in this higher relation to God can we become complete, and hence there is no true science of morality that does not take into view the idea of our inward relationship to God, as the necessary ground of our existence here in nature. This is what the Germans call *Die Innigkeit Gottes*.

It is easy to see how the actualization of the moral idea can never be complete except as it is viewed in this relationship to God. We feel that there is something wanting in our nature, and that our human life is an ideal that is never fully realized. Nowhere is the harmony perfect. Men have dispositions to assist each other, but circumstances come in and pervert the exercise of these benevolent dispositions. In this way and for this reason, we have the feeling of a social obstruction, hindering us in assisting others, and also the feeling of a want in ourselves that fails to be satisfied.

In looking at human life under this view, it would seem to involve an entire want of satisfaction or rest. It is necessary, therefore, that we should rise into some higher sphere of existence,

which shall be felt to possess the necessary power to remove the obstruction, supply the want and integrate the deficiency. This we find only in religion, in our God-consciousness. This makes room for love in its absolute universal character, as there is otherwise no room for it. Our love for our fellowmen meets with these obstructions, which could not be overcome, were it not for the fact we can get beyond our natural consciousness into a true God-consciousness. There can be no true union among men, unless it is at the same time a union through God-consciousness. Confidence, faith, hope and charity spring from this relation to God as our common ground or origin. In this way the ultimate perfection of our nature is anticipated. Hence room has been made for the Church and a new order of communion and fellowship, inaugurated for this purpose. There are different orders of association among men, just as there are different wants to be satisfied, as in the arts, sciences or business in general.

But religion goes beyond these, as it takes in all the relations of life under the view of its unity in God. For this the Church is something more comprehensive and deeper than all other forms of communion, because it comprises the universality of our nature; and for this reason all those other forms of associations, such as of letters, arts or sciences, ought to be comprehended in it. This is what we mean by the *Catholic Church*.

We have now considered the idea of Social Co-integration, the second idea of the Good. In looking back over the course over which we have passed in the treatment of the social order of life, in the Family, in the State, and in Humanity in its general ethical features, with their subdivisions, we cannot fail to see the broad sweep which this idea takes, and how far reaching the principles of Ethics extend in relation to the whole field of social science in every view. Many of the most vital problems of life gather here, in statesmanship, law, and in what are called questions of moral reform. —Dr. T. G. Appel ends his last lecture on Ethics as follows:

Lastly, we have to consider the idea of religion, which in one view would lead us directly into the region of theology, and that would take us beyond the limits of this science. Its consideration in any case must bring us to the close of Ethics, because we have here only the transition to that science. In one view the science has to do directly with the idea of religion, because as a science, apart from revelation, it must acknowledge that the religious nature of man is the highest department of his being, and that his relation to God has to do vitally with all of his ethical relations. So far even phil-

osophy must recognize the idea of religion, which is just as universal and necessary as all other ethical ideas.

The idea of God is in all men, no matter how it is explained, and man's relation to Him enters fundamentally into every problem of life, whether of the individual or of society. Man cannot live without religion, and the same is true of society at large. Man has a religious nature, revealing itself in his sense of dependence on an Absolute Being, as we see in natural reverence and faith. That much we may learn from Socrates and Plato without the Bible. Viewing man in his social capacity, where can we find a nation or a people in history that does not possess some kind of religion? It is an interest, therefore, that pertains to science and philosophy as well as theology, the two occupying common ground.

Therefore religion means the union of man with God, and this constitutes the most fundamental of all man's relations. So much the profoundest thought of the world has always acknowledged. To oppose or attempt to ignore the idea of religion, therefore, betrays not only an unphilosophic but a shallow mind. To do so is in truth something unnatural and immoral. We speak not here of any particular form of religion, such as Christianity, but of the general religious idea. And we may also add that no honest and earnest mind can oppose Christianity, without being prepared to present what it conceives to be a better religion. Where this is wanting, all such opposition can command no claims to respect.

What then is the relation of ethics to religion, which for us is Christianity? The first point to be considered is that morality, according to what has been said, growing out of the ideas of Right and Social Co-integration, cannot actualize its own ideal without religion. This is apparent whether we have regard to the individual or to society as a whole. If we contemplate the ethical constitution of the mere individual, as actualizing itself in right character, what is more apparent? Ideally we find that this depends on the absolute control of the will over nature, in the way of virtue and duty under the inspiration of love. But where is the individual to be found that realizes this ideal in his life? It is still more apparent in the utter inability of the world in its *social order* to actualize a complete morality. If there is anything in which it has failed, it is to be found in its abortive efforts to establish a right social economy. From the inner circle of the family with all its hallowed associations out into the widening circles of the State and the race, how far has the world come short of realizing its own ideal! We have beautiful ideals, from Plato's Republic to More's

Utopia, but practically only broken wrecks, strewed all along the pathway of history. In this nineteenth century, the same old social problems are still struggling for solution.

The difficulty lies not so much in the sphere of the intellect as in the sphere of the will, just in that sphere in which the science of Ethics has its domain. As a consequence, after man has portrayed intellectually or scientifically his own high ideal, there is no power of will to reduce it to outward actualization. The higher and better, indeed, this ideal becomes, the more painful is the sense of inability to realize it—the wider the chasm becomes that is to be bridged over. This in one view is a melancholy thought. But in another view it is of an immense advantage and a profound significance, as it serves to bring with it a sense of want, that is to be satisfied only in something higher, which is religion. Man's relations to God must be rightly established, and that alone can bring with it the right establishment and actual realization of all ethical relations in the constitution of humanity. This is the lesson which philosophy teaches.

A second thought growing out of the one just presented, and closely allied to it, is that religion for man must be *redemptive* in its character, as something necessary for the completion of his life. Such a sense of want carries with it likewise a sense of *guilt*. This is in fact the testimony of all religions. Else why their sacrifices and prophylactic rites? Else why the cleansing in the Ganges, the lives sacrificed in its waters or under the wheels of Juggernaut? All religions point in one way or another to the necessity of a Redeemer, to complete the redemption called for. The unconscious prophecies of heathenism no less than the inspired prophecies of Judaism point to such a Redeemer. Trench in his Hulsean Lectures presents these unconscious prophecies of heathenism in an interesting light.

Redemption carries with it necessarily also the idea of *regeneration*, for redemption includes not simply an external deliverance from a sense of guilt and the power of evil, but likewise the elevation and perfection of our human life. Thus we are compelled at every point to look for a religion, which claims and possesses the ability to bring help in this way to the world's helpless condition. And this ability we find only in Christ, the God-man, and in the religion which He introduced into history.

Religion, however, in order to elevate man's nature to its proper degree of completion, must be social. Just as we do not get social completion ethically by combining externally the morality of in-

dividuals, but must have two factors, society and the individual, so Christianity must present itself as something general as well as particular. As such it presents itself in the idea of the Christian Church. Human life must be redeemed generically as well as individually. The regenerated life of the individual, therefore, can become complete only as he stands in organic union with the kingdom of divine grace; the kingdom of heaven, as the Lord calls it, in which life flows from its ever-living head to all the members.

Moral science postulates the necessity of religion, as we have seen, and Christianity supplies the want. But how are the want and the supply brought together?—We may conceive of religion as a spiritual power coming into the domain of our ethical life in order to bring it to completion. It elevates the family, and thus aids it to actualize its own ideal, and it does the same for the State as well as for art, science, and humanity in all its natural relations. As the world below man would be an abortion without man, so man needs the incoming of the Supernatural in order to complete the idea of his mundane life.—According to Hegel and Schleiermacher this is the whole of its office. The notion that religion is a spiritual power intended simply to aid in man's social completion has entered largely into modern thought, but this is essentially *humanitarianism*, and in the end must tend to undermine the true idea of Christianity.—Whilst religion does complete the family and the State, the arts and the sciences, with the leaven of a new life, yet this is not its chief end. That is to be reached, not in the earthly but in the heavenly state. What that is, it is the office of divine revelation to teach us, and to this both reason and our religious instincts alike testify. We might rather reverse the order and say that the end of the State and of our whole social life finds its ultimatum in the Church. Or, perhaps, we might better say, that the object of Christianity is to take up into itself our earthly life and bring it to its completion in the Kingdom of God in the supernatural, spiritual world. This means that religion or Christianity is not a means to an end beyond itself, but the end itself.

Religion thus is not an interest that stands apart from or above the ethical relations of men. Such isolation indeed would lead to serious error; but whilst it infuses a new life into all of man's earthly relations, and, therefore, nothing truly human is foreign to it, yet its own chief end is to elevate man and the world to their true and final destination in the eternal world. This view, however, carries us beyond science to revelation, to which Ethics and all other sciences are simply handmaidens.

CHAPTER LI

IN the year 1870, when Dr. Nevin wrote and reviewed his "Own Life" in the light which he then possessed, he was at the zenith of his intellectual and spiritual powers. He was President of a college, was studying and teaching the various branches of philosophy, with a steady eye upon their bearings on the Christian religion and theology, and with a prayerful outlook also upon the signs of the times. He was, therefore, in a mature state of mind to give an intelligent view of the progress that he had made in divine knowledge, and to define the theological position in which he wished to stand at that time in the estimation of the public. By some his life had come to be regarded as made up largely of contradictions, in which one part was inconsistent with the other, without any possibility of their reconciliation.

But he himself was not aware of any real want of harmony in his mind as it had unfolded itself. He held that there was a common life underlying all that seemed to be changeful in his history, a process of growth or development out of that old Reformed life in which he had been born, involving a struggle with another form of religion that was constantly obtruding itself upon his experience; and that, in the end, there was a complete victory of the former over the latter. So he explicitly says, and so he himself believed.

All true developments, which are not mere changes or external progress, at one time or another, manifest such apparent contradictions. They are governed by laws of their own, vital and free, which are not always easily detected by the best judges at the time. Take for instance the case of David, the son of Jesse, once the chief of a band of idle, desperate characters out in the mountain retreats or hiding places of Judea, and then compare him with David on his throne, the sweet singer of Israel, the man after God's heart, leading the hosts of Israel. Here there was growth, and in reality a consistent development from the slayer of Goliath to the aged, mature prophet and saint.

So too, consider the early history of Puritanism in England and of Methodism in this country. A severe, abstract logical churchman, standing by their cradle whilst still infants, would have strangled both of them, if he could have done so, as not fit to live; but looking at them now as they have put on their beauti-

ful garments and unfolded the real life that was in them, the same churchman would be quite thankful that he did not get a chance to commit such infanticides.—It was under this progressional view of the case that Dr. Nevin regarded his life from the start, and as such we here give it in part at the stadium which it reached in his sixty-seventh year. It is largely theological, but in reality intensely religious, because with him theology and philosophy were altogether secondary, valuable only as they served to promote the true life of God in the soul.

He starts out in his Self-criticism with the question, whether he had made any theological progress over against previous imperfection that had characterized his earlier life, and then proceeds to show in what direction he had moved forward and upwards. "It was a matter of course," he says, "that any movement with me should start from within the sphere of exegetical and biblical study. That was the department to which I had been providentially determined at Princeton; and that was the department to which I had also been called at Allegheny. It fell in with my taste; my attainments in it were already respectable; and altogether I felt myself more at home here than in any other sphere of theological learning.

"As this had to do directly with the Bible, the acknowledged fountain, the only sure repository of all revealed truth, my best religious feelings were also strongly enlisted in its favor. What could be more directly or fully in the line of true Christian science or work than the study of the Holy Scriptures, the interpretation of the Divine oracles, which are able to make men wise unto everlasting life, and by which only the Church can be effectually guarded from error and fitted to fulfil her mission in the world? Whatever of question there may be with regard to other studies, it seemed to me at once very plain that there could be none with regard to the prime necessity and importance of biblical studies properly so called, without which it must be in vain to think of reaching the knowledge of religion in any other form.

"Looking at the matter in this way, I was disposed to make the most of my department, and even to magnify it somewhat at the expense of other provinces of theological learning, as feeling them to be without it of only secondary account. I took but small interest in historical theology; and but little more in dogmatic theology, as handled in the service of confessions and schools. What could such outward systematization of doctrines amount to in comparison with the inspired teachings of God Himself? In the end there could be but one sort of theology worthy of the name; and

that, in the nature of the case, must be biblical theology, or theology based upon the Bible, and drawn forth from it by fair and full interpretation, without regard to any other authority.

"My first acquaintances with German literature fell in with this turn of thought, and served to give it encouragement and support; since it lay almost entirely in the sphere of such studies as had to do, directly or indirectly, with the interpretation of the Scriptures. My introduction to German learning in this form indeed began at Princeton by means of English translations partly, and still more largely through works written in Latin. The influence of Professor Moses Stuart, the pioneer of this kind of learning in the United States, made itself felt upon me here with great weight. He was in his day the founder of a school, which for a time guided and controlled in its own way the general thinking of the country. My position in the Western Seminary led me to follow out my studies in the same direction as before; and that I might be able to do so with greater advantage, I now made it an object—which I had not done before—to acquire some knowledge of the German language. This widened my range of reading, while it continued to be nevertheless of the same reigning character. My business was oriental and biblical literature, and I took an interest mainly in what fell within the scope of that department.

"The German literature, however, with which I was thus brought into close contact and connection, was not by any means of a safe or altogether wholesome order. It was indeed itself professedly of two sorts, one openly rationalistic in the old so-called vulgar style; and the other relatively orthodox—that is, more or less faithful in asserting the supernatural character of Christianity over against the bald infidelity of the opposite side. And so it was an easy thing, of course, in these circumstances, for our traditional American orthodoxy at Andover, Princeton, or elsewhere, without going at all into the depths of the matter, to fall in heartily with what was considered the better German tendency here against the worse; and in doing so, it seemed safe among its adherents, likewise, to make free use also of the critical and philological learning of the professed rationalists themselves, as fair Egyptian plunder for the use and service of God's sanctuary. But it has come since to be well understood, that the two parties, thus apparently opposed to each other at this time, were divided after all, so far as theological principle was concerned, more altogether in form than in fact.

"The rationalistic element, which ruled the universal thinking of the last century, entered still as a conditioning factor into both

sides of the division, which as such assumed a very unsteady, fluctuating character in all directions. The difference consisted in that which exists between gross rationalism rather than that between proper infidelity and a full faith. Pure rationalism in the abstract reigned in one direction, while in the other, what has been denominated pure abstract supernaturalism: or in other words, the *thought* of the Divine, held apart from all real union with the world's actual life. Substantially it was the old antithesis of the Gnostic and Ebionitic forms of thought—polar opposites of the same false dualism which rises into view through all the ages of the Church as the great fundamental heresy, against which we are so solemnly called to stand by the Apostle, when he says: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God. And this is the spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now is it in the world. 1 John 4: 1-3.

"It is not to be disguised," Dr. Nevin goes on to affirm, "that on the first introduction of German theological learning into this country, it gained credit and made itself felt chiefly under the character here described. It did all this, I may add, without doing any violence to the previous order of religious thought. For this also in its own way—pietistic subjectivity—was already largely at fault in the same wrong direction. In the end the case, therefore, easily came to a friendly correspondence, and to a more or less full coalition between our Puritanic evangelical orthodoxy and the imported rationalistic supernaturalism of Germany, as it has been styled, the fruits of which are widely evident all over the country. For the infection has not kept itself to any one portion of our religious world, but has entered, more or less, into all denominations, showing themselves here to be of one mind and spirit.

"Andover," as Dr. Nevin says, "led the way in this course of a one-sided development. The earlier translations of German works, made at that centre of thought, in the service of biblical literature, even where they take ground against rationalism and neology, breathe, more or less, of the rationalistic spirit. The same may be said even of Professor Stuart's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which made a sensation in its day, and was regarded as a bold effort by himself and others when it came out. As he takes special pains here and there to propitiate the spirit of the reigning orthodoxy, it looks very much as if he was not quite calmly sure of his own ground."

Its questionable character did not come out in particular free-

dom of interpretation or criticisms merely, but manifested itself rather in the general animus which pervades it throughout, and in the exegetical and theological theory, which underlies its expositions from the beginning to the end. But Andover did not stand alone in these orthodox evangelical attempts to get the better of neologic rationalism on its own territory; neither was the problematical strategy confined to New England. It appeared at Princeton also, and pretty generally in existing Theological Seminaries. Methodists and Baptists had naturally gone into it, and even more freely perhaps than Congregationalists or Presbyterians.

"It is in this way," Dr. Nevin says, "that Knapp answers this question in opposition to rationalism and in favor of supernaturalism; but this is done in such a way as to make reason after all, in its own natural form, the only *medium of assurance* for us, in the first place, that the Bible is of divine authority; and then in the second place, the only *instrument* as he calls it, whereby we are to arrive at the knowledge of what the Bible reveals. This is simply the so-named 'rationalistic supernaturalism,' which has had so little power in Germany to stand before the onward march of rationalism, for the reason that it was really, although unconsciously, one with it in its fundamental principle, proper character and form. It is quite evident that all evidence in favor of the truth of the Scriptures, which is drawn from personal experience of their salutary power, can be nothing more than an element at best entering into the general inquest, by which reason in the end is to settle the question of their divine infallibility. It comes in no sense whatever to that *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti*, the 'witness of true knowledge.' It is not by the outward that we see the inward; only by the inward can we understand the outward. That requires more than the Ernestian grammatico-historical interpretation; more than 'flesh and blood' can reveal or teach in any way. The supernatural *object*, which in its ultimate fulness is the Word Incarnate, Christ Himself, must itself shine into the eye of our spiritual intelligence: else all will be dark.

"The movement in myself of which I now speak might be said to have tended, through a whole decade of years at the Allegheny Seminary, towards the right realization of this great Christological truth. It had for its scope throughout, it seems to me, a proper apprehension of the material objective side of the Christian faith, regarded as the principle and ground-power of all true evangelical religion. This, indeed, I take to be the key of my whole subsequent spiritual and theological history.

"So much having been explained then, the way is now open to bring into view briefly some of the different elements and tendencies, partly theoretical and partly practical, which by their flowing together went unitedly to form in me one stream, whereby I was carried more and more in this auspicious direction."

It will not be necessary to quote Dr. Nevin's language to show what progress he made in historical and dogmatical theology, as the reader has learned that already in these pages. It will be sufficient, therefore, simply to give his statements in regard to his growth in exegetical and practical theology, which are here given in full in two articles. The former he denominates his "Hermeneutical Enlargement," and the latter he includes under the title of "Pia Desideria." They exhibit much of the candor and Christian simplicity which give such a charm to the Confessions and Retractions of the old Church Father, St. Augustine:

The character of my personal religion, as it has now been described, wrought, with other influences, to free my mind from the authority of the Ernestian theory of biblical interpretation, and to lead me into a deeper and better view of the Holy Scriptures; and this also deserves to be noted then, in the second place, as another favorable auspice and influence, brought to bear on the course of my general theological life. I had in truth never been altogether satisfied with Ernesti's method of construing the sacred writings, as if they were simply human writings concerned with common human things. I had been accustomed from my childhood to the recognition of something more in them than what lay merely in the outward letter; something that was for inward spiritual discernment, rather than for common logical apprehension only. Mystical senses, and double senses, appeared to me here natural enough and all in good place. It was not easy, therefore, to acquiesce in a scheme, which left no room for this, but insisted on reducing the sense of scripture everywhere to the one bare first verbal signification of the text, determined on philological and outwardly historical grounds. The maxims of Ernesti and Professor Stuart, on this subject, were held by me all along to be of somewhat questionable authority, notwithstanding their plausible show of common sense. For a time, however, they were accepted, as on the whole sound, with only slight hesitation and reserve. But gradually this distrust grew into decided opposition. I found it necessary to qualify, and in part to contradict, the teachings of my hermeneutical text-book; and in the end the whole system of

mere grammatico-historical interpretation lost its credit with me altogether.

I saw that the system in fact overthrows itself, by not carrying out its own principle to its proper end. All human language, it tells us, must be interpreted according to its grammatical or literal sense; and what that is in any case is a purely historical question, a question of outward reality and fact, to be determined by purely historical evidence. All turns on the *usus loquendi*, the established sense of words and phrases among those using the language at a given time. Settle that in any case, and your exegetical work is done; you have the proper literal meaning of the text in hand, whatever it may be, and have no right to admit any other meaning. But the historical sense of speech, it can easily be shown, is something much more than the general current meaning of the words of which it is composed, as we find them in the grammar and dictionary. It draws its main element always from the life and spirit which enter into the use of it in any given case; and this is something which no mere grammar or dictionary can ever adequately represent. So much is allowed by the system here in question itself, when it lays down the rule that every writer is to be interpreted from his own human stand-point; for that involves all the peculiarities of his particular genius and culture, as well as the circumstances and conditions of his general outward life. Moses is not to be interpreted as David; nor Isaiah as Jeremiah; nor St. Paul as either St. Peter or St. John.

But while the system allows this in regard to the simply human stand-point of the sacred writers, it fails to recognize the necessity of taking into account in the same way their divine stand-point, the peculiarity of their position as the subjects of a heavenly inspiration, occupied and possessed with the full sense of supernatural and eternal things. And yet if their inspiration was real, and not imaginary only, it is plain that the posture of mind involved in it, the views and feelings belonging to it, must be considered a part of the historical signification of what they spake and wrote, full as much, to say the least, as anything appertaining to their simply natural existence. In this view then, to ignore the supernatural element in which Isaiah or St. Paul stood and had their inward being, must be regarded as a more serious deviation from the law of sound grammatico-historical exegesis itself, than it would be to forget even the Jewish nationality of either of them, or the time in which he lived, or his particular order of mind. But just here the Ernestian scheme breaks down, and ceases to be consistent with

itself. It admits the fact of a supernatural element in revelation; and yet will have it, that this is something which may be reached through the medium of human thought and speech taken in their merely natural form. In this way it wrongs its own principle, and destroys itself.

The fallacy lies in the old perverse mistake by which revelation is held to be a mere announcement of theoretical and doctrinal truth, made to the ordinary intelligence of the world in a supernatural way. Any such announcement, it is said, must be through the medium of human thought and speech, as already at hand and available for the purpose in the common natural-life of men, outside of the new truth which is thus made known. Else, how could this be said to be revealed at all? Only what is communicated to men through their previously existing forms of thought and language, it is assumed, can be for them a revelation, a making known of the otherwise unknown.

In this way a distinction is made between the human and the divine as jointly concerned in the mystery of revelation, of such sort that the human is taken to be entirely on the outside of the divine, and is viewed as a vehicle or medium simply through which the knowledge of this is conveyed into our minds. The text of the Bible thus is everywhere sundered from the actual substance of what it reveals; being to this an outward index only, which can be so far well enough understood without the help of that toward which it points. What there may be of supernatural mystery in the case comes afterwards, and it is not in any way in the text itself; that may involve difficulty; but still it is for human apprehension (else it would be no revealing or disclosing of truth for men), and human science, therefore, may surmount the difficulty so as to reach the sense of the text, and to understand at least what it declares or affirms. Then only, it is supposed, do we touch with our thinking the supernatural; and this, it is allowed, may indeed be for us an incomprehensible mystery, which we are required to accept with faith on the authority simply of what has been already otherwise accredited to our reason as the word of God, telling us that it is true. There first, the more-than-human of what is brought near to us in the Scriptures, it is imagined, properly begins. We have it in the doctrine propounded and set forth in the inspired text. This is that which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and which it hath not entered into the heart of mere man to conceive; that which God hath revealed to us by His Spirit, first in the letter of the Bible outwardly, and which only His Spirit then working

in us inwardly can cause us to discern in its true spiritual signification.

And so it is that we have in truth two revelations; one in the outward God-spoken text of the Bible, properly authenticated by outward evidence for the natural man; and then another in the hidden interior sense of this outward communication made accessible to the spiritual man through the Spirit, whereby only we can "know the things that are freely given to us of God." Both these modes of supernatural instruction, the external information and the inward illumination, must go together in all true theological sense; "the literal sense of Scripture ascertained by grammatical and historical interpretation, and the hidden meaning of the sacred hieroglyphics unlocked by a believing experience of the things signified." They must go together, as factors toward a common result. But still they are in no sense properly one in the other. They stand apart, and are outside of one another altogether.

All this corresponds exactly with that abstract view of inspiration I have had occasion to speak of before, according to which there is no union really in the process between its divine and human sides, but all resolves itself into the action of God's Spirit moving and working the human spirit in a purely mechanical way. That being assumed, there can be no real union anywhere between the human form of such a revelation and its divine substance-matter. The text of Scripture, as such, can be only the outward vehicle of the inward sense of Scripture, each extrinsical in full to the other; just what is practically taken for granted in fact by the Ernestian hermeneutics throughout.

But there is no room really to conceive of any such designation as this between the outward and the inward in God's spoken or written revelation. Plausible as any notion of that sort may appear at first view, it becomes, nevertheless, a transparent fallacy, just as soon as we come to consider the necessary connection there is universally between language and thought, the word processional and the *in-forming* word from which this proceeds. Their relation is never simply external and mechanical. They are joined together, as intimately as soul and body are so joined in the constitution of one and the same human person. It is a solecism, therefore, of the most monstrous sort, to talk of the interpretation of language in any case apart from the animating spirit to which it owes its being. We might as well pretend to see in the eye of a dead corpse the intelligence of a living man. What the eye is for the soul behind it, language is for its own proper sense and meaning; namely, not the

algebraic sign of this only, but the very form in which it is enshrined, and through which it looks out upon us with its own living presence. All language has thus its own distinctive life, through the apprehension of which only then can it ever be rightly understood or rightly explained. There is a spiritual element in this way belonging everywhere to the outward element of speech; which is just as much a part of it as the outward words themselves of which it is composed; and without it, we cannot be said to reach in any way whatever what it actually means. Logical, grammatical, or historical interpretation carried forward without regard to this, ceases to be that which it pretends to be; and is no better than if one should undertake to interpret life by mere anatomical dissection. So we feel and judge instinctively in our ordinary human existence. It is only the soul of words—the soul they have in them objectively before they reach our minds—which is regarded as the true key to their meaning; and where that has not come to make itself felt, there can be neither power nor right, it is well understood, to sit in judgment on this meaning in any way.

One of the simplest and most obvious exemplifications of this we have in the creations of poetry; which, like the creations of art universally, can never be intelligible except to what is called a true poetic taste. No philological or historical learning can reveal the sense of Homer or Horace, Shakespeare or Goethe, without this. Only so far as the inspiration of the poet brings his readers into felt communication with the higher element of his own life, by spiritual *union*, and they also become poets with it in their secondary degree and measure—only so far, and no farther can its language be said to have entered into their minds in its true historical sense. Dr. Channing in this view puts the question pertinently, in one of his Essays: How could Johnson be just to Milton? and goes on to show how utterly incapable the great lexicographer was of understanding the great poet. Whole volumes of learned criticisms have been written and published on Shakespeare's Plays, in which the blindness of what we may denominate æsthetic rationalism shows itself pitifully in the same way. Only the spirit of poetry, the same mind which was in the composing poet himself, can be safely trusted with the task of expounding the sense of his composition.

And why now must not the same law hold good, analogically, with the far higher inspirations of thought and life that enter into the composition of the Bible? Or just because these are fully supernatural inspirations, the direct breathings of the Holy Ghost into

the human spirit, shall it be said that, *therefore*, the general law of human speech and word cannot hold in regard to them, making it necessary that they should be inwardly one in any way with the speech that gives them utterance? This is the theory of rationalistic supernaturalism, applied to the idea of inspiration. The divine soul of the inspired word in no living union with its human body, as soul and body meet together everywhere else in the constitution of man's speech! Look it squarely in the face, and the imagination is worse than preposterous; it is absolutely monstrous. It is sheer Gnosticism. It turns revelation into phantasmagoria and magic. Revelation, it is rightly said by this school, must make itself known through the medium of ordinary human language, amenable as such to the ordinary rules of grammatical and logical interpretation; otherwise, we are told, it would *be* no revelation or making known of the previously unknown.

This, however, is so taken as to mean only that the human in the case must come in as an outside medium simply through which access may be had to the divine in its own altogether different order of existence. But who may not see that this would be itself no bringing of the divine actually into the human sphere, no *revelation*, therefore, in any true sense of the term. Revelation can be human, only as it shows the divine as such in the form of a real human manifestation; never, certainly, by thrusting the divine away from the human, and playing off this last upon us as its mere docetic simulacrum. As in every other case, it is only the embodiment of spirit in word that makes this to be real speech for man, and not the mockery of it alone, so here also the mind of God must actually lodge itself in God's word, if this is to be a real speaking of God to men in their own tongue; and then it follows at once that what God thus speaks, by heavenly inspiration, cannot possibly be understood and explained apart from the supernatural spiritual element, which is in this way part of its very being. The divine element and the human element meet together in the constitution of what is spoken, and they must be apprehended, therefore, each in the other to make it intelligible.

In this view, it is that there is room to speak of such living supernatural qualities belonging to God's word, as we find attributed to it in the Bible—qualities that are represented as resident in it intrinsically, and not just joined with it through our thinking. So in the Old Testament there is ascribed to it a creative, vivifying, illuminating and purifying force. As the rain from heaven, watering the earth, causes it to bud and bring forth seed, so God's word,

going forth out of His mouth, is not void of answerable power (we are told, Is. lv. 10, 11), but has in itself efficacy for the end or purpose whereunto it is sent. And more striking still are the terms applied to it in the New Testament. In the parable of the Sower, the seed is the word of God; which has in itself, objectively, its own vegetative potency and life, independently of the nature of the soil on which it is sown. St. Peter, accordingly, makes it the very principle of regeneration; declaring, in so many words, that Christians are "born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth forever." What St. Paul says to the Thessalonians is of like sense, when he commends them for receiving the word of God in its true Divine character, and adds, "*which effectually worketh* also in you that believe." We need not stumble then at what is said, Heb. iv. 12, where we are told: "The word of God is quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." It is this in human form; but only because in such form, it is more than any simply human word, and has in it truly a Divine quality of one nature with the source from which it springs.

That is the matter of revelation, the proper substance of it, through the apprehension of which only the human form of it can ever be apprehended in its true and right sense. Such apprehension, it is at once clear, cannot be by mere natural sense or understanding. But there is in man an original capacity for perceiving the Divine, an organ for the apprehension of the supernatural, when it is brought near to him in such objective form. Awakened into exercise, this power is what we call *faith*. Between faith and the supernatural element of God's word there is an original, necessary correlation; whereby each is for the other, just as light and the eye that sees it are for one another in the world of nature. Truth is for the objective side of revelation—the mind of the Divine Spirit in it—exactly what the power of the Phantasy is for the objective sense of true poetry or any other creation of art. It does not produce the object; does not put it into the word; the object is there waiting for it (like the Beautiful in art) as what is not to be otherwise known or seen; and the word, formally considered, is what it is in truth, the word of God, and not of man, only through the proper celestial matter of it making itself evident in this way to faith. How vain then to dream of any right interpretation of the Scriptures in their human character, without the power of this

higher vision penetrating into the mystery of their Divine character!

This is the order of thinking in which Luther so much abounds: the Bible the principle of Protestantism; but only the sense of the Holy Ghost in the Bible; and that again only as demonstrated to be actually there by the responsive apprehension of Faith. These three together, the Bible in the element of the Divine Spirit, and Faith having its existence and exercise in the same element! So only could there be any sense in the Protestant principle. The Bible, thrown open to private judgment in any other way, must become the sport forever of infidel rationalism in one direction and of wild fanaticism in another.

The *object*, let it be added, which faith seeks and finds in all revelation, and without which it cannot be faith (as there can be no vision without something seen), is throughout in substance the same; only in different measures of self-manifesting reality and glory; a progressive shining in the dark mortal place where we are (2 Pet. i. 19), which looks on continually toward the dawning of the day and the full rising of the Daystar, Jesus Christ, in our hearts. Here only the older word of God, "spoken at sundry times and in divers manners by the prophets" (Heb. i. 1, 2), comes to the complete sense toward which it had been reaching from the beginning, in the Person of the *Word Incarnate*; and nothing short of this is the goal, which faith looks to, through all stages of revelation going before, and where only it can find its full ultimate satisfaction and rest.

How far exactly this Christological way of looking at faith in its relation to the Bible had come to prevail with me before I left Pittsburgh, I do not now pretend to say. I only know that there was in my experience there, a growing tendency to views of biblical interpretation which lay in that direction. Herder's Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, and Lowth's Lectures on the same subject, were not without their effect here on my mind, as showing indirectly and analogically the need of a spiritual understanding to comprehend the utterances of God's Spirit. Even the cold-blooded Michaelis, in his Preface to Lowth's Lectures, insists on the necessity of a poetical spirit to understand the inspiration of a poet. How much more then must it not require an opened sense for the theanthropic, to understand the oracles of the Holy Ghost; according to that word to the Jews by Christ Himself: "He that is of God heareth God's words; ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God." Such passages, abounding especially in St. John, took deep

and powerful possession of my mind. Different religious studies contributed also to bend it more and more the same general way. In particular, my acquaintance in this stage of my life with *Tholuck* and *Olshausen* was salutary for me and fruitful in no common degree.

I have applied to the system of religious thought in which I stood prevailingly, in the period of my life now under retrospective judgment, the expressive designation "rationalistic supernaturalism." The term, it is hardly necessary to say, is not one of my own invention. It has its well known application in Germany to a certain order of Christian life and theology there, the constitution and historical meaning of which are just as well settled and understood, as the nature of orthodoxy or rationalism under any other view. Any one may see this, who will look into *Dorner's History of Protestant Theology*, where the mode of thought in question is clearly accounted for and defined. The only difficulty in the case is to recognize the presence of the same mode of thought as something which is largely at hand also in our English and American theology; but here, of course, in practical more than in properly theoretical form. I have tried to show, that the German school which undertook to do battle here with rationalism, and suffered defeat in doing so, fairly represented, in all material respects, what was in the first part of the present century the reigning character of evangelical orthodoxy in this country; and there is no doubt but that the case remains much the same still. Such a charge does not imply any imputation of religious dishonesty to the mode of thought against which it is preferred.

The rationalistic supernaturalism of Germany, in the latter part of the last century, was in its time highly respectable. The task it took upon itself in behalf of the Christian faith was an earnest exigency of the age, met by it in the spirit of earnest and honest zeal. The task seemed to be nothing less, in truth, than to defend the last pass against a power, which threatened the ruin of the old faith altogether; and in its own way, the defence was maintained with a sort of tragic Spartan bravery, which the world is still bound to applaud and respect.

And just as little certainly have we any reason to call in question the right intention and aim of such rationalistic supernaturalism here in our own country, where it has come as yet so little into the light of clear thought. There has been among us all along, and there is with us now also, no doubt, a large amount of true

faith in Christianity, held in bondage, as it were, of this system, without knowing it and without meaning at all to be under its power. To call such supernaturalism rationalistic ought not, therefore, to be taken as an offence; as if it must mean that the system precludes at once the possibility of any real faith. Of course, it is not conscious or open rationalism as such that is intended in the designation; on the contrary, it is supernaturalism, or substantially orthodox belief, that is intended; but this under a particular view; namely, as being so circumstanced that, without knowing or meaning anything of the sort, it is found to have in itself an element which is just the contradictory of itself, and which as such can tend only to its own destruction.

As there was much essentially sound Trinitarian faith implicated in Arian or Sabellian modes of thought before the Council of Nice; and as there was much essentially sound faith also in the article of free grace, implicated in the antagonizing theory of the Roman Catholic Church before the days of Luther and Calvin; so there need be no difficulty in allowing the existence of a true belief in the supernatural, similarly implicated in views of revelation that are in their own nature rationalistic, and in principle opposed to faith. There is, therefore, no good reason for resenting the use of a term in such case as descriptive of a general system of thought, merely because it may set forth what is not consciously intended by the system. The question is not what is consciously intended by it, but what is involved in it unconsciously—what is the logical sequence of its premises. So we speak (not necessarily with invidious, railing sense) of a Judaizing Christianity or a Romanizing Protestantism; and so we may speak also of a Gnostic or Ebionitic Evangelicalism, or of a Rationalistic Supernaturalism; not just for the purpose of calling hard names, but because such qualifying terms answer really and truly to the character of what we have in our mind, and because it is not possible to describe it or speak of it intelligibly in any other way.

Thus much I think it proper to say here on this point, not simply in the way of general apology to others, but in order also that I may not seem to do wrong to myself, in what I speak of as the rationalistic character of the theological system in which I stood at the time now under consideration. This does not mean, in the least, that there was any want or weakness of belief with me in the Divine origin of Christianity, or that I had any sympathy whatever with the aims and purposes of neological skepticism in any form. I held the vulgar or gross rationalism of Germany in abhorrence

and contempt. The ordinary objections of infidelity to the fact of revelation have never, indeed, given me any very serious trouble. Not because I could not see the force of them, nor because I have been able always to answer them satisfactorily; but because I have always had the feeling at least, if not the clear thought, that the evidence of Christianity lay somehow in the constitution of Christianity itself, and was there in a form which all these difficulties for the understanding had no power to reach or touch.

But this was an anchoring of my faith in fact in the substantive matter of revelation itself, and not in the form simply in which this came before me in the Bible; and the ground thus into which it struck all along (as far as it *was* faith), lay far below the plane of all I was occupied with in my simply grammatico-historical studies; far below all the biblical theologizings of the Storr and Flatt order, based on the mere outward text of the Bible, as though that could be in and of itself the *matter-principle*, no less than the *form-principle*, of heaven-descended truth. In the bosom of this general order of thought, as already shown, I had what I may call my outward theological standing. But it was not to it I owed the Christian faith wherein I stood, however this might seem to be implicated in what was thus a foreign system. In its own nature this system was rationalistic, though honestly meaning to be supra-naturalistic. The true Christian faith that was in me, therefore, wrought not from it nor by it, but was a power looking and struggling always towards its own proper end in another direction; and in this view it holds in truth the first place in that confluence of forces which I have undertaken here to speak of, as having served to bring me forth in the end from the slough of a false spiritualism into the "more excellent way" of the Gospel in its right Christological character and form.

I have said of my personal religion before, that it was of a sort to fall in readily with the crypto-rationalistic mode of thinking which prevailed at first, without my being aware of it, in my biblical studies. The relation in the case was just that general affinity between pietism and rationalism, which we find illustrated on a broad scale by the history of the Spenerian movement in Germany, and by that of the Wesleyan movement in England, as well as of the Great Awakening in this country during the last century. The mind which is in pietism is indeed very different from the mind that is in rationalism; but there is in both the same element of a wrong one-sided subjectivity, which serves to place them both in the same posture with regard to revelation, and makes it the easiest

thing in the world for that which begins as the inward life in the first form to end as the inward life in the second form. The connection between George Fox and Elias Hicks is always exceedingly close, and involves in it no mystery whatever. Semler sprang not unnaturally, but by legitimate derivation, from the school of Halle. Now my own personal piety, as already shown, was strongly subjective from the beginning. It was of the spiritualistic, experimental order, making much of inward frames and states.

I do not speak of it in this way certainly to disparage it, as if I considered what is called experimental religion to be of little or no account. Unquestionably religion must be a matter of personal experience, and should engage the heart profoundly no less than the understanding. The soul-exercises of such godly men as Spener and A. H. Francke, Bengel and Zinzendorf in Germany, the Wesleys, Whitefield, and others of like spirit in England and in this country, belong to the inmost life of Christianity; and not to be in some sort of sympathy with them must ever be taken as the mark of a more or less irreligious mind. Pietism in such form has always commanded my regard, and will continue to do so always, I trust, to the end. But with all this, my religion in this form had in it, what I may call an open side toward rationalism, and had something to do, therefore, with the wrong view of revelation, which, as already explained, made itself felt in my theological studies generally at the time now in question.

Its fault lay not just in its being inward, spiritual, and experimental; but in its being so in a defective and one-sided way. Its experience did not go deep enough; its subjectivity reached not far enough; its spirituality was not free enough; and stood not enough in the objective element of the Divine Spirit. That was the difficulty. What I wish to say now, however, is that my personal religion was only in part implicated in the defect thus described. There was in it all along another mode of *experience* altogether (deeper and more inward), which looked quite another way; and of this it is that I now speak as a force involved in the Christian faith itself that was in me, which refused to stop in the mere form of revelation, and would be content with nothing short of the actual substance of it as its own homogeneal object and only satisfying rest.

This lay to a certain extent in my correspondence and fellowship with the practical divinity of the seventeenth century; which, I have already said, never seemed to me to fit in exactly with the Methodistical evangelicalism of modern times. The difference was

something I could feel, and it had the effect of making me look on this last always with some amount of distrust. My views of evangelical piety were shaped largely by such writers as Baxter, Flavel, Owen, and Howe; and the deep Platonizing thoughts of the last especially took hold upon my mind with great force. Still more, I may say, was my soul wrought upon by the profound spirituality of the great and good Archbishop Leighton.

In all this style of experimental religion, there was what seemed to me something much deeper than anything I met with, or heard of, in the reigning theory of evangelical personal religion belonging to the present time. In its own way it unquestionably made far more account, than this does, of the objective powers of Christianity, as the only ground and guaranty for experience in any right form. It had to do with *ideas*, at least, which were held to be of objective force, and not merely subjective notions and fancies. Its righteousness of faith stood very distinctly in the believing apprehension of a real grace meeting the soul from beyond its own being, and not in any inward persuasion or feeling simply of the soul itself. It made much in particular of religion regarded as a new life, and as being, in this respect, something much more than doctrine only, or any passing experience. No one need to be informed how this great thought is blended in Howe and Leighton; as it forms also the whole theme of Henry Scougal's admirable little volume entitled "*Life of God in the Soul of Man*," another writer with whom I have always felt myself in much unison of spirit.

Shaw's "*Immanuel; or, True Religion, a Living Principle in the Minds of Men*," turns throughout on the same thought; a popular practical exposition (belonging also to the seventeenth century) of the text: "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life." A fountain derived from Christ, of one order and substance with His own life, but as such a perennial principle and spring also of life in the believer himself! "Religion," it is said, "is not so much given of God, as itself is something of God in the soul; as the soul is not so properly said to give life, as to be the life of man. As the conjunction of the soul with the body is the life of the body, so verily the life of the soul stands in its conjunction with God by a spiritual union of will and affections." Again: "God doth not so much communicate Himself to the soul by way of discovery as by way of impression; and indeed not so much by impression neither, as

by a mystical and wonderful way of implantation. Religion is not so much something from God, as something of God in the minds of good men; for so the Scripture allows us to speak. It is, therefore, called His image, Col. iii. 10, and good men are said to 'live according to God in the spirit,' 1 Pet. iv. 6; but as if that were not high enough, it is not only called His image, but even a participation of His divine nature, 2 Pet. i. 4; something of Christ in the soul; an infant Christ, as one calls it, alluding to the Apostle, Gal. iv. 19, where the saving knowledge of Christ is called Christ Himself—'until Christ be formed in you.' True religion is, as it were, God dwelling in the soul, as the Apostles St. John and St. Paul express it."

This manner of looking at religion, by which it is regarded as transcending all merely intellectual character, and also all merely ethical character, and as being in some way the actual "life of God in the soul," runs easily, one may say indeed necessarily, into the form of what is commonly understood to be mysticism. We find in this view at once a very obvious difference between the two orders of experimental religion of which I am now speaking. There is a mystical element everywhere in the older practical divinity, which we do not meet with in our modern evangelicism. This is characteristically intellective and self-comprehensive in its spiritual exercises, even where these are held to be most of a supernatural character. Our revival experiences are in this way far more magical than mystical.

Now here again my own religion fell in altogether with the past more than with the present. It was constitutionally, I may say, of a mystical tendency and turn. Mysticism, we are told, is of different kinds; it may be prevailingly intellectual, or prevailingly ethical; it is confined to no one order of religious faith; it has its home largely in the old Catholic Church; and it has entered as a powerful factor from the beginning also into the life of the Protestant Church. It is not necessary to say what exactly it amounted to in myself more than this, that there was in me a sense and feeling of much in Christianity, which was not to be reached in the way of common thought; but needed for its discernment and apprehension a deeper and more vital mode of knowledge.

It was an echo all the time to St. Paul's word: "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory. What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now

we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God." It was in particular a pulse-response to the ineffable, as it comes before us everywhere in the Gospel of St. John; a full felt sympathy with the mysterious power of this Gospel as described by Claudius: "Twilight and night lit up with swift gleams of lightning! a soft evening cloud, and behind it the round full-orbed moon!" Above all, it was a going forth of the soul to meet the voice of the heavenly Bridegroom, Jesus Christ Himself; whose words, according to His own declaration, are "spirit and life," and as such for the inward far more than for the outward ear; whose miracles are parables, and whose parables are miracles; and whose whole presence in the world, indeed, is for faith the sacrament of the invisible and eternal, in a way transcending all natural intelligence or thought.

It is easy to see that experience in this form, or even the reaching after experience in such form, was something which could never fraternize easily and well with the reigning revival system of the time, which had come to be considered so generally, among Presbyterians now as well as Methodists, the great power of good for the salvation of the world. Finneyism, as it used to be called, was not to my taste; although I was slow and cautious in my judgments with regard to its exhibitions; because I made large account in fact of experimental piety, and also of religious awakenings in what I conceived to be their proper character. It was not the earnestness of this system that I disliked; but what seemed to me to be too generally the mechanical and superficial character of its earnestness. Its professional machinery, its stage-dramatic way, its business-like way of doing up religion in whole and short order, and then being done with it—all made me feel that it was at best a most unreliable mode of carrying forward the work and kingdom of God.

But if the general turn of my religion, in the view now described, stood in felt dissonance with this sort of Methodistical, theatrical revivalism, it may very easily be understood also, how it refused no less to be satisfied with what was at this time, as we have seen, the reigning order of my biblical and theological studies. It wrought in me powerfully, I may say, as a perpetual protest against what was felt to be in them an unnatural sundering, in some way, between the form of Christian truth and its proper supernatural substance. My favorite devotional manual was (as it has been with millions), the *De Imitatione Christi* of Thomas à Kempis.

But I need not say how fully this goes everywhere for the interior sense of Scripture in distinction from its exterior sense.

Thus he expresses himself:

Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth!

I am Thy servant;

Give me understanding, that I may know Thy testimonies.

Incline my heart to the words of Thy mouth;

Let Thy speech flow into me as dew.

The children of Israel said of old to Moses:

Speak Thou to us, and we will hear;

But let not the Lord speak to us, lest perchance we die.

Not so, O Lord, not so do I pray,

But rather with thy Prophet Samuel humbly and earnestly beg:

Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth!

Let not Moses speak to me, nor any of the Prophets;

But speak Thou, O Lord God,

Inspirer and illuminator of all the Prophets:

Because Thou alone without them canst instruct me perfectly,

But they without Thee will profit nothing.

They can indeed sound forth words,

But they give not spirit.

They speak well,

But if thou are silent, they cannot move the soul.

They communicate letters,

But Thou openest the sense.

Speak, Thou, therefore, O Lord,

For Thy servant heareth;

Thou hast the words of eternal life.

Dr. Nevin admired such thoughts, and we give them as expressed in the original Latin in which he read them:

Loquere, Domine, quia audit servus tuus!

Servus tuus sum ego;

Da mihi intellectum, ut sciam testimonia tua.

Inclina cor meum in verba oris tui;

Fluat ut ros eloquium tuum.

Dicebant olim filii Israël ad Moysen:

Loquere tu nobis, et audiemus;

Non loquatur nobis Dominus,

Ne forte moriamur.

Non sic, Domine, non sic oro,

Sed magis cum Samuele Propheta,

Humiliter ac desideranter obsecro:

Loquere, Domine, quia audit servus tuus!

Non loquatur mihi Moyses,

Aut aliquis ex Prophetis;

Sed tu potius loquere, Domine Deus,

Inspirator et illuminator omnium Prophetarum:

Quia tu solus sine eis potes me perfecte imbuere,

Illi autem sine te nihil proficient.
 Possunt quidem verba sonare,
 Sed Spiritum non conferunt.
 Pulcherrime dicunt,
 Sed te tacente cor non accendunt.
 Litteras tradunt, sed tu sensum aperis.
 Mystera proferunt,
 Sed tu reseras intellectum signatorum.
 Loquere igitur, Domine, quia audit servus tuus;
 Verba enim vitæ æternæ habes.

Thoughts of this sort often shook my soul, resounding through it as the voice of "deep answering unto deep." How poor seemed to me then all merely outward modes of mastering the sense of the Bible. There were times with me, when looking at the matter in this way, that I would have felt it a relief, rather than otherwise, to have had half my books at the bottom of the Allegheny river.

In the year 1873 there was a special meeting of the Synod of the Reformed Church at Lancaster, in the month of February, the object of which was to reorganize some of its benevolent operations. It so happened that it convened during the week when Dr. Nevin had reached his seventieth birth-day. Preparations had been made by the Faculties and Students of the different institutions to celebrate the event in some appropriate manner. A valuable gold watch had been purchased for this purpose, and in the afternoon of his birth-day the members of the Synod, the Faculties and Students went out to Dr. Nevin's house in a body to congratulate him and witness the presentation of the gift. The congratulatory address was delivered by Rev. Dr. E. V. Gerhart, the Senior Professor in the Seminary, to which Dr. Nevin made the following rejoinder:

SIR: You will please accept for yourself, and in behalf of those whom you here represent, my most sincere thanks for this expression of your united kindness, and good will. I need not say that it has taken me with entire surprise; and you will understand, therefore, that any utterance of my feelings in response to it can be only in an informal and more or less free and conversational way.

The occasion which has called forth your demonstration could not be otherwise, of course, than one of very solemn interest in itself to my own mind. All birth-days in the life of a man have their solemnity; but a special significance in this view attaches itself to that, which marks the term of threescore years and ten, around which such an interest is thrown by the way in which it is spoken of in the Ninetieth Psalm. However surprised I may have been

by your present manner of commemorating it, the epoch itself has not come upon me unawares. I have had it before me, not only for days but for years, in the light of the Psalmist's words, and in view of its ever nearing approach, have tried at least so to number my days, as to apply my heart unto wisdom.

You congratulate me on my having attained to so high an age, in the possession of so much vigor and strength. There is indeed something wonderful in this to my own mind. For it is altogether different from all that I looked for myself, or that my friends generally expected in my behalf, when I was a young man. I entered upon the study of my profession questioning seriously if I should live to enter it, and hardly daring to dream that I might continue in it to the age of fifty. When I had gained that age, too, I had the general feeling, that my course must be drawing to a close; and not long after actually withdrew from public work, much broken in mind and body, into a retirement that I considered to be for the rest of my days. And yet here I am, at the age now of seventy, in full service again; and you are here also, as the organ of our three Institutions, and of these brethren of our Synod, to tell me that I have not yet become old in the sense of either bodily or spiritual decrepitude, and that my bow still abides in strength. In this view, I accept thankfully your present congratulations; with a gratitude, however, which looks through the occasion, at the same time, to our common Heavenly Father, in whom alone are all our springs, and by whose power and care only it is, that we are upheld in existence for a single day.

But mere length of days would be of small account, if that were all that gave significance to my past life; and small reason there would be in such case for the felicitations you bring me at the present time. My satisfaction with the occasion lies far more, in my being permitted to look back on my life from the point now reached, through the collective judgment of which you are the honored spokesman, and to feel that (as you have taken pains to say), it has not been spent in vain. In its details it often seemed trivial enough (as in the case no doubt with all human lives), and like others I have often been forced to exclaim mentally (if not in word), looking at myself, "Lord, wherefore has thou made all men in vain!" But from the tower of observation I occupy here to-day, surrounded with this cloud of living witnesses, and taking in at one view the whole period of my connection with the German Reformed Church, it would be but a false modesty on my part, and something worse, either to call in question its significance or to doubt the importance of my own life with regard to it.

You have done well, sir, to limit your retrospect to the time of my coming to Mercersburg. I had lived some thirty-seven years before that; had done some work; had formed intimacies, and passed through experiences, on which I still look with fond recollection. But that previous time has become for me, alas, like the memory of a dream or a meditation among the tombs; and for those now around me, it is much of course as if it had never existed at all. For you and others here my public life and work date from the year 1840, when I accepted the call of the Reformed Church and became a Professor in her Theological Seminary at Mercersburg.

That was indeed an epoch in my history of more than ordinary interest. You have referred to it under the view of its significance for the Church; but it was in truth of no less significance for myself. If I have under God rendered such service as you say to the German Reformed Church, in her regeneration of the last thirty years, it has been only by going through a regeneration in myself, which is due unquestionably to the fact of my having come into her bosom. Before I did so, I had known but little of what she was in this country, and still less of her older true historical spirit and genius. When I came, however, it was with the purpose to identify myself permanently and in full with what the Church was in her own proper constitution; and the result was, in ways I need not here stop to explain, a providential opening before me of new modes of thought, that found response more and more in the Church also, so that there has been with us a common movement throughout, bringing us to the point where we now are. In all this there never was any premeditation or plan. If ever a movement moved itself, and wrought out the particulars of its own course, our so called Mercersburg movement may be said to have done so from the days of Dr. Rauch down to the present time.

In coming into the German Reformed Church, I came, not without some fear and trembling, as a stranger among strangers. But I was welcomed from all sides, and soon made to feel myself completely at home. Now, however, it is all like a mournful vision of the past. Thirty-three years are the term of a whole human generation; and those who first gave me the hand of fellowship in my then new communion, are, alas, nearly all gone. The middle-aged ministers and elders of that day, who showed themselves so true in our earlier church conflicts; how their forms rise before me at this time! Can it be possible, that I have outlived all these, and that I am among you to-day, as one of the few remaining representatives of what

the Church was in that older time? It is even so. The fathers, where are they? Another generation has come in to take their place. Here around me are new forms, risen up to man our institutions and to sit in the councils of our Church. They bear upon them the signature of mature manhood, tending in some cases toward old age. But they come around me to-day as, for the most part, my pupils; students of Mercersburg, back to the year 1840, joining hands with the students of Lancaster down to the present time, to do honor to me as their common preceptor, on this my seventieth birthday, and to make me feel how much that means in the onward progress of a man's life.

You have spoken of the trials I have had to encounter in my work. These have indeed been serious, not only for myself, but also for the whole cause with which for years I have been identified. From the entire unchurchly wing of Protestantism, now in one denomination and again in another, we have been subjected to a course of persistent misrepresentation and persecution, the like of which is not to be met with in the history of any other religious body in this country; the very object of it having been, in part at least, to excite and promote faction among us, for the purpose of doing God service through our ecclesiastical dissolution. It has seemed to me a wonder at times, that in our weakness, especially during the day of comparatively small things at Mercersburg, we were not overwhelmed in fact with just such a catastrophe; the blame of which then would have been most assuredly thrown in main part upon myself. But through God's great mercy this has not happened. On the contrary, our trials have redounded strangely to our advantage and success; our cause somehow seeming always to gather fresh strength from the attempts that were made to crush it to the earth. There is no reason, therefore, why I should not at this time look back with satisfaction on these tribulations of my life (endured for the sake of truth and righteousness), as well as on what you proclaim to have been its triumphs; since it is only through the tribulations in fact, that the triumphs have come, as they could not well have come, indeed, in any other way.

I rejoice to know, in the retrospect of a third of a century, that has passed since I came into the German Reformed Church, that the Church has been growing all the time, in the way you mention. Outside hooting and inside croaking have not been able to arrest our progress. Statistical tables show, that the ratio of our numerical increase has been greater this last ten years, than that of any other denomination. But of more account than this has been our

moral growth. The single Classis of Mercersburg can do more annually for Church operations now, than the whole Eastern Synod could do in 1840. There has been with us marked progress in religious knowledge and intelligent piety. Through great difficulties our educational institutions have been steadily gaining ground; and we have good prospect now, that our central institutions in this place (on which the whole future of the Church so largely depends), Theological Seminary, College, and Academy, will, in a short time, be on a foundation to secure their existence for all coming time. Our alumni are felt in the land. They are favorably known in the different professions and in political life. The new generation, on whose shoulders the sacred trust of our future has now devolved, is showing itself equal to its task, and awake to its mission. The last number of the *Mercersburg Review* was filled entirely with articles from our younger men. Through all discouragements thus the Church has gone forward with inward as well as outward growth, and is this day a power and promise of good in the country far beyond what it has ever been before.

All this God has brought to pass through the co-operation of different ministries and means; among which it is matter of rejoicing with me to-day, that I have been permitted to bear my part.

But among all the satisfactions of my life, there is none which comes more closely home to me on this occasion, than that which it has been my privilege to enjoy in the affectionate confidence and trust of my students. This has fallen to my lot beyond the common experience of teachers. Since the day I came to Mercersburg down to the present time, those who have stood nearest to me in this intimate relation, and in that way have known me best, have been my warmest and best friends. Some few among the whole number, it is true, have become embittered toward me in subsequent life, through unfortunate party interest and feeling; though even these, I trust, entertain for me still a true cordial regard in the bottom of their heart. But of my pupils in general, it may be said, that their regard for me has been that of sons towards a father. I have loved them and they have loved me. Through all persecutions, their faith in me has remained firm. They have been around me as a bulwark and wall of defence. But for their steadfast constancy and truth, when men rose up against me, I should have fallen ecclesiastically long ago without the power to rise. This is my glory and reward, as embodied especially in the present occasion.

You, sir, head, on this occasion, the long catalogue of my stu-

dents, as you have been all along also my honored friend. Around you are our colleagues of the Seminary, College, and Academy, with their united band of young men and boys, whose souls look forth through their open faces, the deep interest they take in what is now going forward. And then to crown all, here is this reverend synodical attendance made up mostly of older students back to the first years of Mercersburg, who to-day feel themselves young again in the glad fellowship that surrounds them. Need I say, how much this whole presence means in such view? I am, indeed, as a patriarch to-day in the bosom of my own family. To you who are here present, and to the many more whom absent, you represent, I may say with St. Paul, the aged, "Ye are my glory and joy;" as I commit to you also, for the time to come, my character and good name, knowing full well, that you will care for them after I am dead, as truly, as if they were your own.

The very handsome present you have tendered me in behalf of the students and professors of our three institutions, I accept with thanks, in the spirit with which it has been given. I value it for its material worth, but still more for its ideal meaning and sense, which is something far greater. It will be my pride to wear it henceforward as an abiding monument and pledge of the love, from which it has sprung.

May God reward and bless you all abundantly for your great kindness!

CHAPTER LII

IN the year 1867, Dr. Dorner, the celebrated theological professor in the University of Berlin, Germany, wrote an interesting and able article on the Liturgical Controversy in the Reformed Church in the United States, which appeared in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*. His attention was directed to the subject by several American students pursuing their studies in the University at the time, who, having just come from the midst of the heated controversy in America, presented too prominently the pessimistic or dark side of this great movement; and Dr. Dorner evidently wrote his article in order to promote peace and conciliation. The German professor, however, lived, as Dr. Nevin said, at too remote a distance from the scene of conflict in America to get a clear insight into our ecclesiastical relations. His learned article, therefore, instead of silencing the strife only made matters worse. Certain parts of it, or expressions, were gathered up and used as artillery for a time against the new Liturgy, its theology, and more particularly against Dr. Nevin himself. It became necessary, therefore, for him to stand up in defence of himself and the work here in this country with which he had become vitally identified. His Answer to Professor Dorner for evident reasons appeared first in the *Reformed Church Messenger*, and then subsequently in the October number of the *Mercersburg Review*, for 1868, where it occupied one hundred and eleven pages. It was preceded by two articles which were preliminary to the final Answer in the *Review*; one on *Dorner's History of Protestant Theology*, Pp. 71; and one on *Our Relations to Germany* in October, 1867, the latter of which is here given without abridgment.

It has been occasionally charged against our theology heretofore, that it consisted very much in a blind following of German modes of thought. Because it made large account of German learning, and of the results of German speculation in the different departments of theological science, it was considered proper to make the fact a reason for viewing its peculiarities with suspicion and distrust. This could be done in different ways to suit occasions. Sometimes it had the purpose simply of disparaging our views, as being without any sort of original force. Again, it was to hold

them up to contempt, as unintelligible and obscure; German thinking, at best, being a sort of dreamy idealism, and *our* version of it of course an incompetent rendering into English, that was sure to turn it into something worse. What came in such form was of questionable shape. It might be set down at once as transcendental nonsense; in so far forth precisely as it failed to fall in with the stereotyped notions of those whose perspicacity, thanks to their want of all German training, had never become clouded by any similar mysticism.

Then again, however, the charge of *Germanizing* was pitched upon a new key. Could any good thing, in the way of Christianity and theology, come out of Germany? Was it not the land of neology, rationalism, and pantheism? Had not its philosophy, from Kant to Hegel, been in the service throughout of skepticism and unbelief; and was it not notorious that its old religious orthodoxy had been swept away completely by the influence of its philosophical speculations? To be in any communication with German thinking, in such circumstances, was counted enough in certain quarters to justify the apprehension of a somewhat latitudinarian or unsound faith. The idea seemed to be, that a man was the more to be relied upon as a competent scholar in philosophical, theological, and moral science, the *less* he knew of the great writers on these subjects in modern Germany. Rauch's *Psychology*, for example, might have been better without the knowledge of Hegel; it detracted from the value of his *Lectures on Ethics*, that he had studied Fichte and was thoroughly familiar with the teaching of Daub; and that Mercersburg theology, as it was called, should find anything at all to admire or approve in the magnificent Schleiermacher, was held sufficient to bring upon it the reproach of all his errors.

Here, moreover, was ground for looking askant on its professed regard for the first class of evangelical German theologians generally belonging to the present time. For who among them had not been influenced, more or less, by the thinking of Schleiermacher? It was no help to our cause then, that it could plead in its favor at certain points the authority of such men as Neander, or Ullmann, or Julius Müller, or Dorner, or Rothe, or Ebrard, or Martensen, or Liebner, or Tholuck, or Lange. These might be all good enough for Germany; but they could not pass muster here, of course, among the evangelical sects of America; and any school or tendency among us, therefore, that might pretend to be in good understanding with them theologically, could but deserve, for this very

reason, to be looked upon with some measure of misgiving and doubt.

We have been blamed heretofore, we say, in these different ways, for being too much ruled by the authority of the Germans in matters of theology and religion; and many are no doubt still ready, as much as ever, to renew the blame on what they may feel to be suitable occasion. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find this charge against us turned of late into precisely the opposite form. On the strength of an opinion got at second hand from Dr. Dorner, in regard to our new Liturgy, occasion is taken to make it out that our views are *not* endorsed by the standard-bearers of modern evangelical theology in Germany; and that this now must be taken as a powerful presumption against them without any farther consideration. If it was our heresy before to be too much German, it is our no less serious heterodoxy now to be too little German. The case of difference with us, on the part of Dorner, is indeed ludicrously small. It reduces itself to a single point, set over against three other main points, in which he agrees with us in full, against those who wish to overwhelm us with his condemnation. Dorner is in favor of a true people's Liturgy; Dorner approves of our seeking to incorporate the spirit of the primitive Liturgies with the theological life of the sixteenth century; Dorner declares the sacramental doctrine of our Liturgies to be the true doctrine of the Reformed Church as it was taught by Calvin in the age of the Reformation. These are all the great points, on which the Puritanic anti-liturgical party among us, and on the outside of us, has been at issue with us, more or less angrily, all along.

But then, the same Dr. Dorner takes exception, it is said, to our view of ordination and the Christian Ministry, pronounces it Anglican (not German), and sees involved in it the conception of a third sacrament not in proper harmony with Protestantism; and this at once is seized upon as sufficient to turn his otherwise favorable judgment into a wholesale testimony against us, with which, it is complacently assumed, we ought to feel ourselves altogether confounded and put to shame. With the Christological theology of Dorner, Ullman, and other such German divines, the Puritanic anti-liturgical party among us, and on the outside of us, have in the nature of the case no sympathy whatever. It is that order of thinking precisely which they are ever ready to exclaim against as unevangelical, whenever it comes in their way. But in the case before us, all that is forgotten. To serve an occasion now, these German authorities (though they are themselves mostly *not*

Reformed at all, but either Lutheran or Unionistic), are made to be an infallible standard for the German Reformed Church here in America, which we, as belonging to that Church, are bound to respect, on pain of being held heretical for any deviation from it whatever. The authorities in question, it is well known, are not in full harmony among themselves, and agree with no sect or confession in this country; but no matter for that; if they can be made to tell against our so-called Mercersburg theology in any way, it is at any rate so much clear gain. Does not this theology claim to be German, as professing to represent the German Reformed Church? But here we have the Germans themselves objecting to at least something in it, as not according to their mind. Is not that enough to condemn it?

It is hard enough certainly, that we should have charged upon us as a fault in this case, what it has been considered our fault at other times to be wanting in; the power, namely, of not following blindly in the wake of German theological speculation. But let it pass. We are used to such unfair polemics. All we have in mind now is the improvement of the occasion here offered, for setting forth in general terms briefly what our relations to Germany have been actually all along, and still continue to be, in the whole sphere of religion and theology.

We honor German learning and thought, and stand largely indebted to them for such views as we have come to have of man and the world, of Christianity and the Bible. We are not of that class who pique themselves on being good philosophers, because they have never read a line of Kant and have not the remotest conception of what was dreamed of by Fichte and Schelling; or who consider themselves good and safe theologians, because their dogmatic slumbers have never been for a moment disturbed by Schleiermacher or the dangerous school of Tübingen. We confess our obligations both to the philosophers and the theologians of Germany. They have done much to deepen our religious convictions, and to widen the range of our religious thought. We are perfectly sure that the central stream of all spiritual science in the modern life of the world is in that country; and that it is worse than idle, therefore, to dream of any live, progressive thinking, philosophical or theological, in England, America, or any other country, which shall not be impregnated largely with the results of German study and speculation.

With all this high opinion, however, of the German mind and learning, we belong to no German school, and have never pretended

to follow strictly any German system or scheme of thought. Neither have we been blind at all, or insensible, to the dangers of a too free and trustful communication with these foreign forms of thinking. There has been no disposition with us, either to commit ourselves passively to any such guidance, or to set up an independent system by its help. We have all along disclaimed everything of this sort. Theory and speculation have been with us subordinate always to the idea of positive Christianity, as an object of faith exhibited to us in the Bible and the history of the actual Church.

The Christological principle has been for us immeasurably more than the requirements of any school of philosophy; its practical consequences have weighed more with us than the logical necessities of any metaphysical system. We have been able to see and own thankfully the service which has been rendered to the cause of Christianity, through the intonation of this great principle by Schleiermacher, and other master-minds who have here followed him with far more orthodoxy than he ever had himself, without feeling ourselves bound in the least to accept in full all that any such master mind may have been led to deduce from the principle as belonging to the right construction of Christian doctrine. Our theology in this view has not been built upon Schleiermacher or Ullmann, or Dorner, however much of obligation it cheerfully owns to each of them, as well as to others, whose more or less variant systems of thought go together to make up the conception of what is called the evangelical theology of Germany in its most modern form.

Whatever of force and worth the Christological studies of these great men carry with them for our thinking, all is felt to rest ultimately only in their bearing on the actual life of Christ, and the relation they hold to the development of the mystery of godliness in the actual history of the Church. Here we reach what we feel to be surer and more solid ground than any such studies of themselves furnish; and just because these studies seem too often to stop short of what is involved for faith in the full historical apprehension of the Christian mystery, as a continuous presence in the world, they are found to be at certain points more or less unsatisfactory in the end to our religious feeling. Here it is that, with all our respect for German divinity, we consciously come to a break with it in our thoughts, and feel the necessity of supplementing it with the more practical way of looking at Christianity which we find embodied in the ancient Creeds. In this respect, we freely admit, our theology is more Anglican than German. We stand upon the old Creeds. We believe in the Holy Catholic Church.

In this way the Church Question, in particular, has come to have for us an interest and significance which it has not, and cannot have, even for the best thinkers in Germany. With us, the whole Christological interest is felt to run into it as its necessary issue and end. The Church challenges our faith as an essential part of the Christian salvation; a mystery, to the acknowledgment of which we are shut up by the inward movement of the Creed. But in Germany, they cannot look at the matter in the same way. Their circumstances forbid it. Their churches are dependent on the State, are ruled by civil authority, have no proper ecclesiastical authority or power of their own. How, standing in the bosom of such Erastian systems, can German theologians be considered good authority for any thing that has to do with the proper solution of the Church Question? We profess no agreement with them here, and ask from them no endorsement of our views. We know that we stand upon higher ground. Who among us can think of accepting Rothe's idea of the Church, by which it is made to merge itself at last formally in the Christian State? Who that has had the least insight into the miserable church relations of the late Dr. Ullmann, Prelate so called of the Church in Baden, would be willing to take him as a sound expositor of what the article of the Church means in the Apostles' Creed? And just so with the judgment of the excellent Dr. Dorner, quoted against our Liturgy on the subject of Ordination. It is only what was to be expected. It carries with it for us no weight whatever. God forbid that we should be bound here by Prussian examples or Prussian opinions.

One great object with Dorner, in his first book, is to bring clearly into view the original and only proper sense of the material principle of Protestantism, as it conditioned and determined also, at the same time, the sense of its formal principle. On these two grand hinges, in right relation to one another, justification by faith and the exclusive authority of the Scriptures, the universal weight of the Reformation must necessarily rest and turn. But the only real foundation of Christianity, objectively considered, is Christ Himself. Great stress then is laid here on the thought, that justifying faith, in the Reformation sense of the term, amounted to a real self-authenticating apprehension of Christ's righteousness through an actual laying hold of his person and life. In other words, that in which Christianity started within the soul, was held to be not just the idea of the atonement after all; but this idea lodged in the Incarnate Word, as the power of salvation back of all Christ's

doings and merits in any farther view. This is all very well, and as we believe profoundly true. The article of a standing or falling Church becomes thus Christological, in the fullest sense of the term. It centres upon the person of Christ, and has no meaning or truth in any other view. Dorner sees well, that in no other view can there be any room to speak either of theological consistency or of historical continuity for Protestantism; without this, it must resolve itself into endless confusion and chaos. We may well say, therefore, that in thus maintaining the Christological sense of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, Dorner has in truth planted himself on what must be considered the very Gibraltar of the Protestant cause, if that cause is to be successfully defended at all on strictly Protestant ground.

But has Dr. Dorner now shown himself faithful to his great position, in making no more of it than he has done for the historical treatment of his subject? With all our respect for his high name, we must say that we think not. We cannot help feeling, all through his History, a certain theological inconsistency, by which he allows his view of the ultimate significance of Christ's person for the Gospel, to stop short with what it is in one direction only (the atoning virtue of His death as apprehended by justifying faith), while no like account is made apparently of what it must necessarily be also in other directions. Is it only the priestly office and work of Christ, then, that have their root in His person? Is not His person just as much the root also of His prophetic office and work; and so again the root no less of His kingly office and work? It will not do to confine the Christological principle here, as Dorner appears to do, and as seems to have been done in some measure also by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, to its bearing on the cardinal interest of the atonement. The whole Gospel starts in Christ, the mystery of the Incarnation, the coming together of God and man in His person. This is the beginning and foundation of all that follows; and in taking in this, the faith that gives us an interest in the atonement (the material principle of Protestantism) brings into us in truth the power of his universal life, as related to the purposes of our salvation. All this we have in the Creed. There Christianity begins in Christ, and rolls itself forward in the grand and glorious life-stream of the Church. The forgiveness of sins (on which Luther first fastened the anchor of his faith) is there in its proper place; but there too are other articles, supposed to be comprehended with equal necessity in the Christian mystery—*God manifest in the flesh*. There in particular is the article of the

Church, drawing after it unquestionably, not only the idea of sacramental grace which Dorner admits, but the idea also of an Apostolical ministry by Divine consecration (as we have it in Eph. iv. 7-15), which Dorner takes pains, if we understand him properly, to let us know he does not admit. Here, we say, we feel his whole position, and the whole argument of his History to be unsatisfactory and wrong; and just here, as we have had occasion to say before, we break with the modern German theology generally, much as we admire it otherwise, because we find it untrue to its own Christological principle. The virus of Erastianism is everywhere in its veins. We are willing to meet all parties, German or English, on the basis of the Apostles' Creed; but, God helping us, we will not consent to stand with any of them anywhere else.

I. The fact of a progressive falling away of Protestant theology and Christianity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from what they were in the sixteenth century, is not to be denied; and whether we may be willing or not to accept Dr. Dorner's view of it in all particulars, it is certain that it took place under the general character at least, and in the general direction, described in his book. The movement was not confined to one Confession or to any single country; it extended to both Communions, the Lutheran and the Reformed alike, and made itself felt in all lands. It showed itself in this way to be the result of a common law, and the out-working product of some common cause; whose action must be regarded as starting in the religious life of the Reformation period itself. In other words, the movement must be considered as of a plainly historical character; capable, in such view, of being explained and understood, and challenging the most serious and solemn attention of all who take an interest in the present condition of the Church.

The movement involves two grand stages; two contradictory tendencies, so related that the second begins to work while the first is still in full power; works in the bosom of the first as its own recoiling force, till it becomes finally of overmastering strength, and then sweeps all before it in the way of open revolution and change. The first of the two stages is the period of what Dorner calls *one-sided objectivity* (whether in dogma or ecclesiastical constitution); the second is that of *reactionary subjectivity*, ending in the negation of all positive authority in religion (theoretical free-thinking and practical unchurchliness). The first meets us predominantly in the seventeenth century; the second in the eighteenth.

The seventeenth century, in this view, stands in close connec-

tion with the sixteenth, the age of the Reformation, and seems to be at first the simple continuation of its religious and theological life. The great object, all round, was to organize and consolidate the faith that was already enshrined in the Protestant symbolical books. But it is easy to see, that this zeal for the conservation of what was thus handed down as true Protestant Christianity, ran soon into a care for its outward form simply at the expense of its inward life. The faith of the sixteenth century was so intellectualized, as to be shorn of its original native vigor and force. We *feel* that, where we cannot always explain it, in comparing the spiritual life of the older time with the orthodox thinking of the later time. There was a something here in the theology of the sixteenth century, which we find to be wanting in the more elaborate divinity of the seventeenth. So in the Lutheran Church; and so also, full as much, in the Reformed Church.

The theology of the seventeenth century must be considered in this view, universally, a falling away inwardly (though not outwardly), from the original life of the Reformation; which then drew after it, however, by a sort of logical necessity, a far more serious falling away from itself, as well as from the older faith, in the overflowing rationalism of the eighteenth century. Dörner resolves all this into the dissolution of the original unity of the twofold principle of Protestantism, and the wrong that was thus inflicted on the side which represented the inward freedom of the believer, by making all of the side that represented outward authority; a wrong, which then by a righteous nemesis so reacted upon itself, as to end in the overthrow of this authority altogether, and the full unbinding of the principle of subjectivity in all imaginable forms. How far this may bear close examination, we will not now stop to inquire. Enough, that we know the fact, and are able to bring it under consideration in its general historical connections. The eighteenth century, immediately behind us, was an age of what may be called general religious atrophy; an age of feeble, languishing faith; an age in which sense and natural reason had come to rule everywhere the thinking of the world, while things unseen and eternal were regarded for the most part as visionary abstractions. Not that all theology and religion were dead; the religious spirit wrought mightily in certain quarters against the reigning power of unbelief. But still the power of unbelief *did* reign, on all sides, in fact; and this not only as open free-thinking and infidelity, but as a secret virus also, that served to poison and weaken the very life of faith itself. There was a malaria of rationalism diffused

through the whole religious world. The best piety of the age was of a scrofulous habit; while its best theology went wheezing continually toward its own grave.

II. We may be thankful that we come after the eighteenth century. Our own age is bad enough; but it is certainly better in many respects than its predecessor. The movement of religious negation seems to have run its course; so far at least that it has come to stultify itself, and thus call for the building up again of what it has sought to destroy, while the conditions for such reconstruction are at hand as they never have been before. The great problem for the nineteenth century would seem to be the restoration of faith from the disastrous eclipse, under which it has come down to us from the century going before, and along with this the recovery of theology and religion to some answerable tone of vitality and health.

An interesting and able article on the Liturgical Controversy of the German Reformed Church in the United States, appears in a late number of the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, from the pen of the celebrated Dr. Dorner of Berlin.

We have reason to feel ourselves complimented, as a Church, by such notice directed towards us from so high a quarter. It is the first time that the course of theology in this country has drawn upon itself, to any such extent, the observation and criticism of a leading German Review. The theological scholarship of Germany has been very much in the habit of slighting the movement of religious thought both in England and in the United States, as hardly deserving to be considered scientific at all in any true sense of the term. Dr. Dorner himself, in his *History of Protestant Theology*, finds but little to say on the subject; two or three pages at the close of the work being all he considers necessary to devote, in particular, to this country. "In North America," he tells us, "there is hardly as yet, so far as we are able to see, any connected literary history." He expresses the hope, however, that a better era for scientific theology is before us; and ends his book finally with these significant words:

"America is still in the commencement only of its theological life; but the future of Protestantism depends, in a large measure, on the future development of this vigorous people, now emancipated also from the curse of slavery; making it thus of incalculable importance, that the intercourse which has been opened there with German Protestantism and its results, should be maintained and

enlarged. At present divisions abound, and the opposition of parties is too much a matter of wilfulness and mere outward interest to lead to any earnest scientific conflict. But in proportion as the sense for science increases, and along with this the power of thought, which tends always to union by being directed toward the general and the absolutely true, the more must many of the denominations now existing in the country pass away of themselves; whilst others will enter upon a course of mutual understanding, that may be expected to secure for their spiritual and religious life a common history, which, with that of Great Britain, will rival in full finally the fruitfulness of German science."

It is complimentary, I repeat, then, in such view of the case, that the consideration of Germany is now directed toward the theological discussions of our American Reformed Church, in the way we find it to be in this extended and respectful criticism coming from so great a man.

It is a matter for congratulation, moreover, that these discussions themselves are in this way gaining broader and more earnest attention. The subjects with which they are employed deserve it. There have been those among us, we know, who have not been disposed to regard them in such light. But in truth, there are no more practically important questions before the Christian world, at this time, than just these theological debates with which our Church is now so earnestly engaged. They have to do with the most central and profound interests of Christianity. It may possibly help to open the eyes of some to their significance, that they are made, in the case before us, the object of so learned a review in the Berlin *Jahrbücher*. Dorner's article shows that they are not mere word-fights, or controversies about things of little or no account.

Let us trust also that it may help to lift the general discussion above the level of mere party prejudice and strife, and to give it such a character of decency and fair conduct, as all may see to be suitable to its great importance. Very much of the opposition which has been made in this country thus far to what is called, for distinction's sake, the Mercersburg theology, has been, in a form, the very reverse of all this. It has taken no pains to understand what it has set itself to condemn. Its only force has been in garbled misrepresentation, special pleadings, *ad captandum* appeals to popular prejudice and abusive scurrilities of the lowest and poorest sort. I have myself been pelted of late with any amount of this polemical mud. It admits, of course, of no notice or reply. Men must learn to be decent before they can be reasoned with as

rational or moral. In such circumstances, however, it is especially refreshing to fall in with such an altogether different style of controversy, as we have offered to us in this transatlantic article of Professor Dorner. It is serious, dignified, calm, gentlemanly and Christian. Why is it, that the qualities of controversial truth and fairness are so much harder to be maintained in this country, than seems to be the case in Europe? We know how it is with our common political press, as contrasted with that of England. Is it any better, in the end, with our religious press?

Let Dorner's article serve as an example, and as a rebuke, for this wretched style of controversy. It is worthy of being widely known and read for this purpose only, if for no other. I am not sorry to hear, therefore, that it is in the way of being published for general circulation among us, both in German and English. It may do good; and I have no apprehension, at all events, of its doing any harm.

XII—IN RETIREMENT FROM 1876-1886

Æt. 73-83

CHAPTER LIII

AS the reader has doubtless observed, Dr. Nevin with his strong intellectual powers possessed naturally a mystical tendency which grew more palpable as he advanced in years. This showed itself manifestly after he retired from his duties in the College. It was a characteristic of his experience for him to look at the spiritual and the invisible, and the importance of this posture of mind he was wont to impress on others in his discourses and writings. Afflictions in his family tended to confirm this tendency. In the year 1867 his son, Richard Cecil, a promising youth and a candidate for the Christian Ministry, was taken from the family by an untimely death. In the year 1872, John Williamson, the youngest in the family, who was expected to reside with his parents and be a support to them in their declining years, in the bloom of youth, was also snatched away by the fell destroyer. These painful dispensations served more directly to turn the mind of Dr. Nevin away from this world of fleeting shadows to that which is fixed and eternal. During this period of time in such a state of mind he became interested in the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, the great Swedish mystic. He had given his writings some attention, whilst he was studying the Church question, and, as we have seen, could see in them no satisfactory answer to the problem with which he was grappling. He believed in history and in its development, whilst Swedenborg and Professor Thiersch, the Irvingite, looked for some supernatural, miraculous interposition of Providence to bring order out of the confusion in the body of the Church, which no one having faith in history or a Divine Providence, such as Dr. Nevin possessed, would be willing to postulate.

Dr. Nevin's attention was probably directed to Swedenborg's works, more particularly by Richard Rothe. After looking over his writings, he once said he found it difficult to interest himself in them until he met with his Commentaries on the Old Testament, in which he saw much that found a response in his own experience.

The spiritual, mystical and symbolical interpretations fell in with his taste, and he secured a Latin edition of his works, which he perused with pleasure, and, as he said, with edification. He soon discovered that he possessed a much greater genius than was generally conceded at the time. Mœhler, the great catholic theologian, who exposed his Sabellianism and other unchurchly tenets, says "he was distinguished, on the one hand, for acuteness of intellect, and for a wide range of knowledge,—particularly in the mathematics and the natural sciences, which he cultivated with great success, as evinced by his many writings, highly prized in his day; and, on the other hand, he was noted for his full conviction, that he held intercourse with the world of spirits, whereby he believed that he obtained information on all matters in anywise claiming the attention of the religious man."—Görres says in his work on Swedenborg "that it has been proved, from the very high character of this visionary, acknowledged by his contemporaries to be pure and blameless, that the idea of intentional deceit, on his part, cannot be at all entertained; and that his ecstasies may be best explained by animal magnetism."—Dr. Nevin's view of Swedenborg as a man was the most original, and, perhaps, the most correct, when he once told the writer that, "standing in the sphere of nature, without regard to the form of his writings, he regarded him as one of the greatest poets and philosophers, if not the greatest, not excepting Dante and Kant."

After his retirement from public life in 1876 he wrote the following ten articles for the *Reformed Church Review*: The Spiritual World; The Testimony of Jesus; The Spirit of Prophecy; Biblical Anthropology; Sacred Hermeneutics, or God's Voice out of the Cloud; The Bread of Life, a Communion Sermon; The Pope's Encyclical; Christ, the Inspiration of His Word; and the Inspiration of the Bible, or the Internal Sense of Holy Scripture. Together they filled 318 pages of the *Review*. They are all characterized by their deep spirituality and their breadth of view. No one, we believe, can read them without having his religious sensibilities quickened and his heart strengthened. He wrote the last with extreme difficulty in the use of his fingers whilst writing, and as his right hand had, in a manner, forgotten its cunning, he wrote nothing further for publication. Our space here will allow us to give the reader only brief extracts from the last two articles named, which will serve to illustrate his mystical and theosophic tendencies, as well as his allegorico-mystical Exegesis. In the latter respect he was no doubt stimulated by the Swedish seer, but it was a phenome-

non that has manifested itself in all ages of the Church, especially in the Alexandrine school of theology, as also in the Jewish. In the case of Dr. Nevin it was a Christian mysticism, which, whilst it made supreme account of the spirit, did not lead him, as he used to say, "to abate one jot or tittle of the letter," in the actual historical narratives of the Bible.—With him it was a healthy check upon his intense intellectualism, which otherwise might have carried him away into the barren regions of rationalism.

Christianity begins in Christ, moves throughout in Christ, and ends in Christ. It does so doctrinally, and it does so practically. There is now, we are told, a growing recognition of this from all sides. Less than half a century ago, as some of us remember, it was quite otherwise. The very terms Christological and Christocentric, as applied to theology, were viewed by many with grave apprehension and distrust. Did they not carry with them an echo of Schleiermacher? Had they not in them a touch of Hegelian pantheism? At any rate, could they not be felt to be somehow off the track of modern evangelicalism, not harmonizing rightly with its pet traditional shibboleths, and jostling uncomfortably its working methods of religious life and belief? Be the case as it might, the system which pretended to make full earnest with the idea that Jesus Christ is Himself literally the entire sum and substance of Christianity, was not in favor with our American Churches generally. Where they did not openly oppose it, they had at least no heart to profess it openly. But all that, it appears, is now past. The era of Christological theology has set in with a force which may be said, so far at least as profession goes, to carry all before it. Our evangelical denominations are in a sort of haste to put themselves right in regard to this point. The significance of Christ's person is paraded on every hand, as the only true centre of Christianity, as the only real soul of a living Christian faith.

So far as it goes this is of course well. We have reason to be pleased with it, even if it be open to some question; and may say with St. Paul to the Philippians, "whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached, and we do therein rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." The only wonder in the case is that there could ever be any room, among professing Christians, to think or speak of Christianity as *not* being Christological in this general view. For is it not a Gospel truism, for all those who believe in the Gospel, that Christ is for the spiritual world what the sun is for the natural world? So that a solar system without the light and poise of its proper

centre in such form must be taken as a faint image only of what God's new creation in Christ Jesus would be, without the presence in it of the Lord of life and glory Himself forever ruling it in like central way.

But we may not rest here in this merely general view. All the great truths of Christianity come before us first of all under such general or common aspect; but only that they may be filled out then afterwards with specific particulars and details, by which they are carried forward continually more and more toward the fulness of their proper sense in God. Only as they thus live and move toward the infinite, first on earth and afterwards in heaven, can they be said to be truths at all. How, then, must it not be thus also with the fountain head of all Christian truths, Jesus Christ Himself, when brought within the telescopic range of human or angelic vision? For any seriously thoughtful mind the question answers itself.

And thus it is that we are brought finally to the inmost and highest mode of looking at Christ and His kingdom; that by which we communicate directly with the veritable life of the Lord Himself, and so are made to see Him in some measure as He is in His own actual being, high above all terrestrial and even celestial glory in every lower form. In distinction from the mechanical and theoretic modes of apprehending divine things this may be denominated the vital mode. It brings us to the conception of Christian faith in its true and full form. There is room indeed to speak of faith, and so of life also, as belonging to the lower planes of knowledge we have named. But that then is only through obscure derivation of light into these lower spheres from the sphere above them, when they are found in what we have just seen to be their only normal relation to this, as precursive stadia toward the coming of the new man in Christ Jesus. In themselves, outside of this heavenly revelation, they have in them no life, and no light, and therefore no vision of faith; because there can be in them no radiation from the great centre of all being, the love of God in His Son Jesus Christ.

Just here it is that we have the true idea of faith, as distinguished from all inferior knowledge and intelligence. It is the vision of God in God, the seeing of divine things in their own divine lights. Unintelligible mystery and nonsense of course to the universal natural mind; but the only key nevertheless that can ever surely open to us the interior sense of the Bible. For the Bible is full of it, Old Testament and New, from beginning to end. It is the

evidence and demonstration of things which are supernatural and invisible to mere worldly sense or thought or reason, because it is itself born of them and is the power of seeing them therefore as they are in their own light. "It is not of yourselves," says St. Paul, "it is the gift of God" (Eph. ii. 8). Only we must not think of it then in the outward mechanical or in the merely theoretic way; it comes into us in the way of actual life from the Lord, reaching us by the living word of the Lord, which is thus at once then both this word itself and its own vision in our souls from the Lord Himself. His life from the beginning, we are expressly told, has been the only true light of men (John i. 4); which is also the meaning of the Psalmist when he says: "With Thee is the fountain of life; *in Thy light shall we see light*" (Ps. xxxvi. 9).

The Divine Trinity comes into intelligible view only in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. "No man (outside of Him) hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." Not theoretically of course; not doctrinally; but as being himself actually the life, and power, and glory of the Father. "No man knoweth the Father," He Himself tells us, "but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him." Through the Son there is a real knowing of the Father, and so of the whole Trinity; not indeed the infinite knowing which belongs to the Son; but still in its finite degree of one nature with that; not black agnosticism by any means, but a real revelation, making itself known as the light of life from God in the rational soul of every true believer.

Manifested in this way, the Holy Trinity comes before us, not as a dead fact, but as an organized living and working Infinite Love, Infinite Wisdom, and Infinite Power, whose threefold distinction may never be separated for a moment from its fundamental unity. Holding the mystery strictly, as we must, to the person of Christ, in whom only it is revealed, there is no room for any doubt in regard to its general constitution and order. He is its only manifestation, the central unity in which its whole triplicity comes together as an object of faith. "In him dwelleth," we are told, "all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." That at once makes Him to be the very wholeness of God, the one only absolute and true God. We have no right to think of God in any other form; and when we do so, we are but dealing with a metaphysical abstraction, which is at bottom a denial of His actual being altogether. Nothing can be clearer or stronger than the self-testimony of Christ, in His Word, on this point. He and the Father are one; all things of the Father

are His; and in Him is comprehended in like manner the entire presence and working of the Holy Ghost. "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life." All other view of the Divine is but the creature of man's own imagination, vain and false. And therefore it is added solemnly, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols" (1 John v. 20, 21).

The doctrine of the Trinity thus, in Jesus Christ, is supremely practical, passing safely the shoals of Deism, Unitarianism, and Mohammedanism on the one hand, while it avoids on the other hand the no less common and dangerous heresy of Tritheism, the worship of three Gods instead of one.

We are brought thus to the true touch-stone or test of Inspiration. In the midst of all conflicting schemes and theories, the Bible itself shuts us up to this as being its inmost essence, namely, Christ Himself in the Word, both as the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation. Not merely with the Word externally, or above it, by the separate action of His Spirit, but in the very bosom of the Word as its actual spirit and life. A hard saying, exclaims the natural mind; who can hear it? But have we not his own witness for it, in the direct face of that unbelieving question: "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life" (John vi. 63)? It is sorry subterfuge to limit this to what goes before in the same chapter. It refers to His words universally. All words going out from Him, the absolute life and truth, must be of this character—must be by that fact itself supernatural and inspired words. And how then can it be otherwise with the words he spake in time past by the prophets, through the Holy Ghost, the Giver of life? Inspiration means such life to start with; but if so, it means also such life abiding with it through all following time. For example, the life which was breathed into the Ten Commandments when they were first spoken from mount Sinai, must be in them to this day, if they are still inspired. In no other view can they be said to be the word of God which *liveth* and abideth forever. We might as well talk of the stars being settled in heaven, without having in them still the life of the word which first spake them into being.

Much of the debate we have at the present time concerning Inspiration becomes here of no account. The question especially between verbalism and what we may call realism falls to the ground; because both these theories rest on a lower plane altogether than

that of the high Christological truth now before us, and both alike therefore, in its presence, come under what is substantially the same condemnation. They give us on both sides what is at best, by their own confession, but a natural inspiration instead of a spiritual inspiration; a providential leading of ordinary human thought and speech, in difference from the actual descent of the Divine itself into such human thought and speech. In this view both violate the inward sanctity of the Word of God, by turning it into a Word of man. Verbalism stiffens thus into mechanical bondage; while realism evaporates into latitudinarian freedom, losing itself at last in broad open rationalism.

Our Christocentric theology, therefore, can never stop safely in any such intellectual or merely sentimental flight. It must mount up by faith to an empyrean height far beyond this. "Hast thou not known," is the voice of our glorified Jehovah Immanuel Himself; "hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? There is no searching of His understanding. He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might He increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall. But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint" (Is. xl. 28-31).

I quote these great words, not at random, nor for any mere rhetorical effect. They go directly to the heart of the subject which I have now in hand—namely this: the central meaning of the Gospel, as the disclosure of a new world of powers in the living Christ, transcending supernaturally the universal constitution of nature; and carrying in itself both the promise and the possibility of victory for our fallen humanity over all the evils under which it is found groaning so hopelessly through the ages, in every other view. They fix attention on the great thought of the world's redemption, not as a philosophical dream, not as a Zoroastrian myth of any sort, and not as the figment of a Christ aiming to rectify the disorder of sin through any simply outward teaching or working in God's name; but as nothing less in truth than the coming down of God Himself into the sphere of the fallen, and within their reach, for the purpose of joining them, through a new spiritual birth, with Himself, and thus raising them to the actual life of heaven.

This is the great thought indeed which underlies the entire structure of the Old Testament from Genesis to Malachi. No part of

the Word of God there, the "things written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms," is at all intelligible without it. The Jews of old would not see it or believe it; and their unbelief here is charged against them as the very culmination of their refusal to believe in Christ Himself. Can it be any better than such Jewish self-condemnation, when men calling themselves Christians now refuse in the same way to see or own the Lord directly in these Scriptures? Most surely such persons cannot seriously believe in the inspiration of the Old Testament. They may say they do so; but it is a contradiction in terms to predicate divine inspiration of a book, and yet hold that Christ, the source of all real living inspiration, is not in it except as our poor human thinking about Him may be supposed somehow to put Him there.

What we need above all things in our Christian life is to see and know, that we have to do in it not with the notion simply of spiritual and heavenly things; but with those things as they are in their own actual being and objectivity. How slow we are to learn commonly that religion is for us, at all points, a question, not of notions, but of divine realities—a matter, not for speculation, but for living personal experience. Through want of due regard to this distinction, we are ever in danger of wronging even the first principles of what we call our Christian faith. Our faith itself, on which so much depends, becomes for us thus too often only a sort of talismanic rod to conjure with; while the doctrines we hold are found to be little better than a ghostly simulacrum simply of the high spiritual realities they are meant to express. This, of course, is deplorable enough where it affects any of the simply derivative articles of the true Christian creed; but how much more so when it is found affecting, not such secondary doctrines only, but the very fountain head of all revelation and all doctrine as we have it in the Lord of life and glory Himself.

Here all depends on the felt presence of the life and glory of Christ as they are in themselves. Without this, the highest soaring of our notional faith becomes but a mockery of what it pretends to see and acknowledge. A hollow Christology in such form goes beyond all other hollowness in its power to lay waste the Christian system. It is the supreme heresy; the great red seven-headed and ten-horned dragon of the Apocalypse; the heresy of all other heresies; just because it goes to extinguish, as far as it prevails, the Sun of righteousness in the Christian heaven; and to hurl down from thence to the earth all the stars of true Christian intelligence. A merely gnostic docetic Christ has been in all ages the

inmost central enemy of Christianity, warring not only against the true idea of Christ Himself, but against the substance and living power, at the same time, of every evangelical truth flowing from this idea.

A merely gnostic docetic Christ, it can never be too loudly proclaimed, brings gnosticism and unreality into every head and topic of Christian theology, as well as into all Christian worship. It steals away the true heart of all evangelic religion, turning its worship into mummary and cant, and its good works into pharisaic externalism. It poisons the life out of all evangelical doctrines, by substituting for the breath of God's Spirit in them, the miserable breath of its own spiritualistic imaginings, which are earthly only and not heavenly, born of the natural human self, and therefore diabolic and infernal. In this way there is no doctrine, however high or sacred, such as the holy Trinity, the incarnation, the righteousness of Christ, the atonement, regeneration, and all the rest, which it is not found possible for this *proton pseudos* to infect where it prevails with its own bad leaven, and thus to turn its proper vitality into corruption and death.

Here then only we see how it is that the intellectual side of Christianity is to become practical, moral or ethical, as the world affects to call it, in distinction from the bigotry of creeds. The intellectual is indeed but the outward side of what is to be understood by the moral. It must have its soul in this to be at all real; and for this purpose, it must have in it the power of actual life. But then, where shall such empowering life be found? In the human mind or soul itself, answers humanitarianism; it belongs to men as an inherent part of their creation. O miserable madness and folly! Life is not thus creatable, nor atomistic, nor subject to the measurement of time and space. It belongs in its essence and fulness only to the absolute being of God; and if it is to be in men at all, naturally or ethically, it must be in them first of all spiritually, as the gift of God, made continuous in them only through continuous derivation from its everlasting fountain in God. Such is the voice with which we are met from the inmost sanctuary of divine revelation. The voice, which alone, sounding forth from between the wings of the cherubim, can ever open to us the real meaning of the Christian redemption and salvation; the real significance of our Lord's humbling Himself to be born of a virgin, that He might, through His personal triumphs over hell, throw open to men the gates of paradise, otherwise so hopelessly closed against them by the fall. Just this, and nothing less than this, is

the boon established and confirmed to us first of all by His death and resurrection, His ascension and glorification, and His being made in His divine humanity head over all things to His true invisible Church; which is united and joined to Him through the power of His glorified life, as the body of a man is joined to his living soul.

All the realms of natural science are turned into darkness, where there is no power to study them in their relation to the kingdom of heaven, descending upon them, and into them, from the fountain of all life, in Him who is here the absolute supreme, the beginning, the middle, and end of the works of God. Men of science, of course, are not ordinarily prepared to admit this. Nature seems to lie before them as an open book, capable of being read from within itself, without any higher help. Its truths, as they call them, carry in themselves, as far as they go, their own evidence and demonstration; and to talk of their needing any sort of verification from a supposed higher spiritual or supernatural sphere, they regard as palpably absurd. Where such thinking has sway, there can be, of course, no real belief in divine revelation under any form; and, least of all, under the conception of such a living headship as is set before us in the Divine-human Christ, exalted in the way we have seen far above all worlds and all heavens. And it is very noticeable, accordingly, how our men of science, generally even where they may condescendingly allow a divine principle of some sort back of their dead naturalism, yet shrink from the owning of it in any such concrete realistic shape as this, as though it must prove fatal at once to all their scientific pretensions. But this simply shows how grossly unscientific their science is, in not being able to bear the Ithuriel touch of that great word, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last" (Rev. xxii. 13).

CHAPTER LIV

AFTER Dr. Nevin had retired from active duty in the Church, he endeavored to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty; and as he said to more persons than his cousin, to prepare himself for another world. He wrote from time to time, as we have seen, for the *Reformed Church Review*, until the year 1883, when failing eye-sight and trembling hand made it very difficult to him any longer to wield his pen.—As often as he was called on, he preached in the College Chapel, and it is generally conceded that his last discourses were among the most remarkable that he ever delivered, both as it regards spirituality and wide range of thought. In former times he laid emphasis on the thought that our own world was an organic whole, which was to be saved and redeemed by Christianity; but, as if his range of spiritual vision had widened, he began more and more to look upon the entire universe as an organism, in which Christ was the head over innumerable worlds, inhabited by intelligent beings like ourselves.—It is most likely he was stimulated to take this view of the case by the Swedish prophet.—The length of his sermons was increased rather than diminished. In one instance he delivered three introductory discourses, before he came to consider the more immediate subject of his text. The third was the last which he ever delivered. For some years his voice was as firm and sonorous as when he first preached in the College Chapel at Mercersburg. At length it lost its energy, and he confined himself to his ordinary conversational style of speaking. Soon this also cost him too much physical exertion, and having preached his last sermon, he became a devout worshipper and an attentive listener to others, who often reproduced his own thoughts, whilst he, sitting invariably in the same seat on the side of the chancel, like his namesake among the Apostles, seemed to be present as the presiding elder or spirit in the Church.

He continued to take an intelligent interest in the important events of the day; but all the while he seemed to regard the world as being in a crisis, on the eve of great changes, in which the past would be buried, and a new era was to dawn for the world in the coming of Christ in His Kingdom. In this posture of mind he resembled Neander, who was accustomed thus to regard the course of human events and to observe the signs of the times.

The spiritual and invisible appeared to engage his attention and thoughts more than anything else. The Bible was his daily study and delight. When no longer able to trace the letters on its pages, it was read to him in the Latin translation, which he regarded as particularly expressive.—On one occasion he commenced a conversation with a young friend on the veranda on the subject of the Scriptures, which was prolonged on his part for an hour. Among other things he criticised the modern system of education as deficient in the attention paid to memory, the idea being that the old mechanical method of memorizing was of no real benefit to the mind. In his opinion memory as a faculty was deteriorating under the new ideas. When young it is easy for the mind to memorize, but with age the other faculties become more active, and it is more difficult to remember words, facts or events. He said that, if he then had a child to train, he thought one of the most important things to attend to in its education would be to store its receptive mind with words of Scripture and the answers in the Catechism. Thus in after years they would come up in its recollections as words of strength and comfort in time of need.—He also spoke of his Princeton professor, when he was a student, who required all the members of his class to memorize a verse of the Bible, daily, and at the opening of each recitation some one was called on to repeat the verse he had thus committed—to show that the task had been properly attended to. From that time he said that he adopted it as a rule to memorize a portion of Scripture every day—*nulla dies sine versu*—and that it was now a matter of regret to him that he had not pursued this as a rule of his life at an earlier day when he was still a child; but that it was, at the same time, a source of much comfort to him, as that which had been stored away in his memory came up vividly before his mind, furnishing him with interesting topics for thought and meditation in his old age.

On another occasion, the Rev. Dr. Jacob O. Miller, of York, Pa., one of his students at Mercersburg, but at the time a member of the Board of Trustees of the College, and one of his firmest supports in his many fruitful labors in the past, called to see him and found him alone in his study. The world had become dim and misty to his vision, and he could not distinguish the features of his old friend and former pupil, but he recognized him at once by his familiar voice. Referring to his eye-sight, he expressed his gratitude to God that he had been led to commit so much of the Scripture to memory; and then, as if awakened from a dream, he went on to speak of the great beauty and excellence of the word of God;

which was refreshing in the highest degree to one who was a very attentive listener.—The habit here referred to will serve to explain the facility and accuracy with which Dr. Nevin was accustomed to quote the Scriptures in his discourses and writings. He never hesitated and seldom, if ever, failed to use the precise words in his quotations.

He had always been accustomed to walk from his house to the College, a distance of nearly a mile, for the sake of exercise, until some time before his decease. He then came with the family, in his carriage, to attend worship in the College Chapel. Once whilst waiting after service in front of the building for his coachman, some one expressed to him his regrets that he could not see the beautiful landscape extending far off into the distance. With some degree of naivete he replied that it looked to him like an ocean of mist, but that it made very little difference to him. He had thought that he would suffer most when he should no longer be able to read the papers; but that he had found that such deprivation gave him little or no discomfort, and that it was to him gain rather than loss. Through others' eyes he learned what interested him in the affairs of the world, and it was a relief to him not to read the promiscuous news of the day.

At length somewhat apprehensive of a mishap in ascending the steps leading up to the Chapel, he gradually ceased to attend divine worship. Few, if any, looked at his vacant seat without a feeling of sadness, and of foreboding that the beginning of the end was drawing near. The venerable father, with his silvery hair and his devout expression of countenance, was no longer in the midst of the congregation to impress others with his saintly presence.

The communion of the Lord's Supper was celebrated on Easter Sunday, April 25, 1886, and Dr. Nevin was once more present in his place in the sanctuary, and, as might be supposed, seemed to give tone to the service by his venerable appearance. After the worship was concluded many gathered around to shake hands with him and to congratulate him on seeing him again in church. A number of little children went up with their mothers to look at the aged patriarch. Without being able to see them, he soon recognized their presence, and extending out his arms towards them, wished them to come nearer; and as he took each small hand made some gentle remarks in smiling response to their Easter greetings. As he sat there surrounded by the little circle a beautiful and affecting picture was impressed on children of older growth, who witnessed the scene. This, we may say, was an illustration of the

tender feeling which the presence of little children was wont to awaken in Dr. Nevin's mind. More than once, in addressing Sunday-schools, he found it impossible to repress his emotions as he referred to the dangers which surrounded them in this world of sin, of which they were as yet all unconscious. On such occasions his voice sometimes faltered and his tongue refused to obey his strong will. His silence thus became so much the more eloquent, and there were few in the audience who did not sympathize with him.

The mask of calmness which he usually wore was broken through still more when he officiated in Holy Baptism. Often with a little babe in his arms, "the marble man" quivered with emotion as he performed the impressive rite; and he always seemed to evince special interest in the children he had so consecrated. The last time his hands were laid on the head of a child in this solemn act was in the College Chapel before the assembled congregation, as he gave his own name to his first grandson.

As we have seen in the earlier part of his life, he made it a point to be strict and regular in his private devotions. This habit he continued to maintain in after years, but he also made much account of ejaculatory prayers, as he called them, which he regarded as often more powerful than any other. In such instances the Christian, if he could not enter his closet literally, could nevertheless enter the closet of his own mind, and fulfil the spirit of the Scriptural precept. But it sometimes happens that the individual—like Nathanael under the fig-tree—cannot get where no eye can see him. This was true on one occasion, at least, with Dr. Nevin. Whilst he was still teaching he once entered his class-room before the hour of recitation and locked the door after him. His class gathered in the passage and there waited for the opening of the door, but it remained still closed. At length one of their number looked through the key-hole and there saw his teacher engaged in prayer. The youth was amazed. His teacher was on his knees, his arms and his body moving as if in some fearful struggle. At first he did not know what it meant, but a second look disclosed the facts of the case. It was a sight that could never be erased from the tablet of memory; and he who witnessed this spectacle was no doubt much better qualified when he entered the ministry to teach his people how to pray.

But what was Dr. Nevin praying for behind his desk until the bell ringing for recitation should end his praying? His Maker and Saviour only knew. He no doubt prayed for himself and the students,

that they might receive more light; but it is just as easy to suppose that he was praying for a better day in Zion, when her conflicts and troubles being over she should arise and shine, put on her beautiful garments, and become the praise and glory of the whole earth.

Dr. Nevin had many opponents in his day, but he had many more devoted friends, affectionate pupils and sympathizing brethren in the ministry. All through his life of toil and labor he was made in one way or another to feel that he had around him those whom he could trust and on whom he could rely. The tribute of respect that was paid to him in the presentation in 1873, was followed by another at the Commencement in 1876, when he retired from the presidency of the College. On that occasion he was honored with the gift of a superbly bound copy of the Bible, which it was felt would be especially grateful to his feelings. The presentation was made in the presence of a large audience by George F. Baer, Esq., of Reading, Pa., to which Dr. Nevin replied in his usually solemn and interesting style. The reader can imagine the substance of his response, in which as a matter of course he took occasion to speak of the grandeur and unspeakable value of the Bible as the Word of God.—He assured his friends that down to the latest hour of his life he would regard this copy as one of his most precious treasures.

But while he held such special testimonies of his friends in the highest regard, he valued others, less demonstrative, in equal estimation. From the year 1873 his family arranged a reception in his behalf at each recurring anniversary of his birth. On these occasions he seemed to renew his youth, as with his quizzical smile he received congratulations from young and old. He appeared, however, to be especially refreshed by the occasional presence of ministers, alumni, students and others, who on their coming to Lancaster felt that their visit would not be complete unless they walked out to see Dr. Nevin. In conversation usually some topic would come up in which he felt an interest, and he was wont to enlarge on it until the monologue assumed the character of a lecture on philosophy, theology or religion. After such interviews with the old man eloquent, there were few that did not carry with them to their homes thoughts that were worthy of a place in the storehouse of memory.—After Dr. Nevin ceased to preach and write, his conversational powers seemed to be very much enlarged. It was thus he let his light shine as he drew near the close of his life, like the setting sun illumining the floating clouds in the western sky.

During the last years of his life Dr. Nevin received the affectionate

attention of his family. In pleasant weather, with Mrs. Nevin or his daughters, he was frequently seen in his carriage, riding over the public thoroughfares, but more particularly on College Avenue, where the fresh breezes served to invigorate his failing strength. The grounds around him were classic and their associations of the most hallowed character. Everybody was pleased to see him and admired his great vitality and strength; but with this was connected the sad feeling that his end was hastening apace. After he had attended his last communion in the College Chapel he had slight attacks of physical weakness, which were premonitory of the last and final struggle, when his great vitality and strong will-force succumbed to the law of mortality.

When out on the dark sea in his last illness, even during his unconscious hours, Christ, the God-man, was his stay and support.—When the Sabbath hours in June had passed away; when nature prefigured the resurrection of the just; when patient watchers had stood all day by his bed-side; when the sun had set and the gloom of night was spreading over nature, but the stars, like angels' eyes, began to shine down brightly from above; then—midway between Ascension Day and Whitsuntide—after an illness of ten days, Dr. Nevin breathed his last breath at eight o'clock in the evening, on the 6th of June, 1886, in the 84th year of his age.—Thus passed away from earth a great and good man, an ornament to the Church, to his native State, to his country, to his age, and to the cause of science and religion.

The funeral took place on the Wednesday following, June the 9th, and was attended by a large concourse of people. The evening trains on Tuesday and the early trains on Wednesday brought many visitors from a distance, including a large number of the Reformed clergy, Trustees of the College and Seminary, old students and others. Among those who came to honor the memory of the deceased was Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander Hodge, representing the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, at Princeton, N. J., one of the leading thinkers of his denomination, a personal friend and admirer of Dr. Nevin, and son of the elder Hodge with whom the deceased held an earnest theological controversy during his lifetime.

The funeral services were held in the College Chapel, in which Dr. C. F. McCauley, Dr. Jacob O. Miller, Dr. Benjamin Bausman, Dr. Thomas G. Appel, Dr. John S. Stahr, of Lancaster, Pa., and Dr. A. A. Hodge, of Princeton, N. J., took part. Miss Janie Zacharias, of Baltimore, presided at the organ. The simple Burial

Service of the Church used on this occasion never seemed to be more beautiful, appropriate or expressive, than when read in a place endeared by so many associations and to an audience so closely knit in a common sorrow.—Dr. Thomas G. Appel, who delivered an appropriate funeral discourse, selected as his text the words of Christ: "Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth, and believeth in Me, shall never die," John XI: 25, 26. Below we give his concluding remarks, together with those of Dr. Hodge.

Forty-one years ago he whose lips are now mute in death, uttered these words in a baccalaureate address to the graduating class in Mashall College: "Christ is the truth on which all other truths rest; more sure and certain than any or all, as seen apart from His person * * * Let Him be the star you follow through life; the sun in the firmament of your existence. When far out upon the deep, surrounded with midnight and tossed by winds and waves, remember Him on the sea of Galilee. When the world is found to fade and wither, and life seems turning to an arid sand-waste, think of Him as He stood by the grave of Lazarus, or showed Himself to Mary on the morning of His own resurrection. When confusion and contradiction make themselves felt on every side, and all that has been counted solid seems ready to give way; when the counsel of the wise and prudent fails, and the hands of the mighty become weak; when reason is confounded, and science falls into inextricable embarrassment; when clouds and darkness cover the heavens with a thick pall, and the soul recoils aghast from the yawning abyss of its own nature; when every other confidence breaks, and truth itself in every other form is converted into blank despair, then turn to *Him*, with Peter, and say, prostrate at His feet, 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life, and we believe and are sure that Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.'"

The eleventh chapter of St. John, containing the record of the raising of Lazarus, was one of the last, if not the last chapter of scripture that was read to him in his illness, shortly before his death, by a beloved daughter.

May we not believe that the words of our Lord in that passage, which we have made the basis of our remarks at this time, continued in his inner consciousness when his outward senses were closed to earth, and supported his faith in passing through the

valley of the shadow of death? On the hallowed day of rest, as the light of the earthly Sabbath faded away, he passed peacefully into his heavenly rest. May he rest in peace with those who have gone before, "until both they and we shall reach our common consummation of redemption and bliss in the glorious resurrection of the last day!" Amen.

At the conclusion of his sermon Dr. Appel introduced Rev. Dr. Hodge to the audience, as a friend of the deceased and a representative of the Princeton institutions.

Dr. Hodge said he was not prepared to make an address befitting the solemnity and significance of this occasion; but had come hither simply as a representative of Princeton Theological Seminary, and, as he believed, of the entire Presbyterian Church, to express their sympathy with those assembled at the loss of their great theologian, the friend of the speaker's dead father. It was undeniable that Dr. Nevin belonged to the Reformed Church; he lived and died in it; he was the exponent of that Church and of its institutions; but it was always gratefully remembered by the Presbyterians that he was of Scotch-Irish blood, born in their Church and educated in Princeton Theological Seminary, illustrious in its line. For many years he was a distinguished member of the Presbyterian Church; he was too great for any one denomination to lay claim to him. The Presbyterian Church regarded him as one of the few great theologians and thinkers of America, and everywhere he was ranked as one of the greatest three or four citizens whom the great state of Pennsylvania had produced.

Dr. Hodge, the elder, was only four years older than Dr. Nevin. Between them was the sincerest affection, and he always regarded him as the greatest of his pupils. Sixty years ago when Dr. Hodge went to Europe Dr. Nevin acted as his substitute in the Faculty, and the speaker well remembered sitting on his lap and listening to his words of profound wisdom and eloquence.

Between these two men a loving friendship ever existed; and though their ways separated and serious divergence threatened, both recognized the primacy of the Christo-centric doctrine which was the basis of Dr. Nevin's teaching and thinking. Their differences were accidental; their unity essential.

In conclusion feeling reference was made to the continued friendship of these two great divines, and to their meeting late in life, when Dr. Hodge came here to visit his beloved contemporary. The Professor renewed his expression of the tender sympathy of his col-

leagues and of all Presbyterianism, and their desire to do common honor to their common friend.

After the conclusion of the services in the Chapel the entire audience came forward to the chancel and impressed on their memory the lineaments of the great man that had just fallen asleep in Israel. His countenance seemed to beam with peaceful serenity, and his noble head and brow, with the strong features on which beauty still lingered as he lay in the majestic dignity of death, seemed chiselled in purest alabaster. Doubtless the question arose in the minds of many as they passed by his casket, Can this be death?

*Death upon his face
Was rather shine than shade;
A tender shine by looks beloved made.*

He was buried in Woodward Hill Cemetery, on an elevated spot, commanding a fine view of the city and county of Lancaster, where the funeral service was concluded, in which Dr. E. E. Higbee, Dr. Thomas G. Appel, Dr. Eli Keller and Dr. Theodore Appel participated.—The honorary pall bearers consisted of John C. Hager, N. Ellmaker, Rev. Charles L. Fry of the Lutheran Church; Dr. J. Y. Mitchell of the Presbyterian; Dr. J. Max Hark of the Moravian; and of the Professors, Drs. J. H. Dubbs, J. B. Kieffer and F. A. Gast.—Just as the service at the grave was coming to its close, sympathizing nature let fall a gentle shower of rain, which descended softly as her benediction, on the committing of the body to the bosom of the earth, looking for the general resurrection in the last day, and the life of the world to come: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The death of Dr. Nevin made a profound impression in the community and throughout the Church. Memorial services were held in various congregations; the Classes at their annual meetings put on record their sense of Dr. Nevin's great usefulness in the Church; and several of the Synods in the fall appointed special commemorative services at which interesting addresses were delivered by ministerial brethren in memory of the great man who had fallen in Israel.

At the Commencement of Franklin and Marshall College, during the week following the funeral of Dr. Nevin, a profound feeling pervaded the minds of those who were present, Trustees, Alumni, students, and of who had in any way become interested in the College. The Alumni Association at the time had in contemplation the ob-

servance of the centennial celebration of the founding of Franklin College at Lancaster in 1887 and the semi-centennial of the founding of Marshall College at Mercersburg in 1837, and the recent death of Dr. Nevin imparted to the movement a healthy, practical direction. Measures were initiated to give a new impulse to all the operations of the College, and among other things, the endowment of the Presidency of the Institution with a fund of not less than \$30,000, as a suitable tribute of respect to the memory of Dr. Nevin, together with the preparation of the present volume of his Life and Work. Both of these objects, through the mercy and goodness of the Father of all, have been consummated during the present year, 1889.—At this same Commencement of 1886, the Daniel Scholl Observatory was dedicated and an address delivered by Prof. C. A. Young of Princeton College. The building, with its valuable instruments, was the gift of Mrs. James M. Hood, daughter of Mr. Daniel Scholl of Frederick, Md., in honor of her father's memory, for which she made the generous donation of \$15,000.

During this same year a third monument has been erected to the memory of Dr. Nevin, which confronts those who enter the College Chapel. It is a window of stained glass, erected "To the glory of God, Amen; and in loving memory of John Williamson Nevin," and represents St. John, the Apostle, with his attributes, an eagle, a book, and a chalice, with his key-note text: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." In harmony of coloring and in artistic workmanship, it will be a training in true beauty to the young who daily gather there, and a fitting tribute to one whose memory will be more enduring than brass.

The following graceful Elegy, prepared at the author's request for this volume, was composed by Rev. R. C. Schiedt, a foreign German, formerly student of Berlin University, but at present Professor in Franklin and Marshall College.

IN OBITUM JOANNIS W. NEVINI

Ille, decus nostrum, Musarum cura, Nevinus
Occidit. Heu, fallax et breve vita bonum!
Occidit, heu! nostri qui gloria temporis ingens
Multorumque suis dotibus instar erat.
Nunc quid ego summas tot in uno pectore dotes
Facta quid æterna laude vehenda canam?

Quæ mea si vellet digno comprehendere versu,
Debilitaturum musa subiret onus.
Nil illi facilis natura negaverat uni,
Et dederat largas, more parentis, opes.
Fervidus hinc animi vigor et quæ liquit inausum
Divitis ingenii vis operosa nihil.
Et, velut primum sine nomine rivus
Per viridem tenui murmure serpit humum;
Mox magis atque magis labendo viribus auctus
Communes populis sufficit uber aquas.
Sic artes crevere bonæ, sua gloria crevit,
Adjecitque aliquid proxima quæque dies.
Hunc puerum vix linquentem cunabula, Musæ
Certatim donis excoluere suis.
Testis fortunata Pennsylvania nobis,
Mille potestates, nomina mille docent.
Hic fuit; hic studuit; puer hoc in cespite lusit:
Hic pater, hic genetrix, hic habitavit avus.
Illuc cognatus, cujus cognomen habebat,
Vaguit, illustri sanguine natus eques:
Hic Scotus, quem fama vehet plaudentibus alis,
Leges per terras donec Americæ erunt.
Testes sunt Collegia, quorum est dignus alumnus,
Et Graiæ et Latiae gloria summa lyræ.
Namque brevi spatio linguam cognorat utramque;
Cum libuit, culte doctus utraque loqui.
Addiderat Solymæ jam dulcia munera linguæ;
Nec minus his judex de tribus acer erat.
Altera tum rerum varias ediscere caussas
Et quæcumque latent abdita, cura, fuit.
Sed magis auctorem cognoscere juvat et ingens
Esse Deum, mundi qui regit hujus opus;
Ergo Creatorem proprius rerumque Parentem
Cernere, non dubii pectoris ardor erat.
Doctrinæque pio cælestis amore calebat:
Numen adorans spe, Christe benigne, tuum.
Sic igitur vivens, sic, O divine Nevine,
Cœpisti ingenii spargere dona tui.
Longius et cultor Sophiæ digressus in hortos,
Florida de lauro sarta virente feris:
Nos omnes debere tibi genioque fatemur
Omnia, quæ pietas suadet amorque, tuo.
Testis Mercersburgensis Schola, montium Athenæ.
Testes discipuli, gloria gentis novæ.
Tu præcepta Dei pandens arcana, docebas,
Gaudeat ut pura mente fideque coli.
Censor et auctor eras illustris, acumine præstans,
Judicii egregia dexteritate tui.
Jamque poposcit opem dubiis ecclesia rebus,
En! sine te nullum, qui tueatur habet.

Nec minus et duro adversarum tempore rerum
Mansisti gratis officio usque tuo.
Servasti insanis puppim, bone rector, ex undis
Minante interitu jam pietate falsa.
Utque tui Christum cognoscant discipulique
Assumis longi grande laboris onus;
Nam Pater omnipotens et lucida patris Imago
Natus et amborum gratia dulcis Amor,
Dulcis Amor, divinaque potens hominumque voluptas
Hic regit afflatu pectora casta tua.
Non levis ambitio non impius ardor habendi
Nullus in elato pectore fastus erat,
Provida sed virtus et flore nitentior omni
Candor et innocua cum pietate fides.—
Scilicet hæc tecum duræ solatia mortis
Affers ad Elysiumque nemus,
Nec decet aut fas est nos illum flere sepultum
Amplius, et lacrimis ponere anolle modum,
Ille quidem dulces auras et amata reliquit
Lumina sub gelida contumulatus humo.
Fama tamen superest, et totum nota per orbem
Gloria, Castaliæ quam peperere deæ.
Nec tua longa dies delebit scripta, Nevine!
Juris in ingenium mors habet atra nihil.
At tu, Christe, novæ qui nobis gaudia vitæ
Reddis, et in supera das regione locum
Huic abeunti animæ placidam largire quietem
Ne mihi sit pretium mortis inane tuæ.
Quem liquor ille, tuo stillans e vulnere sancto
Abluat, hos æstus, hanc levet ille sitim!
Hospitium tu, Christe, humilis ne despice cordis,
Dulce tibi soli vivere, dulce mori.
Corpus et in cineres cum longa redegerit ætas,
Vivet, et ætatis fama sequentis erit.
Sidera nunc illic fulgentis semper Olympi
Cunctaque cognoscit, quæ latuere prius,
Progeniemque Dei majestatemque verendam
Adspicit et sanctos inter adorat avos.
Salve, magne parens, alti nunc ætheris hæres.
Et fruire æternis, quæ tibi parta, bonis.
Terra tuum violis ornet lauroque sepulchrum,
Floreat æternis urna beata rosis.
Ossaque tranquilla semper tua sede quiescant
Semper doctrinæ ad vox tua vivat aquas.
Interea laudesque tuas nomenque canamus;
Tu modo da dulci, Christe, quiete frui!

CHAPTER LV

WE here furnish the reader with a few letters of Dr. Nevin, written to friends in severe affliction. They exhibit his tenderness of feeling in an interesting light, and show how he could sympathize with others in their sorrows. The first was addressed to Mr. Besore, merchant of Waynesboro, Pa., a prominent elder in the Reformed Church, and always active in promoting its general interests. Late in life he was favored with two lovely children, a daughter and a little son. The latter took sick and died, which excited general sympathy in the community.

To Mr. George Besore.

MERCERSBURG, Dec. 29, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR:—I felt sad on seeing not long since the announcement of the sad bereavement which has fallen upon you in the loss of your only son. Sickness was at work in my own family at the time, and as I looked round upon my eight children, and thought how hard it would be to lose one, I could not but enter with lively sympathy into the sense of a still more overwhelming desolation that must attend your case as called to mourn over the loss of an only son. I can well conceive how much of affection and hope had been garnered up in the life of your promising boy, and how many fond dreams of future usefulness and honor were made to centre in his person. You had received him with peculiar joy as a signal blessing from the hand of God, and you pleased yourself with the thought of training him up with a full Christian education for the promotion of God's glory in the world in time to come. But it has pleased our Heavenly Father suddenly and without explanation to withdraw His own gift. Your hopes lie buried in the grave, where now sleeps the remains of your beloved child, in prospect of the resurrection at the last day; and you sit in spirit as one clothed with sackcloth and ashes, whose senses have been well nigh stunned by the blow which has fallen upon him from the hand of the Almighty. Truly, it is a terrible stroke, and you and your wife both need special grace, to receive it with becoming submission. This I trust has not been withheld. It is much to know, that while God acts in such a case without explanation, He still never acts without *reason*, and it is still more, to be firmly assured by faith that His actions are ruled always by righteousness and love. "He doth not *willingly* afflict any of the

sons of men." He is able, moreover, in ways which you cannot now understand, to turn this bereavement to your benefit and His own glory, beyond all that might have resulted from the life of your son, had he been continued with you according to your desire.

I write just now as one well prepared to "weep with them that weep," for the corpse of my own youngest child is sleeping in its little coffin close at hand, and I expect to follow it in a few hours this stormy day to its last resting place in our College Cemetery. We have had six cases of measles among us latterly, all of which have ended favorably with the exception of the last, that of our sweet babe, now nearly arrived at the end of his first year, whose fine vigorous constitution seemed more likely to bring him safely through than that of any of our children besides. But he was at the same time in the severe process of teething; and the combined disorders proved too strong for his tender strength. He became affected in his brain, and finally has breathed out his soul into his Maker's hands; last come, and *first* gone of the little circle of love to which he belonged. And now of course I can understand *your* sorrow still better than before, and am prepared to extend to you from the bottom of my heart the sympathy which is all in such a case that human friendship *can* extend. May our merciful and compassionate High Priest enrich you with His own "grace, mercy and peace," a more substantial benefit than all worldly blessings besides.

With kind regards to Mrs. Besore,

Your affectionate friend,

J. W. NEVIN.

To Dr. J. C. Bucher, on the sudden death of his two sons on the 4th of July, 1876.

CAERNARVON PLACE, July 9, 1876.

MY DEAR BROTHER:—On hearing of your great affliction I felt the full force of what is said of Job's three friends (Job ii: 12, 13); and even yet it seems as if the case called for the sympathy of sitting on the ground with you in silence rather than the condolence of mere human speech. There is something sacred in such a sorrow, which of itself turns into commonplace all ordinary words of comfort. And yet the case goes of itself again in this view to the only true foundation of support and relief beyond what is common with lighter trials; for it needs no argument other than itself to enforce what all our trials are designed to teach, namely: the one great lesson which we are so slow to learn, that all our springs are in God and that in ourselves we are literally nothing. Such an

overwhelming calamity as that which has now come upon your house, must make it easier for you to realize this truth just now than perhaps ever in your life before. If so, it has not come upon you in vain. If so, it will not need any motive of consolation from beyond itself to reconcile you to its stroke. For what consolation can exceed the assurance that you are the object of God's fatherly regard in what has come upon you, and that this regard, most assuredly, is directed to nothing less than the everlasting salvation of yourself, and all your house. That is the comfort of God's Providence universally, as it is so beautifully set forth in our Catechism; and any chastisement, however sharp or grievous, that may help us to the full sense of it, must be counted as the greatest of blessings in disguise. So true is the word, "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life which the Lord hath promised to them that love him." What we need of all things in our religious life is full faith in the Bible as the Word of God, and full belief in Divine Providence; by which I mean a full persuasion that Christ, the Lord of life and glory, is actually in His Word from Alpha to Omega, and actually in His Providence also to the end of the world; and in both with full living presence for one and the same end, namely, "not to condemn the world but that the world through Him might believe." Few in the Christian world at this time believe practically either of the two mysteries; verifying thus the force of our Saviour's interrogation: When the Son of man cometh shall He find faith on the earth? What the ark of the covenant was for the Old Testament Israel, that the Bible as the Word of God is for the Church still, the place of actual coming together, or meeting of Christ and His people; and what the pillar of fire was before the Israelites of old, that the Providence of Christ is still for His Church, a true heavenly conduct, which from first to last is ruled by infinite wisdom and love, and which in all things is determined only toward one end, the eternal well-being of man, as this is the universal scope also of the Gospel. In all our sorrows, let us labor to take firm hold of this anchor of the soul, which alone is sure and steadfast, entering as it does within the veil.

Mrs. Nevin joins me in this communication. She has been much affected, as we all have been, with the teachings of your calamity. May God bless you and your remaining family, and preserve you all unto His everlasting kingdom.

Your very sincere friend,

J. W. NEVIN.

To Mrs. Alexander Brown, sister of Dr. Nevin, on the death of her son, Matthew Brown.

MY DEAR SISTER:—We all mourn with you in the heavy sorrow which has come upon your house. It is sad to think of the solemn shadow that has thus flung itself across your path. But I have come to look at death less in this way than it is commonly supposed to mean. It is only a stage in the progress of the life we have begun here, and where this has been at all in the right direction, the change will form no interruption or break in its course. We should think of our children, who have gone before us (obeying in the Lord), as not dead at all in any sense suggested by the coffin and the grave, but as actually alive with all the will and powers they had here. Only in fuller measure and degree, they see, hear, speak, and act in all manner of ways, in that spiritual world where they are, with an enlargement and freedom of existence far beyond all that belongs to us who are still here in the natural body. Of this I feel very sure and I am sure, too, that all good begun here in any life will have the opportunity of growing toward perfection there, under the auspices of Christ and His angels; beyond all that any such life could have enjoyed by continuing longer in the present world. So much, in truth, lies in the idea of God's Providence, which is governed everywhere by a regard to the eternal salvation of men, and cannot, therefore, possibly be indifferent to this in what is brought to pass through their death. Looking at the case in this way, you have great cause for consolation in your present bereavement. Your son has been taken away from much evil he might have had to meet otherwise in this world. He has been taken away with a well formed habit of piety (the fear of God and a humble regard for His commandments), established in his soul from early childhood. The removal has been by the hand of One whose interest in his welfare immeasurably exceeds yours, and is designed unquestionably to carry out and complete what the grace of the Gospel had begun to expect in him before he was thus called away. The great thing for you is to be well persuaded of the realness of the spiritual world (which few in our time think of as other than a shadow), and thus to believe firmly that Divine Providence is no fiction, a rare belief now even in the Church. God's Providence eyes everywhere the eternal salvation of the children of men. We believe in it only as we see in it that meaning. You should see it to mean this in the case of your present trial. It means this for your dear son, who has now passed out of your sight; but it means this also for yourself, and the family who share with you in this

Having arrived at the conclusion of his labors, the author deems it proper in this place to say a few words in regard to his long journey.—It was with a considerable degree of hesitation that he made up his mind to comply with the request of his fellow-alumni to prepare the present volume for publication. But this seemed to be their unanimous wish as well as that of a large circle of Dr. Nevin's friends. He was, moreover, encouraged by Dr. Philip Schaff, his former teacher and colleague, who, at the commencement of the College in 1886, told him to devote at least two years to the task. This he regarded as wise counsel.—From the start it was evident that such a work would be attended with difficulties of no ordinary character. In the very beginning it was first necessary to ascertain some principle which might serve as a guide in the composition of the book. There was a large amount of materials on hand, but how was he to reduce them to order and the necessary consistency? To find the thread which was to lead him through such a vast labyrinth, he examined many biographies of great men from Plutarch's Lives down to the present time. At length he took up Neander's *Geist des Tertullians*, and there he found, as he thought, just what he was in search of. In the Preface to his immortal work, the great historian has given his reader in a few words the theory according to which he believed that the history of a *Sapiens teres atque rotundus* ought to be written.

"Many persons," says Neander, "with a different conception of the historic art from my own and of what is required to present a truthful picture of a man, will, perhaps, fail here and there to see the truth in the present historical representation. To such it may appear that I have not held up sufficiently to view the foreign excrescences, the baroque, or the abnormal in Tertullian's Life. The office of the historian, however, as I regard it, like that of the painter, is to let the soul of a man, the animating idea of his physiognomy, stand out in prominent outlines. It is only in this way that we can properly understand what in his character is of the nature of caricature, which always tends to obscure the soul and idea of the man himself. The latter is something of subordinate account and not the chief matter. The lofty mission of the historian is to recognize the divine impress in outward appearance and to develop this out of its temporary obscuration; this alone can be the lofty mission and aim of the historian, without which it is not worth the while to attempt to write history at all. Who thinks otherwise on the subject, him I allow to entertain his own opinion."

Dr. Nevin was much less one-sided than Tertullian, whilst he was

his superior in intellectual and spiritual endowments. He was in a certain respect many-sided, which led him to appear under various aspects, that did not at the time seem to be in harmony with each other. In the warmth of controversy he often found it necessary to employ strong language or strong expressions, which led to wrong impressions or the appearance of having said more than he intended to say. As an humble disciple of the great historian, the author sought throughout to employ his principle and depict the spirit of Dr. Nevin as it appears in his life and writings. In this way he found his labors very much diminished, as it remained to select only such material as seem to have a more immediate reference to the object which he had in view, whilst the balance was left behind in the quarry. As in Neander's monograph the quotations, after having been selected with care, had to be very extensive, because it is always best to let a person like Dr. Nevin speak for himself. It is only in this way, it is believed, that he could show what manner of life his was from his youth. With these explanatory remarks the book is presented to the public with the hope that with its defects, resulting from inexperience in the historic art, it may meet with a generous recognition.

In conclusion, it affords us much pleasure here to acknowledge the valuable assistance which, in various ways, we received all along from the Publishing Committee of the Alumni Association, especially for making themselves responsible for the respectable appearance of the book; and for the many valuable suggestions, which we received, from time to time, from the friends of the enterprise. We wish also here to put on record our high appreciation of the kindness of the many friends who gave us their generous sympathy, whilst deeply absorbed in our work. Among these we may mention, Charles Santee, Philadelphia; Hon. John H. Vandyke, Milwaukee, Wis.; Hon. Charles E. Gast, Pueblo, Col.; Hon. J. W. Killinger, Lebanon, Pa.; Dr. J. O. Miller, York, Pa.; Dr. E. R. Eschbaugh, Frederick, Md.; Dr. S. G. Wagner, Allentown, Pa.; Mr. Daniel Black and Mrs. A. Eyerman, Easton, Pa.; S. S. Rickley, Esq., Columbus, Ohio; Hon. H. H. Schwartz, Dr. A. S. Leinbach and Geo. F. Baer, Esq., Reading, Pa.; B. Wolff, Jr., Pittsburgh, Pa.; E. J. Bonbrake, Esq., Chambersburg, Pa.; and Hon. M. V. L. McClelland, Franklin, Mo. But we desire here more especially to render thanks to a kind and merciful heavenly Father for the preservation of our health and strength during our protracted labors.—*Δόξα Θεῷ.*

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